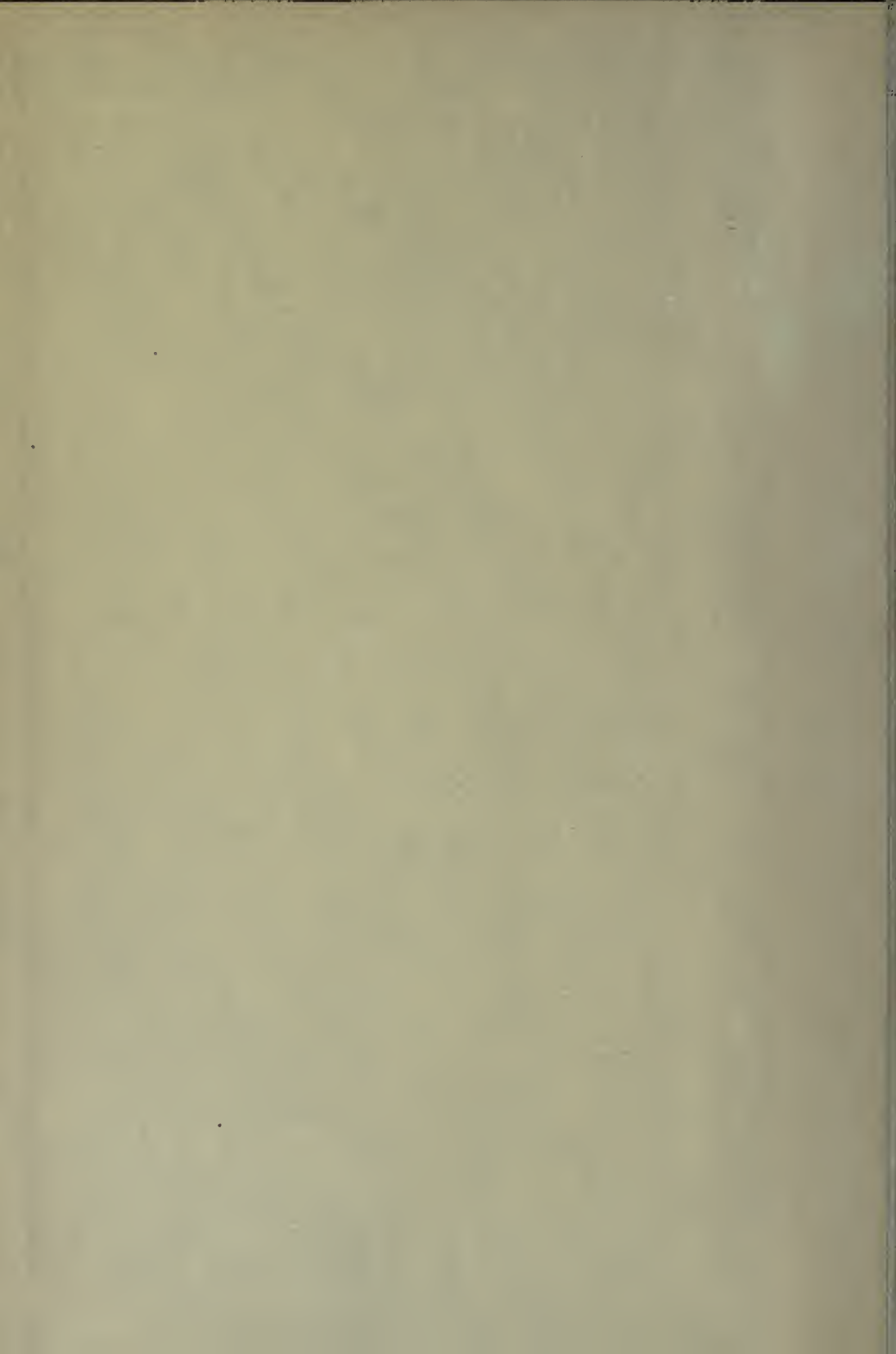


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THE LARGER SOCIAL SERVICE OF THE CHURCH

Modern society is under conviction of sin. True, this conviction is not quite the same as that under which olden-time evangelists sought to bring their hearers. We have not had forced upon us the horrors of hell and our desert of eternal punishment. But we are none the less suffering the pangs of conscience.

Who is responsible for overworked mothers, for starved babies, for children who work that capital may declare dividends, for shop girls burned alive for lack of fire escapes, for politicians who are grafters, for corporations that defy law, for the horrors of the white slave traffic, for fathers and mothers who prefer "joy rides" to the care of children?

Once we were indifferent to such questions. We said misery is the outgrowth of social evolution and the accompaniment of prosperity.

Such replies no longer leave us easy-minded. Even those who still amuse their consciences with old excuses masquerading in scientific vocabularies, are growing morally discontented. Our modern world may not fear hell; but it does fear the outcomes of injustice, mendacity, and lust.

Our sense of responsibility is growing individual. We are not quite so ready as we once were to slip over upon society the responsibility for social sin. We get decreasing satisfaction from trying to think of ourselves as peripatetic laboratories emerging from the social process and dominated by the sex instinct. Somehow we are coming to feel that what is nobody's fault is our own fault.



The very bitterness of our disillusioning is become our salvation. To face moral evil is to call upon God for help. Conviction of sin has always been the first stage of a revival of religion.

We are already in the midst of such a revival. And it is something more than a new sense of duty. It is a turning to the God of duty.

As we try to work for Him we see the hopelessness of our efforts unless He works for us.

As Jesus Christ touches men's consciences, the Father of Jesus Christ must give them forgiveness.



This depth of moral unrest, this Nathan-like appeal we each one of us make to ourselves as we see the injustice and the cruelty of what we call civilization, this new turning to God all force the church to take itself seriously as an institution of a religion that shall inspire social love and sacrifice.

That is the larger social service the church alone can render.

However much our churches can minister to the communities' need of wholesome picture shows, libraries, boys' clubs, basket-ball teams, and men's banquets, they will commit suicide if they do not help society out from its conviction of sin into a sense of brotherhood through fellowship with God.

Social service is not altruistic restlessness. It is the wisely directed ministry of souls who believe in something better than the heroism of a forlorn hope. It is religion at work. We do not want our churches "hustling" miscellaneous reforms. We do not want them ethical orphan asylums where people are amused to keep them out of mischief. We want them spiritual homes in which souls are born into spiritual life and taught the social meaning of regeneration.



Social evolution is a splendid term, but it leaves the heart empty. If the Holy Ghost is really convicting the world of sin and righteousness and judgment, a church which tries to introduce religion surreptitiously between stereopticon slides is a sorry spectacle. But a church filled with a contagious faith in the God of things as they are becoming, that seeks first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, that stirs men to moral discontent in order that they may be brought into sacrificial service through fellowship with their crucified Lord, that bases the demand for human fraternity upon the experience of divine sonship; such a church is the veritable servant of the living God.

WHAT THE DEFEAT OF TURKEY MAY MEAN TO AMERICAN MISSIONS

JAMES L. BARTON, D.D.

Secretary American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

For centuries the Turkish Empire has been a brutal enemy of Christianity. Only the Apocalypse of John can properly express the horror felt by the Christian world at its atrocities in the name of religion. And now its grip upon Europe is broken! The prayer of thousands of Christians is being answered! The joy of the Seer as he foretold the fall of the Beast and the Harlot may not yet be fully ours, but we can already see that Turkey can never again be the archenemy of Christianity. Dr. Barton's sane and comprehensive exposition of what the triumph of the Balkan states means to American missions is born of missionary statesmanship.

We say "American missions" because Christian work in Turkey was begun nearly one hundred years ago by American missionaries who have practically held the ground since. The American Board of Missions at Boston sent its first missionaries to that country in 1819, and since that time has maintained there a large and effective force. The Presbyterian Board, after its separation from the American Board, continued the work in Syria, and the Dutch Reform Board in Arabia, while the parent board has maintained the work in the rest of Turkey, including Macedonia.

The missionary problems of Turkey gather about, and chiefly spring from, Mohammedanism. For that reason they differ from those of any other country. These problems are especially intensified when the government is Mohammedan, and when all the forces of the government can be brought to bear to prevent Moslems from becoming Christians and to make difficult the establishment and continuance of Chris-

tian institutions. As Mohammedanism is the principal religion of the Turkish Empire, and as it is the basis of the government of Turkey, it can readily be understood that it figures largely in the discussion of missions in that country. In order to a clear understanding of the mission question, we shall need to consider a few of the restrictions which the national religion of Turkey imposes upon the work.

Mohammedanism denies the brotherhood of man. It draws a clear distinction between the followers of Mohammed and those who do not accept him. This was so at the beginning under Mohammed, and has been religiously perpetuated by his followers. The two expressions "Islam," applied to the faithful, and "Giaour," applied to all others, mark in the Mohammedan mind the distinction between the saved and the unsaved, between those who have all right and all privilege by virtue of their faith, as over against those who have no rights and no privileges except as the faithful may benevolently grant.

The Mohammedan's attitude toward non-believers is that of self-satisfied arrogance. This statement is made with reference to the rank and file of the Mohammedan body, uninfluenced by western learning and contact with western nations. Even in these latter cases, however, one does not need to confer long with a confirmed Mohammedan to discover that he regards himself as the only chosen son of Allah.

By Mohammedan custom and by the laws of Mohammedan countries, every endeavor is made to guard the Moslem from entertaining Christian ideas, or from putting himself into a position where his faith might be endangered. Within the last few months, as the Bairam fast was approaching, the Mohammedans in authority, recognizing the tendency among their own followers toward a laxness in the practices of their religion, published in the Mohammedan papers of Constantinople warning against Moslems showing any laxity in their strict observances of the demand of the fast. Severe threats were connected with this warning. The Mohammedans even go farther than this and declare that it is impossible for one who has once been a good Mohammedan to become anything else. Their claim is as uncompromising as the severest tenet of Calvinism on the perseverance of the saints.

Mohammedanism has, from the beginning, consistently opposed modern and general education. History has shown that a Mohammedan who has become versed in the education of the West has not the same enthusiasm for his faith or the same hatred of Christianity that he would have had he

not thus been contaminated. In the interest, therefore, of a pure Mohammedanism, and of the maintenance of the faith unshaken, it has been necessary for the Mohammedan governments of the world, and especially of Turkey, to prevent the inroads of modern schools.

A Mohammedan government must maintain its traditional form and use its forces for the protection of the faith. This has been the consistent policy of every Mohammedan government from the beginning, the Moslems well recognizing the truth of the statement voiced by Lord Cromer when he declared that Mohammedanism can never be reformed, because if it should be reformed, it would at once cease to be Mohammedanism. The forces of the government, therefore, in all departments have been organized for two distinct purposes: first, the maintenance in its purity of the Mohammedan faith, and second, the administration of the government. If one of these purposes is to be sacrificed, it is always the latter rather than the former.

Mohammedans must necessarily, under the tenets of their religion, oppress and suppress the development of womanhood. It is impossible for one holding the Mohammedan faith to give to woman that place in the home and in society which is her rightful inheritance. The treatment of women by Mohammedans is too well known to require enlargement here.

Mohammedanism has maintained the cholera-center for Europe and Asia for eight hundred years, from which this dread scourge spreads to the whole Mohammedan world. Mecca, the

sacred city of Islam, has been the source of cholera, and is today more dreaded than any other scourge-center in the whole world, and it is wholly unapproachable because of the restrictions the Mohammedans place upon their sacred city, preventing the approach of those who could remedy this curse. These conditions will necessarily prevail so long as trained physicians are prevented from entering that scourge-stricken belt, and from wiping out the curse at its fountain-head, as they were permitted to do in China when the bubonic plague threatened the whole civilized world. Under the burden of this scourge must the world rest until this plague-spot can be cleansed.

The above statements indicate some of the difficulties under which missionaries in Turkey have labored during the ninety years of their occupancy of that country. In spite of these, many of the difficulties have been so far overcome that schools in great number have been established throughout the country, culminating in colleges, technical and industrial schools located at the great centers of population and influence, and from one end of the empire to the other. Not less than fifty thousand of choice youth, both girls and boys, are today studying in Christian schools, established by American missionaries, and attended by students from all races and classes in the empire. In spite of the fact that all who have received a liberal education have been more or less under the suspicion of the old Turkish officials, the fact remains that when Turkey set about to introduce a new régime, and to establish constitutional government for the entire empire,

they readily acknowledged their indebtedness to these American institutions, declaring that had it not been for the work of the American Christian college in Turkey, constitutional government could never have been established.

These schools have been loyal to the government in spite of the charges frequently made that they have fostered sedition. A few months ago, the grand vizier stated to the United States ambassador, in denying a request for the legal transfer of a site purchased in Albania for a future mission plant, that the reason for the refusal was that very soon the mission would build upon that plant a Christian school, and he added: "Christian schools in the empire have been hotbeds of sedition." The ambassador answered by asking the grand vizier to point to a single instance where a case of sedition had been traced to an American college or school, and the grand vizier, after considerable hesitation, declared that he could not recall a single instance. The ambassador then said: "Your Excellency is perfectly aware that within the last few months hundreds of young men have been taken from your own national schools in Constantinople and either put to death or sent into exile for sedition. Is not this clear evidence that the American schools are more loyal than the schools of Turkey controlled by the government itself?"

The conditions as set forth in the preceding statement lead us to the consideration of the great changes that necessarily will confront American missions in Turkey as the outcome of the Balkan War. Some of these may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The war has released more than seven millions of people, some of whom are Moslems, but most of whom are nominal Christians, from Moslem government and control. Macedonia and the islands of the Aegean Sea, that have been held in the iron grip of the Mohammedan ruler on the Bosphorus, will now be free to develop their own educational and religious institutions; to establish and promote new forms of industry, and to develop themselves along lines in harmony with their own aspirations. At the same time, not only will the entire country be open to the missionary but his services will be sought.

2. As a part of the above statement, but worthy of a separate paragraph, is the fact that the Albanians, numbering something like two millions of souls, ambitious for modern education and for national unity, and eager for the privilege of looking into religious questions, will be, and even already are, emancipated from the oppression of the Turks. During the last few years the Albanians have shown a wonderful desire for internal development, and at the same time they have met with unusual and persistent opposition on the part of Turkey. All this will now be removed, and the missionaries to the Albanian will be free to develop schools and establish and enlarge their institutions, while the Albanians will be exempt from the heartless persecution which has been aimed at crushing their spirit, and making them subservient.

3. The present war has proved, not only to the world, but to the Mohammedans themselves, that Moslem rule

can never meet the demand of the twentieth century. The gradual elimination of Moslem governments, and the decrease of Turkish territory, cannot but demonstrate to the Mohammedans of the country that in order to maintain their government at all, there must be radical changes from within. The thoughtful Moslems note the fact that Morocco has passed under Christian control, and that Persia is no longer independent, and now they see that Turkey has lost Tripoli, followed by the loss of Macedonia. As Mohammedan government is primarily and fundamentally religious, this cannot but cast doubt into the Moslem mind, as to the capacity of Mohammedanism to furnish an adequate religious motive for the safe administration of a Mohammedan state. As they have watched the rapid development of Bulgaria, under independence as compared to Macedonia under Moslem rule, it is impossible even for the most bigoted Mohammedan not to draw the conclusion that education is necessary for the safety and stability of the state. When we consider these facts, we must bear in mind that for Mohammedans to entertain such modern ideas is for them to be heretics of the worst kind, viewed from the Mohammedan standpoint. We can thus realize what all this means to the future of Mohammedanism in Turkey.

4. The present war has manifestly impressed upon the Mohammedans the difference which they had already begun to realize between nominal and true Christianity. The allied states at war with Turkey are nominal Christian states whose declaration, at the begin-

ning, that this is a religious war, has made a most unfavorable impression upon all Moslems. On the other hand, scattered throughout the Turkish Empire are some four hundred Protestant Christian missionaries with tens of thousands of Protestant Christians, who are living pure, unselfish, Christian lives, and who have made already a profound impression upon Mohammedans as to what real Christianity means.

5. The present situation is deepening the division begun some time ago among Moslems as between the Conservatives and the Progressives, between the fanatical and the thoughtful and more reasonable. The Progressives inaugurated and put through the Young Turk movement, which resulted in the overthrow of the old order. The Progressives have been foremost in the organization of new Turkey, and in the endeavor to establish upon a firm foundation constitutional government. The Progressives have been eager for a general educational system that should cover the entire empire and compel all classes to send their children to school. These have been charged by the Conservatives with being non-Moslem. There is no doubt that the present war and the outcome thereof will increase the number of the Progressives as well as their progressiveness.

6. The present conditions in Turkey have raised serious inquiries in many Moslem minds as to whether Islam is the only religion, or even if it is the best religion for the individual, for society, and for the state. Indications are coming from every part of Turkey that the thoughtful Mohammedans are

looking seriously into the subject of religion, and are more ready than they have been for centuries to ask, "What is Christianity and what does it promise?" It would be most unwise to publish details, because of the alarm it would create in Turkey, but they are facts nevertheless, showing that underneath the apparently undisturbed surface of Mohammedanism there are running deep and strong counter-currents of tremendous significance.

7. To meet these conditions and to respond to the inquiries which are already rising on every side and which must rapidly increase, great and powerful Christian institutions already exist, widely scattered throughout the empire. There has also been created an extensive literature, both educational and religious, now widely circulated and widely read, and which can be at once largely extended to meet the new conditions. Printing presses are in operation, their number having been greatly increased at the opening of the new régime under constitutional government, and can now be put to immediate use to meet the inquiries of all classes in Turkey now arising and that must continue to arise. At the same time there is a large, trained native force educated in the Christian institutions, ready to assume positions of unusual influence and power in meeting the new situation. The colleges and normal schools for both men and women have been preparing the teachers who can step into positions opened by the government for the training of Moslems. These teachers are already in demand, and the educational institutions that produced them are capable of great

expansion; in other words, the plant is established and the missionaries already hold strategic positions, beginning at the capital. They have a trained force already in the field and are ready to meet the new demand.

It is a significant fact that the missionary societies which, toward the beginning of the last century, began work in Turkey are those which preach, practice, and teach Christianity in its simplest form. They practice no ritual that cannot be changed to meet any new condition demanded by local circumstances. They use no pictures or images in their worship. Repeatedly thoughtful Mohammedans have said to the Protestants of Turkey that there is little difference between the Mohammedans and the Protestants, the only difference being that which gathers around the acceptance of Mohammed as the prophet of God and Jesus Christ

as the redeemer of men. The position has already been reached in Turkey where Protestants and Mohammedans can calmly discuss the differences which separate them. The humanitarian measures carried out in Turkey during the last fifty years, and especially at times of great stress and strain, have demonstrated to the Moslems what true Christianity means. The Christian hospitals have been a mighty force to this end, and are now widely patronized by Moslems as well as Christians. All this has prepared the way for the new situation which must necessarily confront the Christian worker in that great empire and the church at home. Everything is ready for advance. The barriers between Moslems and Christians have been lowered, and in places are crumbling. It is a situation which demands the attention of the Christian world.

THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW CATHOLIC UNITY

SHAILER MATHEWS

President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

A little less than sixteen hundred years ago the Council of Nicea undertook to give unity to a state religion. The sudden accession of the church to power after two centuries and more of persecution had resulted in theological acrimony that threatened the peace of the empire. The immediate result of the council was a creed which sought

ecclesiastical unity through the use of terms which assured the exclusion of theological nonconformists. The ultimate result of the creed was beneficial, in that it sank deep into the heart of Christianity the indomitable belief that the salvation wrought by Christ was wrought by one who was very God of very God. None the less the council

confirmed the tendency of the ancient church to magnify metaphysical conformity over co-operation in the tasks of evangelism.

It is, of course, futile to attempt to rewrite history, but one can hardly avoid speculating as to what might have been the social development of Europe, if instead of discussions over consubstantiability the council had undertaken to christianize the institutions of the Greco-Roman civilization, and to evangelize the Germans and Arabs, who were so soon to inundate the empire. In such a case Europe might have been spared the Dark Ages and the triumphs of Mohammedanism.

Such speculation constantly intruded itself upon the mind of a student of history as he watched the proceedings of the second quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at Chicago, December 4-9. Almost identically the same number of delegates were there as were at Nicea. They represented, however, instead of three, thirty tendencies of theological belief as represented by various denominations, whose membership numbered approximately seventeen million Protestant Christians. And this body, with the memory of hundreds of years of theological controversy, without the pressure of the state, advanced to another stage that co-operative Protestantism which is shaping up a catholic unity more promising even than that of the great council of 325. For it is the unity of the spirit and not of a definition.

This unity had been initially reached, it is true, by a constitution adopted four years ago, which made non-evangelical bodies ineligible to member-

ship in the council, but even such exclusion was primarily one of strategy. Within the evangelical bodies unity has been reached, not by formulating a denatured platform from which no denomination would dissent. The council does not seek to confine religious co-operation to a minimum of theological assent, wherein can lie no enthusiasm. It frankly admits that it asks no denomination to abandon its history, its convictions, or its polity. Yet throughout all the meetings fraternity was in constant evidence. And this fraternity is all the more noteworthy because of the fact that in addition to the denominational differences there were those of geography and of race. So sincere was this desire to respect the feelings of opponents that even a reference to the temperance principles of Abraham Lincoln was supplemented by a reference to the similar principles of Robert E. Lee.

The unity of the council was essentially the unity of a spirit of devotion to the common task of making society into the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

The recognition of this great and dominating principle was charged with the enthusiasm for the social gospel that reached such a wonderful initial expression in the platform of the council of 1908. The report of the Commission on Social Service in 1912 is a document of no small significance and it voiced clearly a conception of Christianity as inevitably social. There was frank discussion of some of the recommendations of the report, but the chief desire of the council at this point seemed to be that the churches should regard social service not as an adjunct to Christianity but as a thing involved in Christianity

itself. Individuals were not forgotten, but social conditions were repeatedly shown as objects of Christian solicitude.

Furthermore, it was evident from the discussion that the new social spirit of the church is not satisfied by simply ameliorative effort. Cautious as were many of the delegates in specifying the method of the church's participation in social activity, there was unanimity in the belief that the church must stand not only for opposition to every form of ungodliness, but also for the regeneration of society as well as of individuals.

But the council kept steadily in view the religious function of the church. The discussion of the reports upon marriage, temperance, and Sunday observance, as well as the notable papers upon co-operation in foreign and home missions, indicated that even those delegates most devoted to the social aspects of the gospel see with increasing clarity that the real function of the church is something more than that of settlements, of the reform associations, or of the anti-vice leagues; it is primarily that of evoking and educating the spiritual life.

To many people, the most impressive single meeting, outside of the great mass meeting in the Olympic Theater where addresses were made by Dr. North and Professors Rauschenbusch and Steiner, was the session of Friday afternoon devoted to evangelism. It can hardly be doubted that the crest of the council's interest was reached in the conception of the supreme work of the church as that of actually transforming human lives through the gospel. And when at the close of the discussion, before the

routine of business was again taken up, the council spontaneously passed into a season of prayer that the church might be strengthened for its great task, it was apparent that the ethical passion which so marked the newer conception of Christian unity has beneath it the thrust and power of an abiding trust in God. The new catholicism of Protestantism is aggressively evangelical. But it is the evangelicalism of Jesus rather than of the metaphysician.

It is difficult to estimate the influence which is to be exerted by this great meeting, but it is certainly to be great. The fact that it was composed of the most representative men on the official boards of the various denominations argues that it will increasingly help and inspire the co-operative policy of its various constituent bodies. In the action taken in favor of the reciprocal exchange of ministers among denominations in small towns, and in the insistence upon co-operation in home and foreign mission fields, there was recognized the fact that the beliefs in which the thirty denominations agree are vastly more important than the matters in which they differ. We have at last entered upon a period of Christian unity which frankly grants the right of freedom of thought and of theological expression—a unity of spirit rather than of repression, a unity which is among our Protestant churches a counterpart of that federal unity which we have in the United States of America. The various denominations are federated, not to reduce their own self-direction, but for co-operation in the work of saving men and women and christianizing the changing order.

THE CENTRAL IDEA OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

EDWARD INCREASE BOSWORTH, D.D.

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The accompanying study by Dean Bosworth is not a history of what the central idea of Christian theology has been, but is a contribution to the ever-widening discussion as to what Christianity can and must be to our day. The critical movement through which the churches have of late been passing is now giving way to theological interest. The following article is a most suggestive exposition in popular terms of the new spirit that is dominating systematic theology. Without being radical it is sympathetically modern.

The essence of religion in its higher forms is an experience of the soul with God, especially of the soul in its relation to other souls, reaching out together with them after God. Theology aims to describe systematically the phenomena of religious experience. Religious experience furnishes the facts; theology endeavors to describe and understand the facts.

The Christian religion is the experience of men who have sought God under the leadership of Jesus Christ. Christian theology aims to describe systematically the phenomena of Christian experience. Christian theology is often and rightly thought of as largely concerned with the Bible. This is because the Bible is the report of experience with God on the part of certain pre-eminent religious pioneers of humanity and especially because it reports the religious experience of Jesus Christ and the men whom he originally influenced.

Christian theology has not always kept close to the phenomena of Christian experience, but in the present discussion it will be assumed that its proper function is to analyze and interpret Christian experience.

Christian experience has many phases and Christian theology must therefore discuss many topics. The purpose of the hour is to ascertain, if possible, what is the central idea of Christian theology.

The inquiry seems appropriate to the occasion. The theological world is in the midst of a thorough re-examination of foundations. This re-examination has come to involve a vigorous attack upon some things that have long seemed to many to be a part of the foundations, but that seem to others to be simply incumbering débris. A part of the work of re-examination must necessarily be done in the underground passages of scholastic research. The people on the surface naturally become nervously apprehensive regarding the operations below, especially in view of various reports that come up to them from the German workers whose shafts have gone deepest and who have been longest at the work. In such a situation it is the business of theological teachers and students to discriminate as clearly as they can between foundation and débris, to sympathize both with the faithful workers

below and with the apprehensive people above. In other words, the business of the theological seminary is to outline a reasonable, constructive, conquering conception of Christianity which its students may preach with conviction and enthusiasm. In this process the first thing to do is to discover if possible the central idea of Christian theology.

It could be easily shown that the central idea is not necessarily either the most conspicuous or the one for the moment most practically useful. What then are its characteristics?

The Norm of Continuity

First of all, it must be *one that is found in germ at the beginning of Christianity and that has been running through Christian experience ever since*, changing its form perhaps but not losing its identity. As Professor Eucken would say, it is something that is not the product of the *Zeitgeist*, but of the *Geist der Zeiten*—not of the spirit of the age, but of the spirit of the ages.

In the teaching of Jesus, the founder of Christianity, and the men of the Apostolic age who mediated his thought to the world of their day, we should expect to find this idea in the form of a regulative germ. It will appear there in germ, for, as has been generally recognized, the Christian Scriptures are not reflective philosophical treatises, containing careful analytical statements of truth that can be passed down from generation to generation as final in their form. If the Scriptures had been such, they would have long ago ceased to be interesting. They are rather, in their most valuable sections, a spontaneous report of deep personal experience with God, a report

called out often by critical emergencies or special needs, and made with a view to propagating this religious experience in the lives of others. This experience is reported in a way that has appealed for centuries with unparalleled and unabating power to all who seek religious experience, but also in a way that lays upon each generation the responsibility of determining the comparative value of the various phases of experience reported in the Scriptures. For instance, we have in the second chapter of the Book of Acts the report of a wonderful experience on the first Pentecost after the death of Jesus, near the very beginning of the Christian movement. It was an experience having various phases and conditioned by various circumstances of temperament, previous habits of thought and life. In the Book of Acts this experience is reported to have repeated itself on several occasions soon after, but it is not an experience which has been repeated in its most dramatic features regularly through the Christian centuries. When Christian people today try to speak with Pentecostal tongues, as some in Ohio have recently done, they do not receive the approval of the Christian church. Upon each generation there is laid the responsibility of determining what the central feature of this experience really was and whether or not it can be properly repeated in modern Christian experience. My point is that God has not seen fit to put into the Christian Scriptures a statement of the central idea of Christianity in a form which is final for every subsequent age. There is no chapter and verse to which all Christians unhesitatingly turn for such a statement. Each generation

must do its best to make such a statement for itself. Yet this central idea must be one whose regulative germ is found in the Christian Scriptures. There is that within a germ which determines what the subsequent development shall be. The subsequent developments may be in form very unlike the original germ. To a casual observer, an oak tree is very unlike an acorn, but the oak tree is really in the acorn. The germ in the acorn is absolutely regulative of all the development that is to follow.

The Norm of Indestructibility

Closely related to this is another characteristic. If Christianity is to be the final religion, its central idea must be *one that can last as long as men continue to have a religious nature*. It must not only have accompanied them through all the centuries of the past but it must keep on with them in the future. It must be an idea that men will not outgrow, an idea that is itself capable of indefinite future growth without losing its identity, an idea that men can carry with them through a long course of development and find still always pushing them forward with unabating motive power.

The Norm of Indispensableness

The central idea of Christian theology must be *one that can dominate and conserve all the interests of life*. It must dominate all of life. All highly developed religions by their very nature must claim to be dominant. They either are supreme or are nothing, for God, who is the soul of religion, either is supreme or he is nothing. Religion is not one interest among several, but it is by its

very nature the chief interest and the one that gives significance to all others. The Christian religion does not differ from other religions in this respect. It claims sovereignty over all of human life. It can make good this claim only by having as its central idea an idea that will be recognized as rightfully dominant in all of life. Therefore it must be an idea that conserves all vital human interests. The moment that any real human interest in any department of life is jeopardized by an alleged central idea of Christianity, that moment the idea loses its right to be considered central, or, if it is really central, then Christianity itself is discredited.

The Norm of Constructiveness

This conception of the central idea of Christianity as one that can dominate and conserve all human interests at once brings a closely related characteristic into view. It must *recognize man's divine call to work creatively on his environment*. Men, especially in modern times, are characterized by a passionate purpose to subdue their environment. The spirit of man feels itself set by an irresistible inner impulse to master the forces that sometimes play about it with a fascinating fury of power and at other times move with the quiet majesty of inexhaustible strength. These forces challenge man to understand them and to co-operate with them in the further shaping of the world. In response to this challenge he not only has discovered in their action a process of continuous creation by evolution running back through countless ages—a discovery which is itself a wonderful achievement—but he now proposes nothing less than

in conjunction with these forces to take an intelligent share himself in the process of evolutionary creation. He will not only create new fruits and flowers, but he will so change social conditions as to create new types of human life. The modern prophets of humanity can see in these deep stirrings of the human soul the beginnings of a new career for humanity. The human creature will prove himself made in the image of the Creator by becoming himself a voluntary, purposeful creator, and with no clearly marked limit to the range of his creative operations. This creative career opens not only before the great creative geniuses of humanity but before all the men who do the common work of the world. Where one genius presses forward to enlarge the scope of creative human activity by showing a new opportunity, there ten thousand push forward after him to use the opportunity. Mr. Edison by a single step forward in the mastery of electric force may bring into view a new field of activity that calls for a million workmen to occupy it. This passion for the creative mastery of environment, expressing itself in science, art, and industry, is so central and vital in the nature of man, that it must find recognition in any statement of the central idea of Christian theology. It is not enough to say that Christian thought must adjust itself to all permanent advances made in any department of knowledge. It is not merely the much discussed adjustment between Christian theology and science that is to be sought, as if these two were diverse interests seeking reconciliation. Something deeper than this is demanded. The

human passion for the exercise of creative power which underlies all science and art and industry must be recognized as central in the nature of man and so must be incorporated into the central idea of Christian theology. There have been times in the history of Christian thought when this idea would have been resented. Christianity has sometimes seemed to Christian thinkers to be set in enmity over against the world and to be chiefly concerned to get men happily out of the world after having had as little as possible to do with it. And yet Christianity has always been at heart an insistent call to action; a call to the emphasis and development of personality through action.

The Norm of Spiritual Supremacy

The central idea of Christian theology must be *one that shall present to men the unity and nearness of a friendly spiritual world*. That is, it must hold before men the idea of an unseen friendly God, and a vast sphere of his unseen operation. One aspect of this unseen spiritual world may well be the so-called material world that men see and work upon with such passionate enthusiasm, but this material world is only an aspect of something greater into which men work their way through scientific research, through creative art and industry, and most of all through responsive spiritual activity within the soul. It is the very essence of all religions to hold before the minds of men the idea of God. They conceive the nature of God variously and present various methods of human approach to God. The Christian religion, chiefly under the influence of Jesus, uses the symbolic word "Father" to describe the

friendly, unseen God. It represents the unseen Father to be invariably near to his human children, doing for, with, and through them all the things that the growing significance of the word "Father" has led men to think that the unseen Father would wish to accomplish. In the Christian centuries this idea has taken various and sometimes strange forms. In calling God a personal God men have sometimes forgotten their real ignorance of what the word "personal" means and have thought of him simply as an infinitely expanded human personality. They have ascribed to him artificial and repellent attributes. But nevertheless this germ idea of the Heavenly Father, so wonderfully presented in the life and teaching of Jesus, has run vitally through the experience of the Christian centuries, changing its form but retaining its identity and increasing its influence. The unity and nearness of a friendly spiritual world is a part of the central idea of Christian theology.

The Norm of Redemption

The central idea of Christian theology must be so stated as to *present the redemptive character of Christianity*. Christianity belongs with the redemptive religions of the world and considers itself to be by far the most efficient of them. It is *the great* redemptive religion of the world. That is, it proposes to redeem or free men from the burden of guilt and fear. In modern times something has been accomplished in analyzing the sense of guilt. Probably this age is able to see more clearly than some other ages the real nature and source of guilt. Christian teaching has sometimes developed

an artificial sense of sin. Men have felt guilty in view of certain tendencies and phenomena in their bodies and souls for which they did not need to feel guilty. These phenomena were necessarily characteristic of beings rising from the dominance of the animal to the dominance of the spiritual element in them. But there has resulted from this analysis of the sense of guilt a more intelligent affirmation of what guilt really is, of its universal presence in human life, and of the necessity of some kind of redemption from it. Guilt is more and more clearly seen to result from actively warring against, or pulling sluggishly down as a dead weight on, the rising civilization of invincible good will purposed by God for the life of the world. He is guilty who will not respect his neighbors' interests as conscientiously as he respects his own, who stifles the instinctive cry of his own spiritual nature for friendly intercourse with others and encourages the savage animal instinct which proposes to take what it wants regardless of the interests of others. From this awful sin that is both suicidal and anarchistic, that wars against the higher self, against other men and God, Christianity proposes to redeem men.

This purpose came clearly out at the beginning in the career of Jesus, especially in the death with which that career seemed for a time to have ended. This is not the place to discuss what it was in the career and especially in the death of Jesus that was so powerfully redemptive. The variety of theories on the subject, which have been formed in the history of Christian thought, is sufficient to prove that here again we have an idea that appeared in the beginning as a germ

and that has been unfolding in more or less fruitful forms ever since. The central idea of Christian theology is not necessarily identified with any one of these theories. The process of redemption has been going on through the Christian centuries, and at the forefront of Christian thought today stands the ancient proposal to redeem man from the power and guilt of the selfish life. In redemption from guilt is involved also enlarging redemption from that fear which all profound natures more or less keenly feel, fear of the mystery of the universe, fear of the mysterious abysses that yawn within the soul.

That which has become clearer than it once was is the purpose of the redemption. A new meaning is given to the traditional Christian word "salvation" by a better understanding of that to which men are saved. Men are saved to a career in which they work creatively together upon their material environment and together make gain in their acquaintance with the real and ever-present spiritual world of the Heavenly Father. For success in such a career men must be redeemed from bondage to the selfish habit because such a career involves unselfish co-operation with God and men. Men must be redeemed to a life in which there is growing realization of the ideals of sonship and brotherhood.

The Norm of Acknowledged Immortality

The central idea of Christianity must involve *recognition of man's immortality*. Man's desire for life after death is ages old. In modern times the present life has been so filled with the opportunity for achievement that men have some-

times seemed to be engrossed in the present to the exclusion of any thought about a life to come. The present life has seemed to them to afford ample opportunity for the gratification of legitimate ambition. But closer scrutiny of human experience shows that men do not rest content with the present life. The more full of opportunity the present life is seen to be, the more valuable it becomes and the more intolerable is the thought that it should end abruptly and incomplete with so-called death. Even men who do not believe in immortality look forward with dread to the time when they must lay their fascinating work down. They experience the ineradicable native longing of the soul for immortality, the deep seriousness of which they sometimes unsuccessfully strive to disguise. Twelve years before Professor Huxley's death, with characteristic honesty and humor he ended a letter to John Morley as follows:

All our good wishes to you and yours. The great thing that one has to wish for as time goes on is vigour as long as one lives, and death as soon as vigour flags.

It is a curious thing that I find my dislike to the thought of extinction increasing as I get older and nearer the goal. It flashes across me at all sorts of times with a sort of horror that in 1900 I shall probably know no more of what is going on than I did in 1800. I had sooner be in hell a good deal—at any rate in one of the upper circles, where the climate and company are not too trying. I wonder if you are plagued in this way.

Ever yours,

T. H. H.

It is not simply the opportunity for fascinating achievement in the present life that makes men want more of it

after death. As human friendship grows more perfect in family and neighborhood life, with the rising tide of good will in the world, the more painful is the thought of its cessation at death. The conception of immortality that has sometimes seemed likely to displace the traditional idea of personal immortality is the conception of racial immortality. Each generation of individuals makes some contribution to the progress of the race and then in death ceases to exist, but the race goes on becoming more and more perfect in its civilization. An analysis of this idea reveals its utter inadequacy. A perfect civilization is one whose members are all perfectly related to each other. To be perfectly related to each other means to love each other. In the perfect civilization men will love each other with a depth of affection far surpassing that which they now feel. But the more perfectly they love each other, the more horrible will become the death that hopelessly blots out of existence the person so intensely loved. The so-called perfect civilization becomes something that can be anticipated only with dread. To describe such a civilization as perfect would be grim and awful irony. The only alternative is to recognize the fact that the perfection of friendship, which evolution teaches us must constitute the perfection of the ultimate civilization, logically involves personal immortality.

Therefore the promise of personal immortality with which primitive Christianity appealed so powerfully to the Greco-Roman world appeals with equal power to the wistful hearts and logical sense of modern men. The well-grounded expectation of personal im-

mortality is the unabashed possession of modern Christianity and must find recognition in any statement of its central idea.

The content of the immortal life, however, must be stated in terms that will appeal to the modern man. A chief reason for the indifference to immortality that sometimes appears on the surface is the fact that the traditional descriptions of the life to come are not such as to make the future life seem worth while. Crowns, harps, songs, golden streets, ecstatic worship, and other figurative representations that appealed to the oriental imagination in the first century awaken no enthusiasm in the twentieth century. Men of the Occident, and of the awakening Orient as well, desire the joy of action, obstacles to be overcome, great enterprises to be undertaken, hard problems to be solved. If the modern man once becomes convinced that anything is really desirable he has no serious difficulty in considering it to be attainable. Modern Christian thought is shaping a picture of the future life which does seem desirable and which will therefore more and more kindle an enthusiastic expectation of life to come.

The elements in this picture of the future life are furnished by three outstanding facts of the present life: man's capacity for creative activity, his capacity for friendly combination with other men, and the unfinished character of the universe. The planet on which we live is an unfinished planet, and, as we have already noted, man is becoming conscious of creative power with which to carry on the unfinished work, with which to change environment and shape life especially through enterprises that

require the friendly co-operation of large numbers of men. But to the eyes of the modern man this planet is but a speck in a vast universe, and this vast universe is an unfinished universe; its worlds are in the making. The human mind finds intellectual rest only as it thinks of the universe in terms of personal significance, that is, as furnishing a scene for personal activity. Men with capacity for personal creative activity which finds scope for itself on the earth necessarily try to interpret the universe from the standpoint of experience on the earth. From some source personal beings like those developed on the earth must be poured into the unfinished universe. It is not strange that earth-men peering out among the stars with their telescopes, seeing with the eye of faith the corpuscles of the atom, reaching out under strong inner compulsion for the unseen hand of God and for friendly co-operation with their fellow-men, possessing a limitless ambition, should see their opportunity for endless life in the unfinished universe of God. The call to immortality sounds out to us from every point of the environment, as well as up from those inner depths where personality rests on God. It is the expectation of such an immortality that Christianity must extend to men in the statement of its central idea.

The Norm of a Personal Jesus

A statement of the central idea of Christian theology must *recognize the personality of Jesus Christ*. It is he who stands out historically as the founder of Christianity and his title "Christ" has given to our religion its designating

adjective. The Christian religion cannot state its central idea without reference to Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ stands out as the leader appointed by God to make the Christian religion, with its conservation of all human interests, dominant in the human race. The period of his leadership was not limited to the few months of activity in Palestine soon after the year 27 A.D., historically assigned to him. Christian thought has always regarded him as exercising active leadership after his death. He carried with him on into his immortal life the responsibility for making the Christian religion dominant in the race.

The nature of the experience soon after his death which convinced the disciples that he was still actively discharging this responsibility is not wholly clear. But it is perfectly clear that something occurred which gave them the triumphant conviction that their Lord was alive and possessed of spiritual energy sufficient for the conduct of his great enterprise. Through the centuries the Christian church has not ceased to look to him as its living leader and Lord. It has sometimes seen him obscurely; christological dogmas have sometimes made him seem artificial and lifeless, but in various forms devotion to him as a living personality has run through the Christian centuries.

If the Christian enterprise seems much broader today than the first Christians supposed it to be, still it has not outgrown his leadership. He is represented in the gospels to have assumed this leadership originally in the humble trust that God would make him equal to his task: "I can of myself do

nothing." "The Father abiding in me doeth his works." If he has had need of larger powers than were his at the beginning, doubtless God has given them to him. The process of unfolding that has gone on in humanity may well have gone on also in him, the leader and soul of humanity. The Synoptic Gospels clearly teach that he passed through a process of development between childhood and manhood, and they contain no hint that this development ceased in manhood or that it suddenly leaped to a fixed infinity at the moment of his death.

The Christian church has at various times tried to define, and must continue to try to define, his relation to God. The effort has never fully succeeded, because men do not yet know the real meaning of the metaphysical terms that would naturally be used in such definition. The words "personality," "man," and "God" lead into vast unexplored fields of thought. The central idea of Christian theology is not knit up with any existing metaphysical definition of the person of Christ. The Christian church has always felt and declared him to be a divine Lord and Savior without being able, or finding it necessary for the practical purposes of Christian experience, to be more explicit. That a metaphysical doctrine of the Trinity, always confessing itself to be incomprehensible, should so long be able to retain its place in Christian thought is largely explained by the fact that it has been a way, however inadequate, of recognizing the unique place which Jesus has actually maintained in centuries of Christian experience. Christian experience from the beginning down

to the present time has found him to be a unique expression of the "power of God unto salvation," the matchless personality through whose leadership God will establish his immortal social order, and who, as Paul said, will finally "deliver up the kingdom to God."

Summary

If we try now to gather up these characteristics of the central idea of Christian theology, we may say that it is the idea of a *Fatherly God working through Jesus Christ to redeem the human race from selfishness and give it immortal occupation in the development of the universe*. It is *the establishment by God of an unselfish human brotherhood under the redeeming leadership of Jesus Christ working together forevermore in the development of the universe*.

This idea has in it something of immediacy and concreteness, something definite to be done at once. At the same time it is big and vague enough to be an unfolding wonder forevermore. In the immediate foreground it presents Jesus Christ with his program of an unselfish social order in God's name claiming for it every man and proposing to redeem every man from his destructive bondage to the selfish habit. The apostolic message "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved" is the message also of the modern preacher, although his conception of the nature of salvation may differ in some details from that of the Apostolic age. He sees stretching away in the limitless distance the vast human brotherhood working together undisturbed by death at the great tasks and problems presented by an unfolding universe. In the center of

this brotherhood is still the figure of the Son of God, "a first-born among many brothers."

The elements in the central idea just outlined have always been present in some form in Christian experience. In all the centuries of subtle theological discussion more or less convincing about points more or less important, Christian hearts of men, women, and children have felt the purifying, redeeming power of the spirit of Jesus, leading them into

larger faith in the Heavenly Father and in each other; they have been doing together, on at least some small scale of co-operation, their daily work, as a task set for them by God; they have stood by their dead expecting to live with them again sometime and somewhere. The eager readiness with which these conceptions leap into the larger place made for them by modern thought may fill the heart of the Christian thinker and preacher with devout enthusiasm.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

I

THE HOPE OF THE EARLY CHURCH

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Christians are interested in politics as never before. The desire for human welfare on its moral as well as its economic side is the new factor which is everywhere transforming political life. In the very nature of the case the church is deeply concerned in this changing order. But what should be its relations with politics? How far may church and state mutually affect each other? An intelligent answer to such questions must spring from a knowledge of the history of the church's relations with political movements in the past. In the series of articles of which this is the first Professor Hall will sketch what this relationship has been as the basis for any judgment as to what it should be.

Politics was not in the foreground of early Christian thought. The class among whose members Christianity was making headway was politically and socially too weak, too unorganized and obscure to take any very vigorous interest in statecraft. Moreover, the "age"

was so soon to pass away, and the present duty of individual preparation for the coming "age" so pressing, that proclamation of the advancing reign of God and personal purification in anticipation of the coming judgment swallowed up all else. Nevertheless this very

proclamation was politically of profound importance, and in fact was both radical and revolutionary.

The Radicalism of Jesus

Christianity was no message of social patchwork, no program of gentle social amelioration by gradual reform. It doomed the present age, with its kings and princes, its rich men and rulers, its pride and despotism, to eternal destruction. Jesus felt there could be no compromise. Men could not serve God and Mammon (Matt. 6:24). Faith in this kingdom meant for Jesus and his earliest followers the abandonment of all the values that were linked with the ambitions of the ordinary life (Luke 14:33; Matt. 10:34-39). The world as Jesus knew it was condemned (Matt. 24:3-5; Mark 13:5-37). Not even the tremendous indictment by the Apocalypse of John of Rome and Caesarism exceeds the revolutionary fury that echoes in the words ascribed to Jesus by both Mark and Matthew and abundantly emphasized by Luke. Nothing would survive that judgment, neither the throne of the Caesars nor yet the Temple of Jerusalem (cf. also John 4:21). Even the famous answer so often misinterpreted, "Render to Caesar the things that be Caesar's, and to God the things that be God's," was really revolutionary. It put God and Caesar, where Jesus really considered them, at the two poles. This age was Caesar's, the judgment and coming age was God's. Men had to live their lives, it was true, in this age, but they were to live them as in stern quest for the new age, and were to go forth unhampered by any of the old age's ambitions. God and his justice were alone

worth while, and he who found these would have all the other values of life added unto him (Matt. 6:33). It was Jesus who exclaimed, "Let the dead bury their dead, go thou and proclaim the kingdom." God's reign and Caesarism had for Jesus nothing in common. There was no use drawing a sword to destroy individuals, the messengers of Caesar, they who lived by the sword died by the sword, but in due time God must judge and reign. This zeal for God and his righteousness was to grow and spread until all who were children of God had heard the message and then the kingdom would come as a thief in the night and a new earth and an age of purity and peace would dawn. The misnamed "Sermon on the Mount" is a later compilation of the constitution and morals of that new age drawn from several discourses of Jesus given at different periods of his ministry.¹ The whole vision is sweeping, thoroughgoing, and revolutionary. It fired a few followers with a deathless hope, it filled the mass of the power-possessing class with equally deathless hate. The only value of life, the only meaning of eternity was the fuller revelation of God's will. The present age was an age dominated by its own prince, and he had nothing in common with Jesus (John 14:30; 16:11). Jesus had come not to share his throne (Matt. 4:8-10) or dispute his supremacy in the present age, but to sweep the age away and establish the Father's reign. The ethics of Jesus centers about the personal purification of life in preparation for the coming kingdom. His theology is dominated by his revelation of the actual character of the Father whom he worshiped, and his religion was the love and hope and joy

¹ Cf. the author's *Messages of the Synoptic Gospels*, *ad loc.*

evoked by that Father of mercies, who summoned all his wandering children to penitence and trust.

The Attitude of Paul

It is perfectly evident that such a gospel could not be successfully watered down to a program of gradual political reform of the Roman Empire. And so far as Jesus organized any church it was only as a group of proclaimers of the coming kingdom. After the rejection and death of such a rebel against all earthly authority, that group started the life of proclamation, moved thereto by their triumphant faith in the resurrection of their great leader. This resurrection stamped the radicalism of Jesus as true. Hence the hatred of Saul of Tarsus. He was typical of the power-possessing class. Most of the modern descriptions of the ethics and religion of Jesus leave us wondering why Saul and the chief priests should so hate him and that the possessing class should kill him. But when we realize that Jesus rejected the whole social order in which they were so comfortable and foretold its destruction and its ultimate damnation, and that with such winning tenderness and such convincing grace, we cease to be surprised. None of us like to have our comfortable compromises ruthlessly exposed, or to see what seem to us the foundations of society attacked in the name of religion.

When Paul came to see in the risen Jesus the evidence that this age was, after all, passing away he also became the proclaimer of a messianic judgment, and he restlessly roamed the world seeking like the older apostles "such as were being saved" (Acts 2:47). But his

vision was related in much more distinctly Hellenistic forms, even though the thought itself remained thoroughly Jewish. No more than Jesus did Paul think of any gradual reform of the Roman Empire. It was, however, ordained of God, a minister of God for certain purposes. Obedience to it was duty, and as Rome protected Paul against Jewish fanaticism he saw in it a providential "minister of God to thee for good" (Rom. 13:4). At the same time Paul obeyed God rather than man, and though he felt no responsibility for the Roman Empire as such, yet he despaired of it. The mystery of lawlessness was at work (II Thess. 3-10), and whether the passage moves, as seems unlikely, in the world of political allusion, or is a reference to apocalyptic hopes, it certainly marks the strong early Christian sense of a coming struggle between the two realms of the passing age and the coming order.

The Early Church and Politics

At the same time two things were taking place that greatly modified the revolutionary attitude toward the existent social and political order. In the first place, the Messiah did not come as soon as was expected. Men and women fell asleep before the coming. And, secondly, in spite of Rome's occasional persecution, on the whole her general attitude of tolerance and real ignorance of what was going on made her the frequent protector against local hate and persecution. Theoretically Rome was doomed, and when under Nero, or Decius, or Diocletian persecution broke out then the old revolutionary apocalyptic attitude revived. But even then perse-

cution was generally local, officials were reachable by bribes or influence, and many found it easy to compromise. The fierce fanaticism of those who denounced their weaker brethren, and the constantly reviving narrowness of sectarian groups made the attitude of the responsible official church seem sane and well balanced, and so at last the protest against the social order and the existent world became simply a theory. The burden of the evangelical message was increasingly a call to individual purification, to loyalty to the Christian group and the proclamation of immortality. The group itself became a redemptive church, with sacraments and officers, and responsible for the well-being, spiritual and temporal, of its members. The separation from an evil world gives rise to an increasingly complex ethical casuistry, and a constantly changing relation of the Christian to the world he lived in. Even Paul is met by the difficulty of Christians going to dinner parties where meat was devoted to idols and then eaten. What was the honest Christian to do? Tertullian is deeply stirred by Christian soldiers bearing the crowns that Mithras' followers affected. The consciousness, however, of the entire contradiction between a Christian's life in the new age, and a soldier's profession is lacking. Just as the inner contradiction between the life of love and the relation of master to slave was not clear even to Paul. Politics were not the primary responsibility of the Christian groups, and so far as they touched them at all it was only as they touched trade and social life. Along one line alone Christian ethical consciousness marked the sharp contradiction between its ideal

and those of the heathen world about it. The amusements of the populace, its circus, its theaters, its dances, its excesses shocked and revolted men awakened to a sense of the redeemed life. Here in the middle stood the sexual interest. Judaism has never been ascetic, and has always strongly emphasized sane and normal attitudes toward the sexual relationship. But the moral feeling of the oriental world in its revolt against such excesses has constantly ended in a vain attempt at suppression of the natural instinct itself, and has defended that suppression by a doctrine of the inherent evil of life. Oriental asceticism is linked with an entire negation of all life. This negation sweeps in politics also. The world and all its belongings are evil. It was therefore increasingly easy for the seriously minded Christians, discontented with the growing conformity of the Christian church to the world without, to accept the ascetic ideals of orientalism and find in them the highest expression of the Christian life and hope.

In the acceptance of monasticism by the organized church a twofold attitude toward the state as toward the rest of life became inevitable. The highest Christian life consisted in the repudiation of life, with its politics, trade, marriage, home, amusements, and even ordinary conveniences. At the same time this was not demanded of all, and the everyday Christian could without peril to his soul accept the state and the world of occupations within the limits of an ill defined morality. The result was an aristocracy within the church with unrelated ideals of holiness. At the same time the growing organization could not long remain in this really anomalous

situation. In the first place, conflicts with the state became a constant menace. Moreover, as higher social levels came under Christian influence the question was forced home: What is the relationship of the Christian to the essentially heathen state? Then again the young Christian church was becoming increasingly dependent upon the culture of the heathen world about her, and she had to select those elements she deemed needful for her life and reject others which she felt were hostile. Now heathen culture centered about politics and statecraft. Plato, Aristotle, Cicero could not be even understood apart from their political and social inspirations. When Ambrose tried to translate the stoic code of morals into the language of the Christian church he was compelled to make many concessions to the growing recognition of the place of the state and the need of heathen culture.

Life is not dominated by reflection, but by purposes and interests. For the most part reflection only defends what has happened and analyzes the existing situation. As it happened the freedman class, among whom early Christianity had its main supporters,¹ was increasingly becoming the real political power, and Christian bishops were the most powerful figures in the community. Ambrose is himself an example of this growing political importance of the early church. The "age" was indeed one of vast confusion but showed no signs of passing away. The growing conformity to the world with its culture and its political life raised up from time to time fierce protests, as by the Montanists, but their watchwords were so ill chosen, their

efforts so obviously divisive and impossible, that the official church had little difficulty in asserting herself as the ultimate authority, and in suppressing Marcion, the gnostics, and the still earlier sects.

The Substitution of the Church for the State

And yet world-flight remained in spite of all conformity to the really revolutionary ideal. In theory at least the heathen world with its statecraft and power was bad and was doomed. The flight from the world became increasingly a flight to the church, a refuge from the world in her sacraments and service. The highest guaranty of safety was found in a monastic seclusion from the world under her protection and auspices. The official church was primarily a religious and not either a political or a social institution. Yet circumstances forced her to recognition of the social and material needs of her membership (Acts 4:32-35; 6:1-6). The church became, more particularly in the West, an *imperium in imperio*, a world within the world, and having contact with the great world yet having her life within (John 17:15). Thus arose within her own life a world of politics. Leaders became necessary, and internal struggles for leadership often distracted her and even threatened her. Men received in this way training for affairs, and discovered capacity for moving their fellowmen in a degree that exclusion from formal political life made otherwise impossible. No doubt the church was only one agency doing this. Gilds, mystery cults, and the management of small vil-

¹ Cf. the author's *Social Setting of the Early Gospel*.

large localities compelled men to exercise their political gifts outside the world of official statecraft. At the same time the church was by far the most important of all these agents and was in immediate contact with the class to which, more than any other, the future belonged.

The disintegration of the Roman Empire resulting in the gradual separation of the East from the West, and the still more gradual rise of nationalities, was in a sense made possible by the training in organization given the freedman class in its management of the cosmopolitan church Paul founded. Long before the fourth century, when the church had become a political power which the empire had to consider, the individual provincial church was a dominant social factor. In Egypt rioting monks made Alexandrian civic affairs often difficult to manage. In smaller places no doubt the local church and local bishop were political figures. Tertullian about 212 (*ad Scapulam*) asserts that Christians are already in a majority in nearly every city. The fact of local persecution may easily have compelled the local church and its bishop to protect themselves by political activity. And yet nothing is more striking than the absence in the literary remains of any material enabling us to do more than guess at the relations of the local municipal churches to the local administration up to the time of Nicea. Eusebius notes that just before the Diocletian persecution (302) the rulers had committed to Christians the government of gentiles.¹ But before that time it is improbable that any very active part in the official life of the empire was possible for a Christian. The

adoration paid to the imperial standard shut out any who were not practically ready for any and every compromise of their faith.

The Political Triumph of Christianity

At the same time political life was slipping rapidly into the hands of the very class that Christianity had done so much to organize and to educate. So that long before either the old aristocracy or the farming peasants or the city proletariat were even in name Christian, the active forces in life were really dominated by a Christian minority. True it is that it was no longer the Christianity of Jesus or Paul that reigned in the churches. Mystery and magic, cult, sacrament, and doctrinal formulae had taken the place of priority over trust and conduct, personal loyalty to the purpose of God, and faith in a coming era of loving justice and family democracy. Outward unity had become the chiefest good, and a priestly order and a centralized power were exercising the old legal authority against which Jesus and Paul had so strongly and so effectively protested in the case of Judaism. Yet there the church stood, the one cosmopolitan force seemingly in contact with the whole world of thought and action. Her church buildings were already at the time of Diocletian many and imposing. Here men gathered while the temples were empty. Her bishops really ruled, and her organization was so strong and so world-wide that persecution beat upon her in vain, and all other religious cults sank into relative insignificance. Then at last politics came wooing the organized church.

¹ *H. E.* 8. 1. 2.

THE DUTY OF AMERICAN CHURCHES TO IMMIGRANT PEOPLE

MARY CLARK BARNES

Mrs. Barnes is the founder of the Fireside League, a movement intended to teach the immigrants to read and to speak English by the use of simple textbooks based upon the Bible. The success of the league gives particular value to the following article.

It seems to have been the need of an Immigrant Protective Association in Jerusalem which called into existence the first body of deacons in the Christian church. The fact of their being required to be men "full of the Spirit and of wisdom," as well as "of good report," indicates an estimate of the importance of the work assigned them. The complaint which led to their appointment was that some foreign women were being "neglected in the daily ministrations."

Today in America the neglected foreign element is so large a proportion of the entire population as to emphasize anew the need of the Spirit and of wisdom in dealing with it.

Much is being done by American churches through missions and missionary workers to give religious instruction to immigrant people in their own languages. Nobly Christian in motive and in aim as this work undoubtedly is, it cannot fully meet the needs of the multitude of strangers within our gates who are handicapped in every phase of the struggle of life by their ignorance of the language of the country in which they are living.

In the last 1900 years and, notably, in the last nineteen years, we have learned something of the value of pre-

ventive measures in dealing with need. Today we all agree that if an able, industrious man or woman is unable to earn a living wage because of inability to understand and speak the English language, the religious as well as the scientific way of meeting the need is to teach the language in order to make possible the earning of a living wage, rather than to arrange for permanently supplementing the diet by means of a bread-line or through a charity soup-kitchen.

The ability to understand and to speak English is the strongest implement of self-help that can be given in America to one unacquainted with our language. Without it all other helps are inadequate if not impotent. This is true not only in relation to economic need but also in relation to great ethical needs in immigrant homes.

The state through its public schools, the churches through their Sunday and industrial schools, philanthropy through child-welfare organizations, all are engaged in ministry to children. Inadequate results, especially in the case of the children of immigrants, are due to failure to include parents as well as children in the ministry of teaching.

In the case of a family transplanted from Central or Southern Europe or

Asia or Africa to America—a country whose language, customs, standards of life are as new, as incomprehensible to the parents as to the children—the welfare of the community requires that the parents as well as the children be reached as early as possible with Americanizing influences.

The children of immigrants, required by law to be educated in English, acquire the new language and the new standards of life in an almost incredibly short time. Then comes the rift in the family life.

The child counts himself an American; salutes the Stars and Stripes with a grace all his own; sings "My Country 'Tis of Thee" as lustily as any descendant of the writer of our National Hymn; and feels a growing consciousness of the inability of his foreign-looking, foreign-thinking, foreign-acting, foreign-speaking father and mother to guide him in ways of American life. Out of school he becomes a law unto himself, with the inevitable results found in court records.

Next to love, the primary, fundamental need of childhood is recognition of and reverence for parental judgment and authority. That need can be met only through parental understanding, appreciation, sympathy, guidance. Love, however great, needs for efficient expression the medium of a common speech, the inspiration of common ideals.

How many churches are engaged in the ministry of teaching English to immigrant parents, enabling them to keep in sympathetic touch with their children, to maintain the normal relation of guidance and control, and to incite them to careers of usefulness and honor?

Acquaintance with the English language is necessary to our immigrant people, not only as a means of meeting economic need and ethical need in their own families, but to enable them to be helpful factors in the communities in which they live.

A government of the people by the people cannot long be held at a level higher than the people. By as much as the number of citizens in the alley exceeds the number of citizens on the avenue—by so much can the alley outvote the avenue on any issue that may arise. Each year brings a million opportunities for promoting new ideals of Christian citizenship. At the present rate, this generation will see the arrival of 33,000,000 immigrants, more than 26,000,000 of them speaking languages other than English, and bringing with them habits, customs, ideals as alien as their speech. Have American churches any special message with which to meet this great incoming tide of human life?

In some sections a demand is heard that, in deference to the new-comers, Bible-reading and even the singing of hymns be banished from our public schools. Were this demand to be granted we should present to the world the spectacle of a nominally Christian nation in which the national system of education fails to acquaint the rising generation with the source of those ideals which are fundamental to the national life and character—a system of education ignoring the existence of that literature which by the verdict of history has been more potent in modern civilization than any other body of literature that the world ever has known.

The great majority of our non-English-speaking immigrants come from countries in which the Bible is not an open book, and in which they have had little opportunity to judge of its value. Professor J. R. Green, the great historian of the English people, says of the making of modern England: "No greater moral change ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years which parted the middle of the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament. England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible. . . . Far greater than its effect on literature or social phrase was the effect of the Bible on the character of the people at large. . . . Its effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was simply amazing. The whole temper of the nation was changed. A new conception of life and of man superseded the old. A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class."¹

This is the dispassionate verdict, not of an ecclesiastic but of a clear-eyed historian of national life. Does America need today less than England needed three hundred years ago, "a new moral and religious impulse?"

That new religious consciousness which the great historian describes as coming into England with the coming of the Bible in the common speech of the

people was strongly dominant in those who crossed the sea to make the new England and the new nation on these shores. Today the old Pilgrim stock is fading out and is being replaced by immigrants who never have known the experience which Professor Green so vividly describes. To them, even as to the people of old England three hundred years ago, the teachings of the Bible in the speech of everyday life would fall "on ears which custom had not deadened to their force and beauty."

Protestant Christians have gloried in the independence of church and state in America. Have American churches realized their consequent obligation as well as privilege, to supply in the life of the people that which the state may fail to give?

EDITORIAL NOTE.—Readers of the above article will be glad to know that the first volume for the use of the Fireside League, entitled *Early Stories and Songs for New Students of English* (Fleming H. Revell & Co., New York and Chicago), was prepared by Mrs. Barnes. The volume contains forty-one lessons, twenty of which are based upon Old Testament stories, and nineteen upon New Testament stories, one upon the Beatitudes, and one upon the Lord's Prayer. In addition there are ten so-called songs selected from the Psalms, and an appendix containing number, time, and money lessons. The book is charmingly illustrated, and both by its method and appearance sorely tempts the reader to test its value on the nearest immigrant within his reach.

¹ *A Short History of the English People*, chap. viii, pp. 1 and 2.

THE DOCTRINE OF SATAN

I

IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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The early Christian writers devoted pages to their discussion of the work of Satan and devils. They saw their presence both in idols and in philosophers. Whence did this belief originate? How far is it an essential element of Christianity? Is it an inseparable part of biblical belief? These questions are not academic. Among the rank and file of Christians to believe in a personal devil is often made a test of orthodoxy. This article of Dr. Caldwell's is the first of three in which he traces the history of the doctrine of Satan in the Old Testament, in the inter-biblical literature, and in the New Testament.

When we begin the study of the Old Testament we are likely to be surprised to find that Old Testament piety arose and flourished without some elements of doctrine which to modern Christians often seem indispensable. For example, it has been a source of wonder that Judaism could furnish so many martyrs to the ideals of a supra-mundane life without the hope of a blessed personal immortality. In like manner, it must strike the general reader of the Bible as being strange, if true, that no such person as the devil of traditional theology appears in the Old Testament. In the theology of many Christians the doctrine of the devil is only second to the doctrine of God, and the devil is an indispensable part of the machinery of faith and piety.

It may be admitted, however, with reference to Old Testament faith, that some form of dualism was probably always present. There was of course no place for any sort of Persian dualism, positing an eternal struggle between two self-existent deities, the one good, the

other evil. For the God of Israel is supreme and beside him there is no other. But there is a dualism in experience. There is an evil side to Nature and to human life. And so we are not surprised to find recognition of this dualism in early times. Israelites believed in evil spirits dwelling in wild wastes away from the habitation of man, although the references are often obscure and the translation of the Authorized Version misleading. (For example, Deut. 32:17; Lev. 17:17; Isa. 13:21; 34:14, etc.) But it may be worth while to examine one case of obscure reference, viz., to Azazel, which seems to be a demon of the desert.

Azazel

In Lev., chap. 16, we have the mention of Azazel in connection with the great Day of Atonement, but there is no explanation. "And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats: one for the Lord and the other for Azazel. And Aaron shall bring the goat upon which the Lord's lot fell, and offer him for a sin-offering. But the goat on which

the lot for Azazel fell, shall be presented alive before the Lord, to make atonement with him and let him go to Azazel in the desert."

It must be admitted at the outset that one of the latest and best authorities (Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, 1906) explains the word Azazel not as a proper name, but as a reduplicated, intensive, abstract formation, meaning "entire removal"—in this case, "entire removal of sin and guilt from sacred places into the desert on the back of a goat, the symbol of entire forgiveness." But this view has some very strong opponents who take the word as a proper name of a spirit haunting the desert. Nestle says, "If one reads Lev., chap. 16, with an open mind, the impression is that Azazel must be related to Yahweh in something of the same way as Ahriman to Ormuzd, or Satan (Beelzebub) to God" (*Encyc. Religion and Ethics*). Cheyne supposes the ritual of Azazel on the Day of Atonement was partly to provide the ignorant people with a visible token of the removal of sins of the year, partly to abolish the cultus of the *Seirim* by substituting a single personal angel, Azazel (evil no doubt by nature, but rendered harmless by being bound), for the crowd of impersonal and dangerous *Seirim*. Azazel seems to have been one of the spirits haunting the wilderness which had received a name and a place and been clothed with attributes sufficiently well known to those for whom the ritual was intended, however vague to us. Origen identifies Azazel with Satan, as he does also the serpent of Gen., chap. 3. Benzinger accepts Reuss's statement that "the

conception of Azazel lies on the way which led later to the devil."

The Serpent

Next it will be necessary to speak of the Serpent in the account of the Fall, which traditional theology has identified with the devil. We do not have here a personal Satan, but we have a subtle animal performing functions later assigned to the devil, as tempter, calumniator, and hinderer. For the serpent is represented as tempting man, calumniating God, and hindering the progress of innocence by introducing sin into the new creation. He mars man's relation with his fellow-man: the guilty pair must hide from each other by means of fig leaves. He mars man's relation to God: the transgressors seek to hide from God among the trees.

With minds formed by the traditional theology, the interpretation given by the New Testament, and the popular conceptions of Milton, Bunyan, and Luther, and mediaevalism in general, it is difficult, indeed it requires a kind of act of self-denial, not to see the devil in the serpent and to hear his voice as the serpent speaks in the well-known devilish, questioning, denying, false-promising way (Gen. 3:4, 5). But the story is pre-exilic, and moves in a time when the full conception of a personal Satan had not arisen on Hebrew soil. The sacred writer knows God as good and man as innocent, but he finds sin knocking at the door in the subtlety of one of the animals that had passed before man.

And yet this animal does not appear to be an ordinary animal. It is endowed with the faculty of speech and

inspired with occult wisdom, able to prophesy the effect of eating from the forbidden tree. The serpent appears as a medium of the power of temptation. Its function is to present the outward object with suggestions calculated to stir the sinful desire within the soul. It makes the appeal of apparently superior wisdom to the natural inclinations of innocence—an appeal to the senses. When curiosity and suspicion have been aroused and assurance given of the harmlessness of the inhibited act and promises given of its magic effect, the excited desire does the rest. Under the skilful stimulation of the serpent the act comes to have a value for life which overcomes the center of consciousness and sends all scruples to the periphery. The act is the free choice of the soul, conditioned by its endowment and environment.

The wisdom of the serpent is proverbial (Matt. 10:16). This ascription of wisdom to the serpent rests not on observation but on inference. Its movements, its powers of fascination, suggest a demonic character which has been attributed to it. Still it is a beast of the field and a creature of Jehovah, although it has superhuman knowledge, the power of speech, and hostility to God. The beast is not simply a sharp suggester of thoughts which become evil in human consciousness and act, but it is itself regarded as evil.

This is the sober, literal statement of the serpent as one of Jehovah's creatures. But a literal interpretation of the story yields results which, if they do not contain an inner contradiction, at least leave us with the feeling that we have not fully fathomed some hidden mystery.

Perhaps the sacred writer has availed himself of an earlier story in which the demonic character of the serpent was as clear as it is here obscure. The serpent elsewhere is worshiped as a good demon. Such worship may form the background of this story. If then the monotheistic principle has not completely eliminated all the mythological features of the story which was to be used for ethical and religious purposes, we can better understand the difficulty of interpreting it on Old Testament soil where animals do not elsewhere exhibit any analogous powers. The difficulty could not be met by exegesis; it had to be met in later Judaism, not by a literal interpretation of the story, but by a higher deliverance which was essentially a new construction of the facts of human life and experience.

The surprising thing is that the later Jewish and New Testament conception seems to be more in accord with Persian mythology, of an incarnation of an evil spirit, than with the narrative before us, which gives no hint of an external evil person speaking through the serpent, but represents the serpent simply as one of Jehovah's creatures, only more subtle than the rest. The sacred writer gives us no clue to the origin of evil, but he has given us a masterly psychological analysis of the process of temptation through suggestion of doubt, assumption of superior wisdom that knows how to deny the evil and promise the good, and through the aesthetic, intellectual, and utilitarian appeal of the "forbidden fruit" itself.

The curse upon the serpent knows nothing of anything but the beast and its posterity. It is to go upon its

belly, eat dust, and endure man's enmity.

Satan

The word Satan is often used in the Old Testament as a verb, meaning to be or act as an adversary. Satan as a noun means a human adversary as in I Sam. 29:4, or a superhuman adversary as in Num. 22:22. Satan as a proper name occurs in not more than three passages in the Old Testament, and they are all late and probably not independent of each other: Job. 1:6, 2:1; Zech 3:1, 2; I Chron. 21:1. Perhaps only the last has the right to be called strictly a proper name. In the Septuagint, under later influences, it is translated *diabolos* (*B-D-B. Lex.*).

There can be no reasonable doubt that the doctrine of Satan suffered some assimilation to the Persian doctrine of Ahriman. But the Persian influence has often been exaggerated. There was an internal process of development within the life of Judaism, in which the monotheistic principle was regulative. In the earlier Scriptures angels appear as bearers of blessings, curses, and commands of God (Judg. 5:23), but often they are, like the Word and Wisdom, only functionally separate from God. "The *function* of an angel so overshadows his personality that the Old Testament does not ask who or what the angel is, but what he does." Angels that have evil tasks are not themselves thereby evil, since God is the author of evil (Amos 3:6). And they are merely his executives. Angels appear in the Old Testament mediating God's judgments, his chastisements, and his testings. For example, the destroying angel that smote the Egyptians, the angel of pestilence that brought

chastisement to David, and the angels that came in later times to challenge character. These latter especially concern us here. In this regard the Book of Job is worthy of special examination, for its prologue mentions one of the "sons of God," or angels, called Satan or Adversary. Anything like a clear outline of Satan appears here for the first time in the Old Testament. But even here it is *the* Satan. The presence of the article denotes the function of adversary rather than a character personally adverse to the good. The Satan appears among the angels who form the council of heaven about the king on the throne. It is the duty of the Adversary to challenge and test the good. He is the enemy of sham and false pretensions. He reports for duty to the king and executes his will, and yet he is not a mere instrument; he is an intelligent servant who knows how to offer suggestions for a test-experiment, and he is jealous for the honor of God. There is no suggestion of a fallen angel filled with rebellion and hatred to God. Satan is a person more than functionally separate from God, but always under the divine will and powerless without the divine permission. He is a servant who knows how to disappear when his work is done. When Job's "friends" arrive there is no need for Satan.

The scene in Zech., chap. 3, is akin to that in Job. Satan challenges the standing of the restored community in its faded glory, misery, and meanness. Its representatives are diminished men with shallow godliness, when compared with the great figures of the past. The thoughts must arise, Can God take these poor men and build a new church-

nation? The men are once more on holy ground, but is their character worthy, their repentance deep, their reconciliation real? Is this movement man's or God's for the founding of a new Kingdom in righteousness and glory and strength? These thoughts, which have distressed the faithful, receive objective dramatic presentation in Zech., chap. 3. Joshua the high priest represents the people, clothed in filthy garments. He stands before the Lord and Satan stands at his right to oppose him. In other words, we have on the one side God's love and grace shown in the restoration and the danger of complaisance in filthy or mean garments, on the other side the severe, trying, testing providence of God. Both in the case of Job and of Joshua, God and the good are justified and Satan is defeated, and in a certain sense condemned. In the one case it is said of Satan, "Thou didst set me on against him" (Job), in the other, "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan." Satan can do nothing beyond the permission of God, and God's ultimate purpose throughout is benevolent. But still it cannot be denied that the prosecuting attorney seems to relish the task before him, the censor tends to become censorious, the criminal lawyer to become criminal.

Envy and hatred and desire to mis-

lead are not far away from one who has no belief in human virtue and the sincerity of human repentance and the disinterestedness of human piety. "Satan shows an assiduity slightly too keen in the exercise of his somewhat invidious functions."

The last book of the Old Testament that speaks of Satan is I Chronicles. In this book (21:1) we read that Satan rose up against Israel and moved David to number the people; this is regarded as a sin. The same act of David is recorded in II Samuel (24:1), but here it is said, "God moved David." We have here a change from Hebrew to Jewish theology, reminding us of the great change that took place in Christian theology in the opening of the nineteenth century, when one of the founders of Methodism said to the high Calvinists, "Your God is my devil." The author of the passage in Samuel does not hesitate to attribute a direct agency to God from which the later writer shrinks. We have the same facts, David, a census, a pestilence; but the theological construction is different. A different idea of God and his relation to the world is reflected in the Chronicler. With him God cannot tempt to evil. The explanation of David's conduct is simple: "Satan stood up against Israel and provoked David to number Israel."

BERGSON AND RELIGION

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Two philosophers are just now dominating public interest, Rudolf Eucken and Henri Bergson. Both are lecturing in America during the present year. Of the two Bergson is the less known and the more unique. He was brought to the attention of the American people by William James, but since the translation of his "Creative Evolution" most intelligent persons have at least a knowledge of his central positions. Professor Macintosh presents the religious bearing of his thought in this lucid article.

The philosophy of Henri Bergson, who visits America this winter, is undoubtedly the most *interesting* system of thought before the thinking world today. The secret of the great attention being given the works of this French philosopher is to be found probably not so much in their remarkable literary charm as in the striking and original character of their thought. Even the non-philosophical are becoming impressed with the idea that here at least is a philosophy which promises to "make a difference"; and philosophers who had devoted long years to the discouraging attempt to produce a system of metaphysics at once scientific and satisfactory to the spirit of man have been stirred up to a renewed discussion of the fundamental nature of reality.

As a matter of fact, Bergson has succeeded in awakening this interest in his ideas chiefly because as a philosopher he has been like the scribe who became a disciple of the new faith; he has qualified himself to bring forth out of his treasure things new and old. He has returned to a philosophical method which is the oldest of the old, while at

the same time he continues to make use of a philosophical category than which it would be difficult to find a newer. The method is the method of mysticism, of intuition; the category is the category of life—life in its evolutionary progress, as modern science has taught us to view it. But while new and old are combined in the employment of the old method of mystical intuition together with the new category of evolving life, the method is not entirely old, nor is the category entirely new. Mystical intuition is here presented as the newest development of modern scientific procedure, the most scientific sort of science. Bergson, who has been a laborious investigator of science, and especially of biological and psychological problems, thinks of his own method as being at every step rigidly scientific. On the other hand, into the new biological category the old is brought back, in the idea of *creative* evolution. It is not quite the old idea of creation; but then, that is nothing more than is to be expected in the production of the novel blend of such opposites as are to be found in the philosophy before us.

In speaking of the method as mystical, it was not meant to refer to any particularly religious procedure, but simply to mysticism in the more general sense. The method is to dispense with the well-worn concepts of technical thought, as well as with the discursive processes of reasoning; and, having thus excluded as far as possible the disturbing influence of intellect, to rest in an immediate awareness of the object. To others than himself, the mystical observer may appear illogical, in that he employs concepts to communicate that for the acquiring of which he sought to be rid of all concepts. But to the mystic himself the problem does not present itself as one of logic and consistency. He is fully conscious of the inadequacy of language to express the full content of his "revelation," but necessity is laid upon him, and woe to him if he preach not his gospel! So it has even been with the religious mystic, at any rate; and so, too, it seems to be with Bergson.

In expressing himself, then, the mystic must make use of some concepts, even when he inveighs most against the use of concepts. But these concepts ought to be, says Bergson, "pliant, mobile, almost fluid representations, always ready to adapt themselves to the fleeting forms of intuition." Of the more general concepts, or categories, the one which commends itself to our philosopher as least objectionable is the biological category to which we have referred. In this he may have been influenced by the common habit of setting up life and thought as opposite extremes. But in any case, what he means by "creative evolution" is what

he claims to discover by the scientific method of mystical intuition, viz., a cosmic *élan vital*—or "life-urge," as our translators poorly render it—ever differentiating itself into new individuals, who inwardly experience its reality, its onward flow, when they turn from everything spatial and become immediately aware of their own being in time, that wholly inner experience of duration. Evolution is called creative, but as interpreters we must not read into this term much more than the constant origination of the novel as an ultimate and ultimately inexplicable fact. It contains only the slightest residue of the idea of causal agency. Causality in the modern sense of necessary and unconditional antecedence and succession of phenomena, Bergson admits to a place in mechanical science, that very useful but very artificial device which man, as practical, substitutes for reality; but this idea of mechanical causation is to be entirely eliminated from metaphysics. And yet Bergson can scarcely be said to have in mind the older idea of causality as virtually identical with creative *activity*, when he speaks of creative evolution. In other words, although he rejects as utterly inadequate all mechanistic philosophies of life and reality, and makes use of the image of a cosmic stream of life, or consciousness, flowing down into matter as into a tunnel, to emerge again in the line of development leading to man, still, he does not find it necessary to account for the origination of the new after the manner of the former creationist doctrine. As adaptation does not argue prior design, so evolution, as he conceives it, proves

nothing as to prior involution; activity may exist without a subject, and creation without a creator. It is not surprising, then, that many religious people are finding the philosophy of Bergson both fascinating and full of promise, and yet at the same time not a little perplexing.

Having been asked by the editor of the *Biblical World* for a brief article on the religious significance of Bergsonism, the writer wishes to call attention to two possibilities in connection with this topic. One may speak of religion from the point of view of Bergson's philosophy, or one may speak of Bergson's philosophy from the point of view of what one takes to be the best type of religion. On the one hand, how much of the religious view of the world and of life would this philosophy sustain? On the other hand, how much of Bergson's doctrine can find a place for itself in a religious philosophy of reality?

With the former of these two questions it is not easy to deal. Indeed one may surely be excused if he hesitates to answer for Bergson a question which that writer is not yet ready to answer for himself. Quite recently interviewers have been informed that he has not yet worked out the religious implications of his system. His method has been to face one group of problems at a time and to work out solutions by rigidly scientific processes; having dealt with matter, life, and consciousness, he is now at work upon the study of ethics; later on, it is possible that he may make religion his subject of special investigation; that he will ever have anything to give the world on that subject, however, he is by no means sure.

But Bergson is known to be deeply interested in the subject of religion, and he is especially sympathetic with religious mysticism. Not long ago he was engaged in a special study of the lives of some of the mystics; and in an interview he spoke approvingly of LeRoy's *Dogme et critique*, and quite warmly of Segond's *La prière*. On the same occasion he expressed himself somewhat as follows: "Theology and metaphysics must approach each other more and more closely; they must come to employ the same method [mystical intuition]. The true metaphysic will be an immediate vision of reality, and the mystical experience is certainly that."

Our other question is: How much of Bergsonism can be assimilated with advantage by modern religious philosophy? If we are to attempt an answer to this, we must first undertake a brief critique of the philosophy in question, with special reference to its religious bearings. It will be seen, before the end of this article is reached, that in the writer's opinion a considerable part of the philosophy of Bergson has positive religious value; but we must first express some less favorable criticisms.

With reference to his intuitional method, let it be said that Bergson is too sweeping in his negations. His anti-intellectualism is carried so far as to confine real knowledge to the immediately felt. This would cut the foundation from under any definite theism. For while vital religion has always made much of immediate experience, it has always claimed to gain real knowledge of a *transcendent* Object

through such experience. In all but the most extreme developments of mysticism, the religious Object still remains largely transcendent, even after it has entered into the religious experience of man. And for the knowing of the transcendent, representative ideas are required. We must make and employ concepts, not only in communicating thought, but even in thinking; and while "concepts without intuition are empty," it is no less true that "intuition without concepts is blind." Bergson is pragmatist enough to allow to concepts an indispensable practical value, but he is not pragmatist enough to find in such practical value a valid criterion of truth.

But while in the negative direction just noted Bergson carries his intuitionism too far, it is equally true that in its positive application he has not as yet—at least in any of his published works—carried it far enough. We could wish that so gifted an interpreter of life would take up seriously the task of applying his intuitional metaphysical method to the study of religious mysticism.

Corresponding to our two criticisms of Bergson's mystical method, there are two main criticisms to be made with reference to his use of the biological conception of creative evolution. He pushes the idea of life's creative process too far in one direction, while in another respect he does not apply it in a sufficiently thoroughgoing fashion. In general, spontaneous evolutionism is made unduly prominent at the expense of a genuinely creative activity.

It is remarked by Höfding, in his *Problems of Philosophy*, that meta-

physics consists in an interpretation of the whole through the part, this part being some element of the whole, selected as a *type-phenomenon*. Some philosophers take *matter* as this type-phenomenon, and from this part of reality they seek to learn the nature of the whole; others select *life*, and still others choose *thought*. Bergson's fundamental category, as we have seen, is the intermediate one of *life*, and by selecting it he has indeed been able to avoid the manifest one-sidedness of materialism at the one extreme and absolute idealism at the other. But why should matter be interpreted as a phase of life, any more than life as a phase of matter? And why should thought, intelligence, be degraded to the level of a mere biological utility, inferior to unintelligent instinct as a guide to truth, any more than it should be made the whole warp and woof of the universe? Why should we not leave matter, life, and thought side by side, as possibly irreducible elements of reality, rather than do violence to the nature of any one of them by prematurely explaining it as a phase of one of the others? And perhaps it may be possible to find some fundamental category which will do equal justice to all.

This leads me to speak of the other criticism of Bergson's use of the biological category: viz., that, although at times he interprets living as acting, he does not apply comprehensively enough the idea of life in its essential aspect of *creative activity*. This was the original, and is still, I take it, the real significance of the causal category. Of course Bergson is committed from

the start against making any fundamental use of the categories recognized by mechanical science; but causation, interpreted as creative activity, is no longer a mechanical concept. Moreover, where causation is creative activity, the cause is *something which acts creatively*, and what it is, is to be learned in the light of what it does. Bergson does not share this view, but that may be because he is required to reject it by some of his other doctrines, which are not themselves beyond criticism. If, as he claims, no intellectual processes can have any real knowledge-value, there can be no real knowledge of the transcendent; and if no knowledge of the transcendent, then no knowledge of any subject of active processes, as such. But a little more pragmatism, as we have already hinted, would have enabled our immediatist to use intellect as a means of arriving at genuine truth, and that without falling into the snare of a vicious intellectualism.

But from the point of view of this paper, what is to be said in criticism of Bergson in connection with this idea of creation is not simply that he does not think of it sufficiently in terms of activity, and of activity in relation to something acting—a criticism which we have yet to justify positively—but also that he does not apply it all in some cases where creative activity is the one category that can reduce the facts to rational order. I refer particularly to his doctrine of perception, as contrasted with his doctrine of memory. Memory, according to Bergson, is a genuine creative activity, it is the beginning of spirit. It creatively produces images

of selected portions of the past, and reads them into the present experience, thus transforming data of sense into the physical objects of the spatial world. If all these created memory-elements could be eliminated, there would be left the real object, matter, the data of "pure perception" or sense. There is a suggestion of Hegel here, but in his taking of the sense-elements as ultimate, simply "given," Bergson is in agreement with practically all philosophy. And yet, unless we are greatly mistaken, it is just here, where Bergson is at one with all philosophy, rather than in some other places, where he differs from all previous thought, that we find the most fatally vulnerable point, the Achilles-heel, of his system. If sense-elements are simply *data*, things given, three alternatives present themselves. They may be regarded as the products of matter, either treated as ultimate by the materialist, or explained away in terms of idea by the idealist. Or, they may be regarded as products of some substance or substances which the human understanding can never know, as is supposed by the Agnostic. Or finally, if intellect itself be explained away, these sense-data must be themselves identified with matter; and here the perplexities of the Bergsonian metaphysics are the result. Life, which is empirically dependent upon pre-existent matter for its sustenance, is here made the originating cause of matter; and so the metaphysic which was to have dispensed with the transcendent and with all concepts has after all to suppose a transcendent, cosmic Life, which it knows, not immediately, but only by means of a concept—and that, remark-

ably enough, the previously rejected category of cause!

Our alternative suggestion we would offer as a hypothesis. Why not treat the so-called data of sense in the same way as the data of memory, and regard them as the created products of our own individual life, operating here as sense-activity in a manner analogous to its operation as memory? If sense-activity, the producing of the sense-qualities of physical objects on occasion of stimulation by those objects, can be regarded as an activity inherited from a long line of animal and human ancestors, in which it was a gradually developed habit, indispensable for proper adjustment to a physical environment, then a whole multitude of venerable philosophical problems are solved with a moment's consideration, and the way is opened up for a system of metaphysics, at once empirical, scientific, and satisfactory to the spiritual consciousness of man.

This will seem a good deal to say, and the limits of this article, already sadly transgressed, forbid its adequate defense. But what is meant may at least be indicated in a general way. The old and again new problem of realism or idealism is solved in a way that does justice to both sides, the independent reality of the physical object, and the creative activity of sense and mind in the constitution of its sense-qualities and those thought-elements which represent such qualities as are permanently objective. There is suggested, too, a unitary view of consciousness. It is to be regarded as the creative activity of the ego, the *psyche*—or whatever we may call the

subject of consciousness—in several different forms. In the form of sense-activity it is the producing of the qualities of sense and feeling; in the form of memory, imagination, and conception, it is, as Bergson says, the creative production of the images and symbols concerned; as judgment it is, as Dewey has long contended, the production, by means of an idea or predicate, of that particular change in reality which the practical purpose underlying the judgment required; and finally, the spiritual consciousness is seen to be creative activity under the guidance of ideals, themselves the products of the creative activity of the self—a view which is measurably close to Eucken's doctrine of *ein durchbrechendes, geistiges Leben*. After the explanation of consciousness will come the analogous interpretation of "subconsciousness." This is creative activity which in its effects, is, for all the world, *as if* it were conscious; only *we* are not, in our ordinary conscious activity, directly aware of it as conscious; nor are we able, as in the conscious life of others, to get quite convincing indirect knowledge of it as conscious.

This leaves us with matter, organic life, and God still to account for. But even here our concept of creative activity does not fail us. Much has been done by Hans Driesch, as well as by Bergson and others, to show that the presence and activity of another factor, in addition to purely mechanical forces, must be supposed, if we are adequately to explain biological development and the other phenomena of organic life. Here then we have physical life as creative activity on the part of

what we may, for the moment, consent with Driesch to call "entelechy."

Through Ostwald and others we have been familiarized with the interpretation of matter in terms of energy. Ostwald goes to the extreme of trying to explain the whole spiritual universe as being simply various forms of *physical* energy. We cannot and need not follow him in all this, but his energistic doctrine of matter, with some modifications, readily falls in with what has been said of creative activity. Our most scientific view of matter today is that it is something which affects other things, physical and psychical, creatively producing, whether with or without their co-operation, certain changes in them.

And as for the object of religious dependence, is not vital religion able to say that there is a Factor in reality which makes effectively, acts creatively, for uplift in the spiritual life, in response to the proper religious adjustment?

What is this spiritual uplift which comes through religious experience but the creative activity of a *Holy Spirit*?

And how come these varied creative activities of physical energy, vital energy, sense-activity, memory, imagination, judgment, subconsciousness, the spiritual life, and the divine or Holy Spirit in the religious life to be so marvelously co-ordinated and subordinated, unless this universe be indeed itself an Organism, permeated by one all-co-ordinating Life? Then would even the physical world be the Holy Body of that Being whom in religious experience we know as the Holy Spirit. And here would be a "higher synthesis" of pantheism and deism, of immanence and transcendence, preserving the values of each, while yielding to the faults of neither.

Now this is not the philosophy of Bergson; but it can scarcely be said to have no positive religious significance, and perhaps without Bergson we should not have come to think in just this way.

THE PRESENT VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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A question that recurs to successive generations of biblical students is this: When men have accepted the main conclusions of the higher criticism, what is their attitude toward the Old Testament as one of the documents of our religion? Of course there are many

minds who do not find any problem here. There are conservative churches and conservative men in all the churches who accept the whole Bible as the word of God in the sense in which these words were used in the seventeenth century. This paper is not intended for them, but

for the increasing number of inquirers who see the force of the critical argument. These are confronted by the old question whether we can be true to our religion and yet intellectually honest. For intellectual honesty compels us to accept the results obtained by scientific methods. So far as the methods of the higher criticism are truly scientific, they compel acceptance. The man who fairly examines the Book of Isaiah (for example) by the methods applied to other ancient documents is forced to the conclusion that it is not all the work of one man. When he sees this you cannot rid him of the notion, even if you assure him that by holding such a view he imperils his soul's salvation. The conflict into which many a believer is brought when he thus finds science and tradition at variance is so obvious that I need not insist upon it.

Our present evaluation of the Old Testament must first of all recognize the results of criticism. It is unfortunate that these results have so often been presented in a negative form. The critic appears to be simply a destroyer of old beliefs. But we must remember that the destruction of old beliefs is part of a constant process. Every advance in science compels us to give up something in order to gain something. We take this as a matter of course in what we call secular science. In the matter of religious beliefs it is not so easy, because religion is so precious to us that even the science or philosophy with which it has allied itself has a special value to our soul. The tragedy comes when the invalidation of the science or philosophy seems to carry with it the destruction of the religion itself. Mis-

taken defenders of the Word sometimes put the alternative in this form: Either the Bible is the Word of God in its every sentence, or else it is a fraud. Confronted by this statement, the honest inquirer too often decides that the Bible is not what it has been claimed to be, and therefore that it has no value for him.

The value of the Bible has often been supposed to consist in a literal infallibility. It is not altogether the fault of the critics that this idea is now discredited. The temper of our times is unfavorable to the acceptance of any infallible authority. The claim to possess such an authority meets with incredulity. The church, in any of its branches, may claim to teach what has always and everywhere been taught, but the historical student knows that this alleged universal truth has changed from age to age. Why else should we have new treatises on theology and on biblical science every year? Why should Augustine re-elaborate what Paul had laid down, and Thomas Aquinas write a new *Summa*, and Calvin present us with his *Institutio*? The only reason is that theological science, like every other science, is in flux and flow. That which does not move is dead. Our second duty then is to recognize frankly that our view of the Bible must change with the advance of thought.

The necessity of reconstruction may be illustrated by considering the Old Testament as a source of history. Down to comparatively recent times men were able seriously to accept the Hebrew scheme of history, according to which the world was created in six days some six thousand years ago. Certainly the

Hebrew editor who arranged the Book of Genesis in its present form was honest in the belief that he was describing what had actually taken place at the Creation, and some sixteen hundred years later at the Deluge. Secular histories in the Middle Ages assumed the correctness of this Hebrew scheme and attempted to combine with it the data of Greek and Roman historians. This is no longer possible. Astronomy, geology, biology, and archaeology unite to give us entirely different theory, and any attempt to affirm on the basis of an infallible divine revelation that the earth was created in six days, or that all mankind derives from Noah and his sons, produces only a smile of derision.

The present value of the Old Testament then does not consist in its being an infallible history of mankind. Nevertheless the book has immense value as a source of history. What the higher criticism has made plain is that we have in our Bible the priceless record of the religious development of mankind. In spite of the enormous increase of our historical knowledge, this book remains the book of our religion. It was written by religiously minded men for religiously minded men. What is of prime importance in it is not what the authors tell us of their times (though this, too, is often important), but what they reveal of their own experience. The importance of this self-revelation is enhanced by the fact that their religion is the seed from which our religion sprang. We cannot understand our own religion without study of the Bible. The forms in which this religion still expresses itself are Hebrew forms. In a certain sense our religion is the religion of the New Testa-

ment rather than the religion of the Old Testament. But the attentive reader soon discovers that one cannot be understood without the other.

This is more than a matter of form. We have learned in our time that nothing can be really understood without some comprehension of its genesis and growth. The great task of the scientist is to discover the origin of things. The battle which raged between evolutionists and creationists has left the evolutionists in possession of the field. A great historical phenomenon like Christianity must be studied as an evolution, and for this purpose the Old Testament is indispensable. This is the justification for the higher criticism, for the higher criticism aims to trace the stages of growth by which our Bible came into being. When the critical work is done, the religion of Israel presents itself as an organism beginning in the crude faith of a nomad clan and expanding to the complete ethical monotheism of the latest Old Testament writers. In this way alone can this religion be made intelligible to men of our time.

From the historical point of view, then, the value of the Old Testament is today as great as it ever was. From the literary point of view the same may be said with equal emphasis. It is interesting to note that when the older rationalism had undermined the authority of the Old Testament, the book was rehabilitated in the minds of many thoughtful men by Herder's treatment of it from the purely literary point of view. A similar revival is going on under our eyes, and with reason. Whatever criticism may have to say of the Old Testament books, their literary

value remains unimpaired. The poem of Job will always rank as a masterpiece; and the eloquence of the prophets, the tenderness of the Second Isaiah, the sincere piety of the Psalms, the sane common sense of the Proverbs, and the stirring human interest of the hero-stories justify us in placing the Bible among the classics of universal humanity. In its English dress it has become part of our intellectual inheritance, for our best literature is saturated with biblical thought and clothed in biblical imagery. From the literary point of view the place of the Old Testament is secure not only for today but for all time.

Or at least of parts of the Old Testament. For we must recognize that it is easy to exaggerate here. In reading panegyrics of the Bible as literature, we are sometimes tempted to think that the writers are drawing a wrong conclusion from their premises. Conscious that the Bible has lost the hold which it once had on the reverence of men, they seek to renew that hold by demonstrations of its literary excellence. But this is the application of an aesthetic test, which, if rigidly carried out, will compel us to discriminate; for it is impossible to hold that all parts of the Old Testament reach the same standard of literary excellence. No complete statement of the present value of the Old Testament can be based on its literary quality alone. And this brings us back to the question of religion.

In times past, the religious value of the Bible was expressed in two ways. On one side it was affirmed that the Bible is the source of doctrine; on the other it was urged that it is a means of

edification. In the matter of doctrine it was held that the Bible reveals a certain philosophy, a view of the universe which must be accepted by him who would be a true child of God. The most important part of this intellectual system was held to be what it affirms concerning God and his relations with men. The Scriptures "reveal what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." The difficulty which men of our day find in rigidly applying this theory may be shown by a single example. We assume, of course, that the character of God, like the character of a man, is made known by what he does as well as by what he says.

In the First Book of Samuel we read that when Saul, king of Israel, entered on a battle with the Philistines, he laid a solemn injunction on the people not to eat anything until sunset. His son Jonathan, who was not present when the vow was uttered, unwittingly violated it by eating a little honey. At the close of the day, Saul proposed to follow up his advantage by a night attack on the enemy, and consulted the oracle. Receiving no answer, he concluded that the divinity was angry, and at once brought the sacred lot into play in order to discover the offender. The result was to lay the guilt upon Jonathan, and Saul would have inflicted the death penalty had not the people interfered and provided a substitute. On the theory of doctrinal infallibility what does this story teach? It teaches that the God of Israel recognized the binding nature of a senseless interdict like that of Saul; that he was offended at its violation even though the violation was unwitting; that his anger prompted him to refuse

his aid to the whole people; that by the sacred lot he pointed out the offender; and that he demanded his death. On the dogmatic theory, this is the character of the God of Israel, who is also our God, the God of the whole earth. And this is only one of the milder instances in which the Old Testament view of the character of God cannot be accepted by men of our time.

Of course it is easy to show that there are plenty of other passages in the Old Testament in which there is a worthy and adequate presentation of the divine character. When we accept these and ignore those of which I have just given an example, we tacitly abandon the dogmatic theory of revelation. Revelation as we now view it consists not in a series of inerrant affirmations; it consists in the whole process by which the Hebrews attained their knowledge of God. This was a gradual emergence of the idea of God from the clouds by which it was hidden from the eye of early man. It is one of the merits of the higher criticism that it enables us to trace this process and to estimate the way in which the crude elements, inseparable from the thinking of a primitive race, were gradually purged away. The present value of the Old Testament consists in the revelation of God which it contains, though we do not interpret the word revelation in the way in which our fathers interpreted it. And when we take the wider view and recognize that God has revealed himself in other sacred books, we still find that our Bible stands out among them as the typical record of the religious development of mankind, and in this sense the most complete revelation that we possess.

The older theory concerning the Scriptures regarded them as a means of edification to the individual believer. It was thought that in each and every part, God spoke directly to the human soul, so that by reading the Word one came into immediate communication with the divine mind. The mere reading of the Bible must therefore be a means of grace, and emphasis was laid upon daily reading as a religious exercise. Unless I am mistaken the Christian today finds difficulty in the attempt to find religious stimulation in any and every part of the Old Testament. Certainly the ritual minutiae of the Pentateuch, the genealogical sections in Chronicles, the bloody narratives in Joshua do not nourish our piety. Many parts of the prophetic books even are obscure, not only to the average reader, but to the special student as well. Historically valuable as all this material may be, it is better frankly to admit that it does not directly minister to the soul's need.

Here again, however, we should beware of letting our negative statement bias us against the very real and positive value which remains. That which has made the Bible what it is, is the religious experience of the authors. Now life responds to life, and when we discover beneath these records the soul-struggles, the trials, conflicts, aspirations, and triumphs of those who wrote them, then we are edified. Our souls, that is, are moved to similar experiences. With the psalmists we utter praise for mercies received, pour out our complaint when God seems far away, utter the language of confession, penitence, and trust. With the great prophets, we denounce social wrongs, declare that God desires

mercy rather than sacrifice, reaffirm our conviction that the kingdom of God will come. With Job we protest against the assumptions of a narrow orthodoxy, and with Jeremiah we hold fast to our faith, even when all the world is against us. In the lives of these men we find true inspiration, and the record is still our means of grace.

One other question remains to be considered: What is the present value of the Old Testament as an authority for the preacher? It is often said that the preacher must come to his hearers with a "Thus saith the Lord." The implication is that if the minister uses the Scripture as an infallible, divine revelation he can secure assent and obedience on the part of his congregation. Undoubtedly power is given to the religious teacher by a firm conviction that he is speaking the truth of God. But it may be doubted whether in this day this conviction can be based on the theory of a verbally inspired Bible. In this respect we have left the ground taken (at least ostensibly) by all the Protestant churches. In the theory of these churches the minister is primarily an expounder of the Word. The sermon was made the central and most important part of the public service, to the intent that the people might be made acquainted with the rule of faith and life set down in the Scriptures. Anyone who listens to the sermons preached today will realize how far we have departed from this ideal. We cannot if we would bring back this older point of view.

A serious complaint lies against the average minister in that, though aware of the results of modern study, he too often assumes in the pulpit that the

older point of view still holds. He describes the experiences of Adam in the Garden as though they were historically accredited; makes use of Noah and the Deluge with the same presupposition; draws lessons from the lives of the patriarchs as though we could expect to duplicate their visions; illustrates a verse from the Psalms by the life of David, ignoring the current theory of the date of the Psalter. Yet in any intelligent congregation there are men and women who realize how unreal all this is, and the result is to shake popular confidence either in the competency or in the sincerity of the ministry. What is demanded of the preacher is thoroughgoing honesty with himself first of all, and then a judicious exposition of the present state of Old Testament study. Of course no one supposes that the details of criticism belong in the pulpit. But it ought to be possible to familiarize the people with the main results of the critical inquiry and educate them to the new point of view.

If this is done, will the Bible hold its place as in some sense the minister's textbook and authority? The answer to this question will be given when we determine the minister's function. If it be his function to nourish and strengthen the religious life of the church, then the Bible remains one of the chief sources of his instruction. As himself a student of religion he must know the history of our own religion, and this, as we have seen, is recorded in the Bible. Not that he should limit his study to one book. All Nature is his; all history, all literature, so far as it reveals the religious impulse. And as guide and leader of the church, the

preacher must draw upon all these sources of knowledge and inspiration. Yet for the Christian, the Bible remains at the head of the list. Directly and simply it sets forth the ideal toward which religious men have striven in the past, and toward which they still must strive.

What I have endeavored to show in this paper is that in spite of the enor-

mous change which the higher criticism has effected in our view of the Old Testament, the value of the book is unimpaired. It remains today the most important document for the history of our religion; it remains a source of religious instruction; it remains a means of grace to the believer; it remains the minister's guide in his work of instructing his congregation.

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IV. Doctrine in the Apostolic Age

Primitive Christian doctrine is seen most fully and most ardently in the letters of Paul. The Apostle to the Gentiles had a keen intellectual interest in the Gospel of Jesus, in its doctrinal aspects, in its relation to Judaism, and in its relation to the religious ideas of the hellenistic world. This was not his primary interest, however, because Paul was first of all a missionary, incessantly and absorbingly active in the evangelization of non-Christians and the upbuilding of Christians in practical faith and life. His Christian theology consisted chiefly of Jewish ideas interpreted with reference to Jesus as Messiah, with some elements from hellenistic theology. But he gave these ideas a construction, a color, a vitality, and a presentation such as have earned for him the title of "the Founder of Christian Theology."

This study of Doctrine in the Apostolic Age is conducted by PROFESSOR GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT. Questions concerning it may be addressed to the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

It may indeed appear to be a singular proceeding to assign Weinell's *Paul the Man and His Work* as the one book to be studied for the topic of this month—doctrine in the Apostolic age. The reason for it is the desire to concentrate attention on that feature of doctrine in the Apostolic age which is at once the most difficult and the most important. For this end we might very properly have selected the little book of J. Weiss, *Paul and Jesus*, or the book of Arnold Meyer, *Jesus or Paul*, or Wrede's *Paul*, all of which might profitably be read together with that which is assigned. Each of these books, we say, leads us into that question which is of central importance in any study of doctrine in the Apostolic age, viz., the relation of Paul to Jesus, or, in other words, the Christianity of Paul. They are conspicuous

in the group of writings which deal with this far-reaching question. But Weinell's book is perhaps preferable for the present course because of its more detailed discussion of the personality and the material equipment of the apostle.

Of the seven sections into which Weinell's book is divided we shall pass all but one in rapid survey.

It is of great importance to see that much of that which is commonly known as "Paulinism" is simply contemporary Jewish theology. Such is the case with his conception of the universe as a three-storied building and his conception of good and bad spirits whose power is everywhere manifested. This chapter of rabbinic teaching Paul, it is said, appropriated very fully, and the nature of his piety was powerfully influenced thereby.

Such also was the doctrine that the temporal course of the world is divided into two aeons by a great catastrophe, and the doctrine that man, created innocent, fell by transgression and that through his fall death came into the world. Contemporary eschatology too, with only slight modifications, is found in the writings of Paul. Even the coming of Christ, the great event of the future, is not wholly inherited from the Christian community and the tradition of the teaching of Jesus. The fact that Paul speaks of the "coming" of Christ, as though he had not already come, is taken as evidence that Paul, while still a Jew, had believed in the heavenly existence of the Messiah and in his coming as the signal event of future history. This mode of speech would then show that, for Paul, the earthly life of Jesus was merely an unessential incident in his career, or at least a fact of subordinate value. This heavenly Messiah in whom the Jew Paul had believed was thought of as a being "in the form of God," a being through whom the world had been created. He had appeared under various forms to the fathers, e.g., as a "rock" to Moses.

It may be noted here that Meyer, while admitting that "official Judaism" was contented with the belief that the coming Son of David had only an ideal pre-existence, believes at the same time that Paul, influenced by unknown apocryphal writings of a mystical tendency and perhaps also by current tales of sons of the Gods who had descended to earth as deliverers, e.g., Marduk, Hermes (Thot), and Adonis, had come to believe that the heavenly Messiah was the Son of God, the commissioned

Creator of the world, the second Adam, the conqueror of God's enemies, the hero of the underworld who should die and rise again. In like manner J. Weiss thinks that Paul as a Jew believed that the heavenly Messiah was the Son of God, that he existed in a divine form, and that he was at length to reveal himself.

The student will of course recognize at once the extreme importance of this subject of pre-Christian Christology, and the necessity of determining most carefully its character and extent. It can hardly be said that the discussion has yet reached definite conclusions.

Once more—and this point also is of great significance—Paul's conception and interpretation of Scripture was simply that of the rabbinical school. His use of prophecy, typology, and allegory was that of contemporary Judaism.

At the time of his conversion Paul came to believe that the risen Christ lived in him in a supernatural manner—a belief that vitally affected his thought of his own teaching, for it made it easy and natural for him to regard this teaching as a "revelation." It is to be noticed in this connection that the character of Paul's conversion, which was effected by a vision of the *risen* Christ, led him to conceive of faith not simply as an attitude of trust but also as the acceptance of "facts" of history.

Weinel holds that Paul's sudden change from a persecutor of the church to a believer led him to emphasize the Jewish tenet that God shows mercy on whom he will and hardens whom he will. The apostle is not able to bring this doctrine into accord with divine justice, not *really*, that is, though he may have

rested satisfied in the Scripture proof which he presented in the Epistle to the Romans.

It is thought that Paul harmonized the doctrine with that of human responsibility by way of the heart. His love for his people and his confidence in their election led him to the conviction that their present hardening was only a means to an end, and that end their ultimate salvation. Thus, it is said, his heart won a "complete victory." But it is not easy to see how he won a *complete* victory. For though the people of some *future* generation are to be saved, those who are now hardened and who die in their hardness are not included in that future mercy of God, thus the completeness of the victory seems to be seriously clouded.

The "first breach" that was made in the walls of the new faith was made, according to Weinel, in that Paul combined two forms of religion, an internal and an external, a religion of faith pure and simple and a religion of sacraments. Weinel's view at this point is not quite consistent with his admission that we do not know *who* transformed baptism and the eucharist into sacraments, but they were regarded as such previous to the writing of Paul's letters. However, though the breach may have been made by others than Paul, he was certainly the one who made it widely known. The important question is this, whether a sacrament as conceived by Paul *did* really constitute a "breach" in the walls of the new faith.

Again, the walls of the new faith were broken through when Paul, though he had declared the Christian free from the law and so free from sacrifices, fell out

with his own principle, and conceived of Christ as the Lamb sacrificed for all believers. By this word he became the father of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the mass.

To Weinel's view of Paul the teacher we must give somewhat more attention than to other parts of the book. The greatness of Paul as a theologian is found in the fact that the center of his theology was his personal religious experience. Wrede expresses the same thought in these words: "The religion of the apostle is theological through and through; his theology is his religion." There is here doubtless an important truth, though one may hesitate to accept the statement that *all* of Paul's doctrinal views were of such a sort that they could be put to the test of actual experience.

The "core and center" of Paul's theology is said to have been the doctrine of justification by faith. Weinel regards this as distinctively personal to the apostle, not a part of the common body of Christian or Jewish thought. Meyer, on the other hand, reminds us that the apostle expounds this doctrine only in a single passage of the Epistle to the Romans where he is contending against the legalistic conception of religion. The conception of God as judge who reckons righteousness apart from works is held by him to be Jewish.

Weinel would of course admit that the idea of justification or acquittal as a way of salvation or as a necessary step therein was Jewish. What is new is that acquittal now rests on *faith*. The Jewish conception of righteousness is changed into its opposite. A man is acquitted not because he is righteous

but because he believes, and his acquittal is wholly a free gift. The object of this saving faith is the resurrection of Jesus and his propitiatory death in man's behalf.

The promise of blessedness to the children of Abraham is as important in Paul's thought as is justification by faith. Believers are proved to be the true "children" of Abraham by the agreement of their experience with his. This line of thought is doubtless carried too far when the raising of Isaac is treated as parallel to the resurrection of Jesus, and Abraham's faith in the promise concerning Isaac parallel to the believer's faith in the resurrection of Jesus.

Discussing the content of the believer's faith Weinel holds that the term propitiation (*ἱλαστήριον*), though by itself it might denote a propitiatory *memorial*, was used by Paul with the thought of sacrifice. This meaning is most harmonious with the thought of the ancient world. It is suggested indeed by the words of Jesus at the Last Supper, though Weinel is careful to say that here the thought of expiation is thrust entirely into the background. More distinctive of Paul's thought is the idea that the death of Jesus was demanded by the law. The curse of the law is death. Jesus was under the law, therefore under the curse. And yet further, he was under the law in a special sense in that he died on the cross, for this death shows, according to the law, that one is "accursed." But since Jesus was innocent, the curse spent its force on him, became henceforth inoperative, and thus God's mercy could have free play. This, says Weinel, is the clearest

theory that Paul advances of the death of Jesus. Another view is found which may be stated as follows: Jesus died that we might die *in him*, and dying be acquitted of sin.

Such theories of the death of Jesus Weinel rejects because they seem to him to contain an un-Christian conception of God and his relation to man. God "does not wish to be just, but he is love." "He who cannot be moved to repentance by God's goodness and a man's surrender unto death, even the death upon the cross, will listen in vain to systems of sacrifice and theories of propitiation which are intended to establish God's righteousness palpably."

The most important fact for the doctrine of the Apostolic age is Paul's attitude toward the historical Jesus. We have already seen what Weinel considered to have been Paul's pre-Christian conception of the heavenly Messiah. In the hour of his conversion he came to identify the heavenly Messiah with Jesus of Nazareth, and in consequence of this identification the simple features of the Carpenter were in danger of being lost beneath the heavenly aureole.

It is a little difficult to ascertain just what Weinel thinks on this point. He says at one time that "Jesus can scarcely be said to have existed for him [Paul] as a human being. What interests him in Jesus is simply his present life in the believer and his death." Some passages which have been supposed to refer to the historical Jesus, like the references to his obedience and gentleness, are considered to have the heavenly Christ in view. But, on the other hand, Weinel supposes that "the total impression of the person of Jesus which

we derive from the Synoptists was already a living reality for Paul and determined his action." But if that was the case, if the impression of the person of Jesus which we derive from the Synoptists was a reality for Paul and determined his action, how can we go quite so far as to say that Jesus scarcely existed for him as a human being, and that Paul was interested only in his death and in his present life in the believer? The two views seem to be stated somewhat more absolutely than is warrantable, or at least one of them. For my part, I should modify the second view not a little. It does not seem to me that the facts warrant the statement that Paul had the same impression of the person of Jesus that we derive from the Synoptists.

The heavenly being who was incarnated in Jesus was, according to Paul, below God. His nature was divine, but he was not God. He was God's son, i.e., he stood in a special relation to him, either a special relation of love or the special relation of Messiah or in both relations. But though Paul always distinguishes Christ from God, he does not always distinguish him from the Spirit. But that these three beings formed one Almighty God, as in the later creeds of the church, there is in Paul, according to Weinel, no trace.

As to Paul's ethical system it leaves us, says Weinel, with very mixed feelings. As compared with the ethics of Jesus, Paul's teaching makes a compromise here and there with the old ethics of the world. Thus one is to keep peace *as much as in one lies*, and one is to do good to all men, but *especially* to them who are of the household of

faith. This is a "toning down" of Jesus' conception of brotherhood.

Paul's ethical teaching covers only a part of human activity. In what he says of particular vices it is thought that he may have copied current lists, but was more independent when speaking of the virtues. But the limited field of Paul's ethics is simply an evidence that he wrote as a missionary with certain specific conditions in view, and not as a moral philosopher.

The foundation of ethics in Paul is religious, and the ethical demand is accompanied with the doctrine of divine rewards and punishments. Yet he is not confined to this sphere of thought. His mysticism led to another and more profound thought concerning the ground of morality. This was the thought that the life of one in whom Christ dwells is from inner necessity a holy life. Here he rises above all merely legal religion to a high spiritual plane. Thus Paul wavered, as the church of subsequent times has done, between the doctrine that morality is the necessary outflow of religion and the doctrine that it is cultivated by the presentation of rewards and punishments.

Regarding the mystical element in Paul's ethics, attention may here be called to the view of J. Weiss. He interprets the words of I Cor. 2:16 not as meaning we "think" as Christ thinks, but Christ thinks in us. Accordingly Paul's "ways which are in Christ" are the very ways which Jesus would follow and teach. But though this formula is mystical (to be in Christ), the psychological process is not. What Paul meant was that he followed the spirit of the teaching of Jesus. Weiss

sees a fundamental agreement between the ethics of Paul and of Jesus in the doctrine of love, and, what is equally significant, he sees in the remarkable manner in which Paul showed a spirit of love an impulse from the person of Jesus. But Weiss also points out the departure of Paul's ethics from the teaching of Jesus. Like Weinel he sees here and there a compromise between the ideal and the real, as in his treatment of the "weak." Paul, again, is less liberal than Jesus in the matter of associating with sinners. The idea of the figurative commandment to heap coals of fire on an enemy's head is not in full accord with the beatitude for the meek. The difference between Paul and Jesus is further seen in the fact that the teaching of the former contains a considerable Greek element.

Meyer agrees with Weiss in regard to the profound influence of the love of Jesus upon Paul and his teaching. "It

was really this love that he saw before Damascus. . . . It was this mighty power of love which delivered him from his bondage to the law."

As suggested at the outset of the article, its aim has been to direct attention to one highly important element in the belief of the Apostolic age, viz., Paul's attitude toward Jesus. How seriously this question is being discussed in Germany may be inferred, to a degree, from the books to which reference has been made. Its immensely practical character for the preacher of the gospel is of course perfectly obvious. Every minister ought to be thoroughly acquainted with this discussion. The outcome of it, one can hardly doubt, will affect the teaching of the New Testament in a far more fundamental way than the teaching of the Old Testament has been affected by the critical investigation of the Pentateuch.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

Every month from October to June there will be presented in this department of the BIBLICAL WORLD suggestions to leaders of Bible Classes, desiring to use as a basis for classwork either the outline Bible-study course on "THE LIFE OF CHRIST" prepared by ERNEST D. BURTON, or that on "THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST" by WILLIAM R. HARPER. Suggestions are prepared by GEORGIA LOUISE CHAMBERLIN, Secretary of the Reading and Library Department of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, who will be glad to consider any questions which club leaders may choose to address to the INSTITUTE.

The Life of Christ¹

The eleven sections of the outline which command our attention this month present Jesus in the exercise of his power over nature, over disease and death, and over the hearts and consciences of man. The healer, the teacher, and the human friend are equally conspicuous. We find him testing his disciples in their first commission, and upon their return, facing one of the great crises of his life, in the feverish desire of the mob to crown him king. Two wonderful discourses close the selection.

In the handling of this material, the leader or the members of the class will have great opportunity to contribute local color in connection with each of the sections. Sudden storms upon the Sea of Galilee (Sec. 58); Gadara, and the relation of demoniacal possession to insanity (Sec. 59); oriental funeral customs (Sec. 60), are suggestions.

A simple reading of the section titles will indicate the necessity of getting a true background for the event described. The considerable geographical territory involved will also render a map study helpful. Most of all, however, it is important that each session of the class should emphasize

clearly the progress made by Jesus in his effort to give to his disciples and to others his point of view, and his interpretation of life and its meaning.

Program I

Leader: The three Galilean preaching tours of Jesus. The distinctive character of each, the purpose of all, and the end accomplished.

Members of the Class: (1) Jesus' miracles upon natural objects as distinguished from his miracles upon man: With what motive worked, and for whose benefit. (2) Faith as a condition of Jesus' miracles: Was it always necessary, was it always exercised by the person to be benefited; did it vary in different cases, and how? (3) A study of Nazareth in its relation to Jesus as boy and man. (4) Conditions of health and disease in the Orient as may be inferred from the stories of Jesus' activities. (5) An oriental funeral (a procession in costume). (6) The spirit of Jesus manifested in the story of Jairus' daughter.

Subject for discussion: What relation, if any, have the instructions given to the

¹ The textbook for this course is *The Life of Christ*, by ERNEST D. BURTON; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

disciples as to their conduct and method of life in their missionary journeys, to the life of Christian ministers today?

Program II

Leader: Herod Antipas: The nature of his political power, his family history, his personal character.

Members of the class: (1) The story of the life and death of John the Baptist, and an appreciation of his character. (2) Jesus as seen through the eyes of Herod, of John the Baptist, and of the people whom he fed. (3) Jesus' view of himself and his mission as shown by his refusal to be king, and his later discourses. (4) Jesus' conception of sin compared with that of the Pharisees. (Definite illustrations.) (5) Jesus' method of dealing with temptation.

Subject for discussion: Why did Jesus feed the five thousand one day, and refuse

to feed them the next? Has his action any bearing upon feeding the hungry today?

REFERENCE READING

Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, I, chaps. xxiv-xxx; II, chaps. xxxi, xxxii; Stalker, *The Life of Christ*, pp. 95-105; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, pp. 177-242; Gilbert, *The Student's Life of Jesus*, pp. 242-53; Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. xxviii-xxxi, xxxiii, xxiv; Rhees, *The Life of Jesus*, pp. 130-37; Burton and Mathews, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. xiv, xv, xvi; Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus*, chap. x.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* for articles on "The Sea of Galilee," "Demons," "Gadara," "Blindness," "Ceremonial Law," "Commission," "Corban," "Defilement," "Funeral," "Multitude, Feeding of the," "Hypocrisy," "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." Articles on many of these subjects will be found in the four-volume and the one-volume edition of Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

The Foreshadowings of the Christ¹

For the first time since beginning our course, we have the opportunity to spend considerable time in the study of the life and work of one man. Two months are required in which to gain a small degree of appreciation of the work of Isaiah. The long period, fifty years or more, during which this man uttered his warnings saw the complete overthrow of the kingdom of northern Israel, and many political changes in southern Israel. It will be necessary, therefore, to understand clearly the conditions of the particular decade in which the prophet is working if we would fairly interpret his message. The large amount of what may be termed "messianic material," in the thought and speeches of this prophet, makes the study particularly rich in foreshadowings of the Christ.

But the work of Isaiah is interesting not alone for its contribution to the political

movements and the religious thought of his times, but not less on account of the majestic and beautiful literary style of the author. The addresses of Isaiah can be chronologically arranged only on the basis of the internal evidence of the addresses themselves. This evidence is not always clear, and authorities differ upon the dates to which some of the chapters may be assigned. Clearly, a large proportion of the first thirty-nine chapters relate to the wars between the north and the south, and the earlier invasions of the Assyrians. The tendency among scholars is to place at a later date those passages in these chapters which present religious conceptions more in harmony with the thought of a later period. Chaps. 40-66 of this book called by the name of Isaiah seem to refer to the Babylonian captivity as a present or past occurrence, and all of this portion of the book

¹ The textbook for this course is *The Foreshadowings of the Christ*, by William Rainey Harper; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

has been attributed to an author or authors living during and following the Exile.¹

Program I

Leader: The political, moral, and religious conditions in Judah and Israel in the early years of Isaiah's work.

Members of the class: (1) The call of Jehovah to his prophets, (a) Moses, (b) Samuel, (c) Elijah, (d) Elisha, (e) Amos, (f) Hosea. (2) The reading of Isaiah, chap. 6, and the discussion of this story in comparison with the stories under Topic 1. (3) The characteristics of the messianic kingdom as pictured by Isaiah and as contrasted with conditions which surrounded the prophet. (4) Isaiah's conception of sin. Did it differ from that of the prophets which preceded him?

Subject for discussion: Did God direct the history of the Hebrews more fully than that of any other nation?

Program II

Leader: A careful map study of Palestine in relation to Syria, Assyria, and Egypt, and a discussion of the political relation-

ships of these nations in the eighth century B.C.

Members of the class: (1) King Ahaz and his problems estimated by a politician of his own day. (2) An appreciation of the attitude of Isaiah toward the plans of Ahaz. (3) An interpretation of Isa. 7: 1-25. (4) Isaiah's characteristics as an orator.

Subject for discussion: To what extent were the prophecies of Isaiah fulfilled in the coming of the Christ and the founding of the Christian religion?

REFERENCE READING

Kent, *The History of the Hebrews*, II, 120-40; Wade, *Old Testament History*, pp. 355-64; Smith, *Old Testament History*, chap. xii; Kent, *Historical Bible*, III, 123-50; Chamberlin, *Hebrew Prophets*, chap. ix; George Adam Smith, *Isaiah*, Vol. I; Sanders and Kent, *Messages of the Earlier Prophets*, pp. 79-108; Goodspeed, *Israel's Messianic Hope*, chap. v; Harper, "The Child Prophecies of Isaiah," *Biblical World*, IV, 259 ff.; *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, *Century Bible*, and *Bible for Home and Schools*, volumes on Isaiah.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, one-volume and four-volume editions, on Uziah, Ahaz, Ramaliah, Pekah, Syria, Assyria, Book of Isaiah, Isaiah, Damascus, Samaria, Seraphim.

¹ These are matters of historical criticism, and the leader must decide for himself as to whether the members of his class are ready for discussions of the methods of historical criticism. If they are, this is a good point at which to introduce them. If they are not, the passages are taken up historically, and may be discussed intelligently in their historical connection, without raising the literary question. It will be discovered that people as a rule are ready to accept the results of historical study without question, because they are seen to be sane and reasonable.

CURRENT OPINION

The Doctrine of the Personal Redeemer in Gnosticism

Mr. Edwyn Bevan, writing in the *Hibbert Journal* for October on "The Gnostic Redeemer," concludes that the figure of the personal Redeemer which belonged to gnostic thought was not an original part of the Hellenistic theology but was originally the idea of primitive Christianity. He counts it intelligible that men brought up in the conceptions of Hellenistic theology and coming into contact with the Christian doctrine might easily combine all the gnostic ideas with the doctrine of a human personal Redeemer, and so come to share with the primitive church the idea of a Divine One taking upon himself for the love of men the form of a servant, coming into the sphere of darkness in order to redeem humanity. The nearest pagan parallel to the Christian idea of a redeemer he thinks was to be found in the old myth of Prometheus and in the Indian idea that Krishna becomes incarnate in each successive age to save the failing cause of righteousness. The Gnostic worked out his conception of the Savior with a large borrowing from Hellenistic theology, but the central point of devotion to One who embodied a supreme act of divine love and voluntary humiliation has no Hellenistic parallel. The doctrine is one of those in which the victory of Christianity over paganism may be seen.

Eschatology and the Teaching of Jesus

In the *Expositor* for November, Rev. C. W. Emmet deals with this much discussed problem as to whether the ethics of Jesus is an ethics fitted to the idea of a brief interval before the Parousia, or fitted to an indefinitely extended developmental period. The theory that Jesus' ethics is

an *Interimsethik*, which has been promulgated by Schweitzer in Germany, he regards as an unwarranted one. He holds that there is no real evidence in the gospels for such a view. Where the eschatological motive is emphasized, the teaching is not colored by it in such a way as to make the teaching of transient value. The objectionable theory represents Jesus as willingly laying stress on the self-centered desire of the individual for his own salvation and as caring little or nothing for the effect of good actions on others and the world as a whole. We cannot indeed, he says, exclude from ethics the thought of reward, but it is psychologically false to regard it as the primary and generally realized motive of the life of self-sacrifice.

The Christian Messianic Hope

Professor Nairne, of King's College, London, contributes to the *Interpreter* for October an article on "The Transformation of the Messianic Hope by Our Lord and His Apostles." He considers carefully the interpretation of the matter that Schweitzer gives, and with more sympathy than the book has commonly received. In the apocalyptic hope, he says, there were two strains: one extravagant, national, material; the other mystical. Jesus and his apostles renounced the former; but the latter, in spite of all the changes and chances of development, persists throughout the New Testament. Thus it is that the faith has been able to live henceforth in the midst of ordered progress and to direct it; but the apocalyptic impulse, primitive and unexhausted, lifts it to its height in seasons of extremity, when the accumulations of prudence fail, and civilization breaks up.

What Were the Churches of Galatia?

Professor W. M. Ramsay, who for twenty years has been maintaining the

South Galatian hypothesis and has written extensively as to the location of the churches addressed in Paul's Galatian letter, is giving a résumé of his opinion in a series of articles in the *Expository Times*. In the November issue he says that the general question has narrowed itself down to this: Were the churches of Galatia to which Paul wrote, and which he mentioned as an example and model to the Corinthians, the four churches in South Galatia which were converted and organized on his first journey, or were they certain other churches in the territory of the three Gaulish tribes who dwelt around Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium? The latter cities were in what we call North Galatia, and if Paul founded Christian churches in this region, either no mention is made of the fact in the Book of Acts, or it is but briefly alluded to in Acts 16:6. Dr. Ramsay adheres to his former opinion that Paul did not go to this North Galatian district. The establishment of a new church was a matter which needed time, teaching and training of officials, proper organization, etc. He thinks we are not justified by anything recorded in Acts in believing that the founding of such churches in North Galatia could or would have been accomplished upon a brief journey into the region. In regard to the district of Pisidia, he holds that the best authorities, Luke and Strabo, testified that the Pisidian Antioch was not in Pisidia but in Phrygia. Acts 13:14—14:24 describes a large district containing three regions; of these regions Pisidia was twice traversed, but in it no churches were founded. In each of the other two regions churches were founded, namely, at Antioch, and at Iconium and Derbe.

The Social Origin of Theology

Shailer Mathews, in the *American Journal of Sociology*, asserts that theological reconstruction is commonly said to wait upon philosophy. While there is much

truth in such a belief, a study of creative periods in theology will show that its fundamental doctrines and systems are only incidentally the outcome of philosophy. Theology deals primarily with experience and experience is far more extensive than rational processes. Theology arises when men undertake to organize their religious experience, beliefs, and customs in harmony with other elements of experience. The organizing principle is all but invariably dramatic, a presupposition born of social experience which the community producing the theology has unconsciously accepted as a basis of social activity and the standard of social values. Most frequently such an organizing principle is that already operative in the state. A second, or apologetic, period begins when men undertake to defend their right to hold religious belief by means of appropriating current elements of culture. The creative and the apologetic stages of theology are indispensable, but the former is primarily social, the latter philosophical. The original dramatic element in theology the paper holds is Jewish messianism.

Hinduism in the West

An interesting estimate of the "Prospects of Hinduism in the West" is found in an article of that title in the November number of the *Hindustan Review*. The author, J. S. Rao, is evidently greatly in sympathy with Hinduism. The fact that Hindu missionaries recently began operations in Europe and America appears to have inspired the article. The author takes as his major premise the alleged fact that Christianity is showing signs of disintegration, and bases his conclusion on statements quoted from various sources to the effect that the Christian doctrine of hell is no longer generally held. A doctrine of hell, or, more specifically, of future punishment, is, according to him, absolutely necessary to religion. If the hell of Christianity is dis-

appearing, and with it Christianity itself, what, he implies, is more reasonable than to suppose that Hinduism, with its doctrine of unlimited incarnations, will take its place? This doctrine will supply the demand for that punishment without which religion cannot exist.

Hinduism, according to him, has another feature which will appeal greatly to the western mind "if it is presented judiciously." This feature is the doctrine of divine incarnation. It is not entirely strange to Christianity, inasmuch as it is held of Christ, and for that reason will be more readily accepted. The Hindu belief on the subject is superior to the Christian, in that in Christianity the divine incarnation applies to Christ only, whereas in Hinduism it is possible of attainment by every individual.

"Jesus the Rabbi"

Such is the title of an article by Lester Reddin, B.D., in the October *Bibliotheca Sacra*, which deals with the Master's work as a religious teacher. Without credentials and in face of the opposition of the professional teachers of the day, he compelled recognition by his personality, method, and the content of his teaching. The content of his message is treated under two heads, ethics and religion. His religious message is discussed under the topics, "God," "Himself," and "The Kingdom."

The Infinite and the Finite Once More

"The Essence of Religion" is the title of an article by Bertrand Russell in the *Hibbert Journal* for October. The "essence" is defined as "the subordination of the finite part of our life to the infinite." The finite or animal in man "is good or bad solely as it helps or hinders the divine in its search for union with the world. In union with the world the soul finds freedom. There are three kinds of union: union in thought,

union in feeling, union in will" "knowledge," "love," "service." "There are three kinds of disunion: error, hatred, strife."

Bergson and Pessimism

That Bergson's elimination of the spatial concept tends to force the mind to accept a pessimistic point of view is the conclusion of J. W. Scott, University of Glasgow, in an article, "The Pessimism of Bergson," in the October *Hibbert Journal*.

Bergson [he states] gives the inquiring mind a fundamentally pessimistic lead, when he offers refuge from the mathematical version of the world in an intuition out of which "space" or externality has been driven. It is the fate and the glory of human life to be a restless search for rest. If the distinction between self and the real which it would find is obliterated, then it is the rest of annihilation that we are all after. And this is pessimism.

The Outlook for Reformed Judaism in England

In the *Hibbert Journal* for October, M. J. Landa, writing on "The Future of Judaism in England," points out the fact that the orthodox Jewish church, while called upon in that country to face the problem brought about by the Modernist movement, need not be greatly alarmed over the situation. The writer states that England has three reformed synagogues, one in London, one in Manchester, and one in Bradford, none of which is flourishing or prosperous. They are composed of that element in Judaism which desired a modification of ritual and a revision of the prayer-book. According to the writer, it is doubtful if the schism will progress farther. Those who seceded will drift still farther away from the old faith—out of it entirely perhaps by the avenue of intermarriage. The others will remain within the orthodox fold and observe as much of the ancient faith as suits them.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

FOREIGN MISSIONS

A Missionary Hero of Liberia

The remarkable struggles of a self-appointed colored missionary to the Negroes of Liberia, West Africa, are graphically depicted in "A Sketch of the Life of Jacob Kenoly" in the October number of the *Missionary Review of the World*. C. C. Smith is the author of the article. Kenoly, born in 1879, of poor parents in Missouri, succeeded in obtaining a fair education. The call to the Liberian Negroes then came to him, and, without funds or prospects, he worked his passage to Monrovia, its capital. He supported himself and preached the gospel. Most of the time, at least during the first two or three years, he could earn only 75 cents a day. Upon this he managed to exist and at the same time to support a small mission school. He began his work in 1905. In June, 1911, while fishing off the coast in an effort to earn some much needed money for carrying on his work, he was drowned. His wife, whom he wedded in Liberia, is now carrying on his work.

The Challenge of Mohammedanism

That the Moslem avalanche, which may fall at any moment, is not to be stayed by politics or the sword is the conclusion of S. M. Zwemer, writing on "The Evangelization of the Moslem World" in the *Missionary Review of the World* for October. The author feels that the Moslems have challenged the nations, that the very tenets of their faith constitute a menace. In his opinion this threatening attitude cannot be ignored. He suggests that no attempt be made to settle the issue politically, but that stress be placed upon winning the Moslem to Christian ideals. The heart of the Mohammedan, he says, is susceptible to Christian influence, which can be exerted through the medium of schools, colleges,

hospitals, and judicious preaching of the gospel.

Church Federation in Japan

The result of the federation of churches in Japan is described in the November number of the *Missionary Review of the World*. At the close of 1911 eight evangelical churches of the empire (the Unitarians were refused admission) founded the Japanese Federation of Churches, with a total membership of nearly 50,000, divided as follows: Presbyterian 18,500, Kumiai (or Congregational) churches 16,100, Methodist 10,300, and about 1,000 each for the Methodist Protestant, United Brethren in Christ, Friends, American Christian Convention, and Evangelical Association. Upon being refused admittance, the Unitarians, under the leadership of a Japanese student who is an Oxford man, founded the Union of Christian Comrades. Reports state its influence in the sphere of religion will be small but not so in those of literature and politics.

Count Okuma on Missions

A noted Japanese educator, Count Okuma, himself not a Christian, writing in the October issue of the *International Review of Missions*, gives his impressions of the work of Christianity in Japan.

He expresses himself as convinced of two things: first, that the influx of western thought has been the salvation of his country from ancient tradition and the influence of the old faiths; and, second, that if the remainder of the Orient is to experience a similar regeneration it must come about with Japan as a mediating center.

He says:

Japan received Buddhism and Confucianism from India, China, and Korea, and under their influence she declined. But under the impact

of western christianized thought, Japan has revived. China and India have also pined under the old faiths. It is clear that their only hope is to follow the example of Japan and welcome western thought. . . . Just as Christianity influenced northern Europe by way of Rome, so should Christianity influence Asia by way of Japan.

Count Okuma is by no means convinced that the christianizing of Japan is completed, nor is he of the opinion that the work as now being carried on is proceeding along the lines calculated to produce the best and quickest results. Speaking entirely as an outsider, he makes two suggestions to those interested in the Christian propaganda in Japan, which, in his judgment, will do much to aid in securing the desired result. In the first place, he believes that there has been too much insistence upon certain aspects of Christian doctrine. He says:

Not a little of Christ's teaching and of the miraculous ought to be made subordinate and optional. It is unreasonable to expect highly educated Orientals to accept the whole body of Christ's teachings even in the gospels. The controversy whether Christ was God or man is to me irrelevant. What I want to know is about his central teaching, to come into contact with his superlative character . . . his principles of love and service and brotherhood.

In the second place, the writer believes the contrast between eastern and western ideals and ideas has been too much emphasized. He says:

Let Christians make an effort [through a study of Japanese history and ethics] to find the points of contact with Buddhism and Shinto; to cast aside nonessentials and to emphasize the points of agreement.

The Curse of Un-Christian "Christians"

The evil lives of Englishmen in India are regarded by Sir Dyce Duckworth, Bt., M.D., LL.D., writing in *The East and the West* for October, as one of the great obstacles to the

progress of Christianity in that country. He says:

There can be no doubt that ill-living on the part of our countrymen has an enormous and vicious effect on the natives . . . and that this proves a great stumbling-block to the progress of Christianity and . . . lessens the beneficial influence of British rule the world over.

To offset this influence he suggests that some of the younger clergy, preferably university men, "unmarried, sound, robust and bright," be sent out to India at least temporarily, a move which, in his opinion, would result in furnishing a good example for the natives and also serve to give the young men themselves a new point of view and teach them some of the problems of empire.

The Bible in the Schools of India

A propos of the suggestion recently made that England establish Bible classes in government schools and colleges in India, appears an article by a Hindu in the September number of the *Hindustan Review* in which the proposed move is severely criticized. The writer, who died before the article was published, is Rao Bahadar V. G. Kirhkar. He is of the opinion that such a regulation would savor of religious intolerance. He says: "It would practically force upon subject-nations the religion of the Sovereign to the virtual exclusion of the religions of the subject-population" when the religion of the subject-population is in many cases "provoking the admiration of European savants." He further states he has no quarrel with the teachings of Jesus Christ and asserts that "these teachings, if correctly understood, will be found to be Vedantic in their genesis."

The Emancipation of Women in Persia

That the emancipation of Persian women dates from 1905, the year in which Persia awoke to the necessity of having a constitu-

tional government, is the conclusion of Annie Woodman Stocking, Teheran, in an article in the October *Moslem World*, entitled "The New Woman in Persia." The change in woman's station is especially noticed in the reform of her dress, social station, and method of education.

A New Synthetic Religion in India

H. D. Griswold, Lahore, in the October *Moslem World*, describes "The Ahmadiya Movement" in India. The "movement" is rooted in the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who died in 1908. Ahmad made three claims: he represented himself as the promised Messiah of the Christians, the promised Ahmad of the Mohammedans, and the promised future incarnation expected by

the Hindus. The sect is conservatively estimated to number 50,000, among whom are reported to be a number of university men. It has been in existence several years, and, although it had and is still having considerable vogue, its influence is said gradually to be diminishing. The author raises the question whether it will eventually be absorbed by Christianity. The founder made the remarkable claim that Jesus, instead of dying on the cross, went to India to preach to the ten lost tribes of Israel whom he supposed to be living there, and ultimately met his death and was buried there. Followers of Ahmad believe that Jesus' tomb exists in the village of Qadian, Gurdaspur District, Punjab.

CHURCH EFFICIENCY

The Canadian Churches and Missions

The annual meeting of the Council of the Canadian branch of the Layman's Missionary Movement was held in Toronto on November 8. The reports show that up to date a splendid work has been done in stimulating the churches to larger beneficence. During the last year the Protestant churches of Canada contributed for missionary objects practically \$2,500,000. This is an average of over \$2.60 per member, and shows an increase from the giving of five years ago of over 66 per cent. The Council is greatly encouraged and considers that there is yet large scope for its inspirational activities.

Fighting Materialism in Western Canada

The "Mission of Help" was organized by the Anglican communion to meet certain gravely felt needs in the great Canadian West. The aim was a revival of spiritual religion as an offset to the strongly materialistic tendencies which dominate so much of the life of this new and growing country. Many of the Anglican leaders of England

responded to the urgent call and rendered splendid assistance to the local clergy. Missions were held in many out-of-the-way places as well as in all the important centers from Winnipeg to the Mountains. Such an organized movement cannot fail to be a wholesome influence in the national life of the country.

The Needs of the Rural Churches

Joseph H. Odell, writing in the November issue of *Munsey's Magazine*, comes to the conclusion that the solution of the problem at present facing the country church depends upon the better education of rural ministers and the co-operation and coalescence of local congregations. The problem to be met, according to the writer, is that of satisfying the social, educational, and religious needs of the country community.

The validity of Mr. Odell's conclusions depends upon whether the statistics given may be regarded as typical of the country at large. The figures furnished concern a township in eastern Pennsylvania and three counties, Daviess, Marshall, and Boone, in

Indiana. In the Indiana counties he finds that about one-third of the total combined population is unchurched. More details are given regarding the township in Pennsylvania. Here there are fourteen congregations representing ten denominations worshipping in ten churches; \$30,000 is invested in church property, \$4,180 is raised by the churches yearly, \$500 is sent into the township annually by denominational home-mission boards; the combined membership is 405, or about 36 per cent of the population of the township; the average church membership is 29; each member contributes \$10.07 a year; the average Sunday morning attendance per church is 40; none of the ten ministers receives more than \$750 per year; one minister has a regular college and theological training, and seven have little more than a high-school education.

These figures, contends the writer, show that the church is at present ministering to only a part of the people, and that it is doing that ministering poorly. It is making no effort to meet the social and educational need. This failure to do its duty is due to inefficient ministers and to over-churching. The minister ought to be better trained. "He should," says Mr. Odell, "know something of the regeneration of the soil as well as of the soul." By the coalescing of a number of local churches the resulting congregation will be enabled to maintain a plant which will draw the entire community to it and which will enable it to furnish a worthy expression of its life.

Another writer, Rev. Charles King, Louisiana, Mo., has recently expressed himself in print on the question of the country church and what it must do to meet its problem. His opinions are contained in a booklet entitled *The Rural Church Problem*. The volume is a series of addresses delivered in August, 1912, before the Missouri Baptist Assembly, Arcadia Heights, near Ironton. The chapter headings are as follows: "An Introductory Chapter," "Rural Church Conditions," "Rural Church Experts," "The Rural Ministry, and Rural Evangelism," "The Rural Church Program," and "A Final Chapter." A brief bibliography is given on the last page.

In the chapter on "The Rural Church Program" the author mentions some of the things which in his opinion the country church must do to meet the situation confronting it. It must "fear God," get a "vision of service," have "frequent gatherings," instil a more compelling "recognition of stewardship" among the people, attend to "indoctrination," support "good Bible schools," have frequent "testimony meetings," find the best "local leaders" possible, cultivate "those people living on the margin of its territory," and radiate "cordiality and hospitality." Among contributing remedies are mentioned the encouragement of better living, adequate equipment, women's meetings, singing schools, good roads, and social and recreational gatherings.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Federated Theological Seminaries

The *Independent*, commenting editorially in its issue of October 31 on the recent union of the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational theological faculties affiliated with McGill University, compliments the Canadian churches on being in advance of those in the United States in this "first union of seminaries," as the

"proposed union of those about San Francisco hangs fire." The writer seems to think the spirit of union in the United States is not yet fully developed, and cites as an example of this opinion a quotation from the inaugural address of Dr. Tipple, the new president of Drew Theological Seminary. Dr. Tipple is represented as saying: "Most theological seminaries are

denominational, and ought to be." Continuing, the editorial says: "We still have professors of 'polemic theology.' But we also have a federation of churches, and why not of seminaries, as in Canada and China?" Perhaps one reason is because we have such noble interdenominational schools as Andover, Chicago, Harvard, Hartford, Oberlin, Union, and Yale.

The Methodist Church and Its Sunday-School Lessons

We quote from an editorial published in the November number of the *Sunday School Journal*, which is well known as the chief Sunday-school organ of the Methodist denomination:

By action of the last General Conference, the supervision of all lesson courses for use in the Sunday schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church, including courses in teacher training, was committed to the Board of Sunday Schools. The Editor, as one of the two co-ordinate executive officers of the Board, is charged with the special responsibility of presiding over the preparation of these courses. With a view to this work, the Board, at its last meeting, appointed a special Committee on Curriculum, consisting of the following members: Professor Norman E. Richardson, chairman; Bishop William F. Anderson, Professor Charles M. Stuart, Professor William J. Thompson, Professor Lindsay B. Longacre, Dr. Francis M. Larkin, Mr. Frank L. Brown.

The editorial goes on to state that the committee is authorized to engage the services of other experts, that the work of the committee must be submitted to the board for approval, but that when approved such courses will be official.

This movement is so significant that it should not escape the notice of the public. It is the first instance of one of the great denominations providing for itself the machinery for the preparation of its own courses of study for the Sunday school. It is not our province to prophesy, but the step which has been taken by the Methodist

denomination indicates that at least each of the large denominations may venture to assert its right to direct the educational work of its own churches, and to exercise that right in the preparation of actual courses of study.

In case these large denominations should sever their connection with, and terminate their dependence upon, the International Sunday School Association in its relation to lesson courses, there is a grave difficulty confronting the smaller denominations, to whom the expense of publishing independent courses would be an effectual barrier. Will the future show the smaller denominations lining up each with the larger body which comes nearest to its distinctive doctrines, in the use of joint publications, or will there still remain a necessity for an International lesson committee to render the service required for these many smaller groups of Sunday schools? To quote again from the *Sunday School Journal*:

The outcome of the whole matter is that each denomination must feel free to go on its own way. If any church is satisfied to adopt and use the lesson courses prepared by the International Association, let it do so; if another can take the International courses and modify them and build upon them according to its needs, it should have the privilege; if limited groups of denominations, being in closer sympathy and agreement, think best to come together and prepare courses measurably adapted to their common needs, they must be permitted to do so without prejudice; and if any denomination prefers to proceed in entire independence and frame courses which it thinks best adapted to its own ends, it must have unlimited license to do so without criticism. Only in this way, we believe, can the best interests of progress be served.

May we not look forward to a halcyon time when not even a denomination may override the intelligent opinion of local educators and the peculiar necessities of a local church, in such a way as to prevent their selection for the school in question,

such courses as seem best adapted to the needs of the school, regardless of the publishing house from which these courses come?

The College and the Sunday School

At the recent state Sunday-school convention in Wisconsin, one of the most significant meetings was the college conference. Wisconsin is a state of small colleges and of widespread educational spirit. The fact that 75 per cent of her population is foreign—either Catholic or German-speaking Lutheran—and that these churches provide for the majority of her working classes, leaves a residuum of people who are intelligent, progressive, and sufficiently few in numbers to be somewhat easily handled. The organized Sunday-school work of the state, therefore, is in the hands of college graduates, who naturally turn to the educational institutions of the state for co-operation and suggestions. Questions discussed at this conference were: What can the colleges of Wisconsin do to raise the standard of religious education in the churches throughout the state? Can they offer courses which will prepare their students for Sunday-school teaching after graduation? Can they, by organizing cadet corps of teachers from the colleges for the churches of the towns where these colleges are located, give at least for a temporary period trained workers for these schools?

Religious Education in Australian Public Schools

In four of the six states of Australasia there has been worked out a system of religious instruction in the schools. This has been so successful that it may give help to Americans. As described by Canon Garland:

It provides for simple selected Bible lessons being given by the state school teachers without

sectarian teaching, and for ministers of religion or their accredited substitutes visiting the schools during school hours and teaching the children of their respective denominations. A conscience clause provides that no child shall receive either the Bible lessons from the state school teacher or religious institution from the minister of religion, contrary to the parent's wish. This conscience clause is the key to the whole problem because it gives perfect liberty to the parent, placing the full control in their hands. Neither the state nor the minister of religion can compel the child to receive the religious lessons. This system has existed in New South Wales since 1866, in Tasmania since 1868, Western Australia since 1893, and Norfolk Island since 1906, and it was introduced into Queensland in 1910 by the decision of the people ascertained through a referendum.

The official opinions of the heads of the department where this system exists are emphatic that no sectarian difficulties arise in connection with the working of the religious instruction clauses and these official opinions are indorsed by the state school teachers who have in great numbers testified in writing their high appreciation of the value of the religious instruction given in the state schools. The system is further indorsed by the action of those churches—Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist—and of the Salvation Army, all of which have unanimously through their highest governing bodies given their adherence to the system, and commend its introduction where it does not exist.

The Roman Catholic Church is opposed to the system, but notwithstanding that opposition, in New South Wales alone the number of Roman Catholic children attending the state schools is over 30,000, practically all of whom accept the selected Bible lessons from their state school teachers, and this notwithstanding the opposition of their church to the national system of education. Once the system is introduced it proves the strongest bulwark for the maintenance of a national system of education as opposed to denominational education under ecclesiastical control.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

CONCERNING THE TRUTH OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS¹

BY GEORGE BURMAN FOSTER

Author of "The Finality of the Christian Religion," "The Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence"

Time was—even a century or two ago—when science thought of nature as an entity, as a given reality. But science now treats nature as physical phenomena, and ignores, if not denies, essences once supposed to underlie the phenomena. At a little later day, the same attitude was taken with reference to life and to the soul. These are not entities, but biological and psychical phenomena.

Today, the psychology and the sociology of religion similarly put religious phenomena in the place of religion, that is, reduce religion to religious phenomena. Accordingly, religious ideas are not explained by realities distinct from thought, but by phenomena of the subjective consciousness. If we interrogate the consciousness of the believer, we see that religious facts are explained by supernatural and mysterious interventions; but now the student of these facts seems to discover that the general laws of human nature offer a sufficient account of them; now he knows that religious phenomena have been naturally and humanly produced, exclusively so. David Hume reduced the principle of causality to a habit of the imagination, as previously Spinoza had argued that the will is not free, that we only feel that it is free, because we are ignorant of the causes which determine our actions. The psychology of religion employs the Humean method; refers *beliefs* to states of consciousness, therefore; dissolves the religious *Object*,

leaving as residuum the modifications of the subject. Says Professor Leuba: "I cannot persuade myself that divine personal beings, be they primitive gods or the Christian Father, have more than a subjective existence" (p. 10), that is, they have no existence outside the mind of the believer. In many ways this conviction is reiterated throughout the book. Communion with God is not a religious need *per se*; it is "a way of dismissing the worrying complication of this world, of escaping a dreaded sense of isolation, of entering into a circle of solacing and elevating thoughts and feelings, of forgetting and surmounting evil" (p. 8). That is, all these experiences are due to the way man treats himself, not to the way a real God treats him. The subjective is not referred to the objective, but the objective is reduced to the subjective. A striking peculiarity of the psychology and sociology of religion is that, whereas other sciences leave intact the things that they explain, the former sciences destroy their object in the act of explaining it. And this feature is all the more significant in this notable book by Leuba, inasmuch as he considers that the distinctive thing in religion is not any specific need of ours, but the object by which our need is satisfied. Hence the destruction of the object is the destruction of religion. To reduce God to the idea of God is like reducing bread to the idea of bread. But it is bread, not the idea of bread, that is the staff of life. This virtual

¹A *Psychological Study of Religion, Its Origin, Function and Future*. By James H. Leuba, Professor of Psychology in Bryn Mawr College. New York: Macmillan, 1912. Pp. xi+371. \$2.00 net.

negation of God leads one to reflect upon the great change which has been consummated since the beginning of the reduction of God which Descartes started. Once God was the source, support, and end of man, of all things indeed; from the point of view of this modern psychology and modern sociology man is source, support, and end of God—God reduced to an idea of God. God is like "Uncle Sam," as the illustration goes. But Uncle Sam is not a being for himself, he is a being for the American people. He did not exist before them, and would not exist were they to pass away. As the author of this note has elsewhere written: "Let any functional psychologist try to act upon the idea of God, no matter how that idea arose, and at the same time disbelieve in the existence of God; and he will find that no action will follow, if *ontological* reference be denied to the idea."¹ This reduction of religion to illusion—for that is what it is—means theoretically the substitution of the science of religion for religion, psychology for theology; practically, an indication that religion is inwardly dead, whatever the outer leafage on this old tree of life may be, unless indeed counteracting considerations can be adduced by way of decisive rebuttal.

Strauss claimed that he was personally fit to write his *Leben Jesu* by virtue of the fact that he was inwardly emancipated from Jesus. Was he right in this? Similarly, the method of the psychologist is to look at religious phenomena from without. The judgment of the religious consciousness itself is discredited by the judgment of the psychologist whose standpoint is objective. What the soul seems to experience as existent psychology denies actually to exist, and affirms to be an imaginative projection of the self. What God says to the saint is not said by God at all, but is an echo of the saint's own consciousness. So it would seem Professor Leuba must hold.

Now, can the objective observation of the psychologist give an exhaustive explanation of the way in which religious phenomena are produced? Is the science of life in any aspect coincident with life? Love reduced to love as psychologically explained would be a much poorer thing than love as immediately experienced. Any experience psychologized is that experience antiquated, abridged, depotentiated. It is fair to ask the psychologist, in view of the issues at stake, whether the method followed is quite adequate and suitable for penetrating the essence and characteristic of the religious phenomenon. Besides, if the psychologist concludes that God is unreal, owing to the mode of the origin of the idea of God, has he in mind some mode of the origin of the God-idea, which would indubitably authenticate its truth? I can think of none against which objective psychology could not raise paralyzing suspicions. Granting the immanent genetic origin, for which psychology stands, does that exclude divine origination? If I see aright, our embarrassment is due, not to psychology as such, but to psychology become *Psychologismus*, as the Germans say. Psychology observing, describing, empirically explaining religious phenomena with its relative and partial and provisional explanations, is one thing; psychology—as in my first quotation from Leuba's book—enacting metaphysical judgments—is quite another thing. And a metaphysics built exclusively upon psychology, or psychology assuming the rôle of metaphysics, is no better than the same situation with reference to physics. Difficult as the task may be, it would seem that the interest of theistic religion requires us to pass on from psychology to a philosophy of reality, to a fulfilment of the high task of metaphysics and theology. To be sure, this note is not criticism of Leuba's book, but reflections suggested by it. The book is a pains-

¹ *American Journal of Theology*, XI, 596.

taking and masterly work by one of our most courageous and competent scholars, and merits, and will of course receive, a

detailed and comprehensive treatment, such as these observations do not at all have in mind.

BOOK NOTICES

An Outline of the History of Christian Thought since Kant. By Edward Caldwell Moore. New York: Scribner, 1912. Pp. x+249. 75 cents, net.

One of the pathetic aspects of the remarkable transformation of religious and theological thinking through which we are passing is the widespread ignorance on the part of ministers and of teachers as to its exact significance. To a large extent the discussions concerning theology are being carried on with presuppositions which are really antiquated. An intelligent valuation of modern liberalism is possible only on the basis of an appreciation of the history of thought in the past century, so that one may see how our fundamental problems of religious belief are conditioned by the ideals which have come to dominate modern life. Unfortunately, there are still too many attempts to make headway in our present confusion by using the distinctions and the labels which characterized the Unitarian controversy in New England. As a matter of fact, we have long since outgrown the mental and religious attitude which made that particular controversy possible. Professor Moore recognizes this fact. Says he: "The breach between the liberal and conservative tendencies of religious thought in this country came at a time when the philosophical reconstruction was already well under way in Europe. The debate continued until long after the biblical-critical movement was in progress. The controversy was conducted on both sides in practically total ignorance of these facts. . . . There will always be interest in the literature of a discussion conducted by reverent, and, in their own way, learned and original men. Yet there is a pathos about the sturdy originality of good men expended upon a problem which had been already solved. The men in either camp proceeded from assumptions which are now impossible to men of both" (p. 18).

What are the influences which have entered into our modern thinking, so as to occasion the changes in theology which we are now undertaking to make? This is the question which Professor Moore asks and undertakes to answer. He discusses three important developments of thought which vitally affect theology. To each of them a chapter is devoted. The first is the reconstruction of our whole conception of the world and of man's relations to the world. In

the place of the realistic and dualistic philosophy of mediaeval and even of pre-Kantian rationalistic thinking, came the great idealistic movement which Kant initiated and which was developed into the dynamic and evolutionary cosmology now dominant. The second great movement which is of importance for theology is the reconstruction of our conception of the Bible made necessary by historical and critical scholarship. The third important influence is the development of physical and of social sciences so as to constitute the actual basis of our practical activities today, and consequently to demand a positive place in theology for the dominating conceptions of scientific method. With this broad survey of the background of our modern life, it is possible to estimate the specific theological contributions made by those who have really appreciated the significance of these potent aspects of our present life.

The author himself, however, has realized the impossibility of treating the period in anything like adequate fashion in the limits of this small volume. He asks us to regard it as only a preliminary sketch, to be followed by a more extended exposition in the future. It is, indeed, to be feared that those who have not already some knowledge of the men and the movements here described will often fail to appreciate the force of the suggestive interpretations and conclusions furnished by Professor Moore. He is at times in evident perplexity as to whether to devote the small space at his command to the narration of facts which must be known if the interpretation is to mean anything, or to presuppose such knowledge in order to give his entire attention to the religious and theological implications. One feels keenly, at times, the fragmentary character of the exposition; and one wishes that instead of the abrupt ending, which leaves the reader standing bewildered in the presence of the suggestions of the late Professor James, there might have been furnished a critical review and summary of the total outcome of the history traversed in the book. But in spite of all the disadvantages under which the author labored in his attempt to compress into two hundred and fifty pages the story of that tremendous revolution in thought which "separates from their forebears men who have lived since Kant by a greater interval than that which divided Kant from Plato," he has alleviated one of the most crying

needs of theological education in this country. He has, at least, furnished in outline an accurate and suggestive interpretation of the historical setting in which our theological work must be consciously placed. The evident mission of the book is to deliver us from the barren controversies which have so long diverted attention from the real issues, and to open our eyes to the actual problems which we must courageously meet.

Jesus. By Professor George H. Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D. New York: Macmillan Co., 1912. Pp. 321. \$1.50.

Fifteen years ago, while he was professor of New Testament interpretation at Chicago Theological Seminary, Dr. Gilbert published a *Student's Life of Jesus*. This book has been useful to many as a guide to fuller study of the gospels, and is now in its third edition. The author has continued his historical investigation of the gospels, however, and has reached a different view of the historical value of the sources of our knowledge of Jesus. This has necessitated a rewriting of his interpretation of Jesus' life. His two books are independent of each other, but both are actuated by the simple purpose to get at the facts and by an unchanged view of the greatness of Jesus and of the adequacy of his revelation to the needs of mankind. Dr. Gilbert hopes that this new exposition of Jesus may be of some service to the church in its present time of theological stress, for he is assured that nothing can so further the "Jesus-type" of religious life as an intelligent acquaintance with Jesus himself.

The book is in three parts, dealing with the sources, the historical Jesus, and the legendary Jesus.

His method of using the gospels as sources for ascertaining the life of Jesus is to take up, first, the material contained in Q (the Logia), as being the earliest and best attested narrative of Jesus; then, the additional material contained in the Gospel of Mark and reproduced in the First and Third gospels; and finally, the material in each of the Synoptic Gospels that is peculiar to itself. He thus has three strata of the memorabilia of Jesus, decreasing in historical trustworthiness in that order. With reference to the Gospel of John, which is dated at 100-120 A.D. and is not by the apostle John, Dr. Gilbert thinks certain features of the Johannine representation may have historical value, but "the author himself unmistakably puts us on our guard against accepting any statement in his writing as historical except on thorough investigation, and in this investigation the earliest documents imbedded in the Synoptic Gospels will always have a determinative influence" (p. 72).

Part II, setting forth the historical Jesus, has a long chapter on the Greco-Roman world in which Jesus' life was set, followed by a brief

consideration of the years before his public ministry, and of his entrance upon the ministry. An extended discussion on What Jesus Thought of Himself concludes with the view that "Jesus explicitly classed himself with the prophets and spoke of himself as a teacher," that he claimed to be Messiah but in a highly spiritualized non-popular sense, and "as to the nature of Jesus, whether it was different from that of other men, there is no evidence in our sources that this was ever the subject of remark or of reflection on his part" (p. 153). In further chapters he considers the main events and characteristics of the ministry to its close on the cross. "The career of Jesus as a character of history terminated at an unknown tomb near Jerusalem" (p. 236).

Part III contains seventy pages on the legendary Jesus. The birth and infancy of Jesus and the material resurrection are counted legendary. In the ministry itself Dr. Gilbert does not find much legendary material, and he thinks this remarkable in view of the extreme credulity and the love of the supernatural which characterized the age in which the gospel took shape. The Q source, or Logia, contains nothing which need be regarded as in any degree legendary. The Markan narrative contains perhaps no more than five incidents of a legendary character, namely, the stilling of the tempest, the feeding of the multitude, the walking upon the water, the transfiguration, and the voice from heaven in connection with it. For these events a natural explanation is offered. The peculiar material in the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John contains a large number of legendary narratives, but these are obviously non-historical. With regard to the resurrection it is said: "The church of the twentieth century is at one with the apostolic church in the belief that Jesus, having suffered death on the cross, *continued to live*; but the *grounds* of that belief which found a place in the gospel narrative cannot be regarded as valid. The abiding foundation of that belief is not material—an empty tomb, a reanimated physical body—but it is spiritual" (p. 307).

Dr. Gilbert has added to the many sincere attempts to reinterpret Jesus. His own theological and historical presuppositions are reflected in the book. The multiplicity and variety of the interpretations of Jesus now before the public enable us to see how difficult it is to arrive at a wholly objective and completely historical conception of Jesus' person and work. At the same time they promote the effort, and they lead toward its accomplishment.

Greece and Babylon. By Lewis R. Farnell. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911. Pp. xii + 311.

The claim that ancient Greece borrowed many of her religious ideas from Babylonia

has been weighed and found wanting by Dr. Farnell, the learned author of *Cults of the Greek States* and other works on the religion of Greece.

One cannot show the thoroughness of Dr. Farnell's book better than by quoting, as far as possible, the author's own striking summaries.

After a statement of the problem and the evidence (chap. ii), the author takes up a discussion of the morphology of the compared religions (chap. iii), and finds that "we must regard the religious structure to which the cults of Anatolia and Mesopotamia belonged as morphologically the same as the Hellenic" (p. 40). The pre-dominance of the goddess in the religions compared is taken up in chap. v. Here the comparison shows that the Hellenes did not bring with them into Greece the supremacy of the goddess, nor did they borrow it from the Semites (contrary to the opinion current among scholars long before pan-Babylonism was heard of), but found it on the soil, "a native growth of an old Mediterranean religion."

It is not, however, until the author compares the deities of the two civilizations (chaps. vi and vii), as nature-powers and as social powers, that the hopelessness of attempting to maintain that Greece borrowed from Babylon becomes evident. The Babylonian religion early took on an astral character, whereas the religion of the Hellenes "was pre-eminently concerned with mother-earth—with Ge-meter" (p. 114). Likewise the "political application of Hellenic religion seems wholly a native and independent product of the Hellenic spirit, and reflected the characteristically Hellenic forms of civic life" (p. 140).

Chap. ix treats of "Purity as a Divine Attribute." The mythology of the Babylonians is found to be strikingly pure. "It agrees in this respect with the Hebraic, and differs markedly from the Hellenic; the gods live in monogamic marriage with their respective goddesses, and we have as yet found no licentious stories of their intrigues" (p. 164). This is a very important point, for it is just the mythological stories of a people that are likely to be borrowed by others.

"Again, Babylonian magic is essentially demoniac; but we have no evidence suggesting that the pre-Homeric Greek was demon-ridden, or that demonology and exorcism were leading factors of his consciousness and practice: the earliest mythology does not suggest that he habitually imputed his physical or moral disorders to demons, nor does it convey any hint of the existence in the early society of that terrible functionary, the witch-finder, or the institution of witch-trials" (p. 178).

The religious temperament of Greeks and Babylonians differed in many important points (chap. xi). The Semite lived in the fear of the Lord. "The religious habit of the Hellene strikes us by comparison as sober, well-tempered, often genial, never ecstatically abject, but even—we may say—self-respecting. Tears for sin,

lamentations and sighs, the countenance bowed to the ground, the body cleaving to the pavement, these are not part of his ritual" (pp. 192-93).

While the eschatological ideas of the East and West (chap. xii) are in some respects similar, "it is perhaps the most salient and significant difference between Hellenic and Mesopotamian religions that in the latter we have no trace of mysteries at all, while in the former not only were they a most potent force in the popular religion, but were the chief agents for developing the eschatologic faith" (p. 220).

The comparison of the ritual (chap. xiii) likewise shows many similarities between the two religions, but entirely too many striking differences to permit of the theory of borrowing.

Religious Liberty. By Francesco Ruffini.

Translated by J. Parker Heyes, with a preface by J. B. Bury. New York: Putnam, 1912. \$3.50.

This book deserves a long and discriminating review. The author is professor of ecclesiastical law in the University of Turin. His learning is prodigious, and it is evident on almost every page. But the inadequacy of translation is apparent in numerous passages where the meaning is left in doubt. Yet upon the whole the work can be understood, and it will have to be reckoned with by all students of religious liberty whether considered in its historical development or in its abstract conception.

Ruffini defines religious liberty as a judicial idea. "It takes sides neither with faith nor with disbelief; but in that ceaseless struggle which has been waged between them since man first existed, and which will be continued, perhaps, as long as man exists, it stands absolutely apart."

He believes in some kind of state ecclesiastical control. It is only in a state church that religious liberty is possible. Of course in a state church there should be no bar to the growth of denominations. They should be allowed freely to do their own work in their own way. But the very zeal that led to separation renders all separatists intolerant. This he attempts to prove from the history of religious liberty, and from the actual present status of the subject. For example: In Catholic Italy Luigi Luzzati, a Jew, was prime minister, whereas in separatist America a Catholic could never be president. But clearly he does not understand the situation in America. Theoretically there is nothing to keep a Catholic from becoming president, and practically the Catholics are finding representation in all the great public offices of the country. For example, the chief justice of the Supreme Court is a Catholic, and one of the associate justices is a Catholic, and all political parties

bid for the Catholic vote. The reason for the "custom" to which Professor Ruffini attributes so much power is that the Catholic church is first, last, and always a powerful, strongly organized political party, whereas this is in no sense true of any of the other denominations.

It must be admitted, moreover, that as a matter of fact where there is a state church the separatist churches never do have a fair deal. For a conspicuous example take the present religious situation in England where the established church is seeking in every possible way to crowd Dissenters to the wall.

True religious liberty, Ruffini thinks, had its origin among the Socinians, and he almost would lead us to believe that wherever it has appeared it can be traced back to them. But many will find it difficult historically to connect up in all the cases that he suggests. They will rather be inclined to find explanations in the well-known principle that like causes tend to produce like effects.

Moreover, at the end of the book we are left with the conviction that in the opinion of the author religious liberty and religious indifference are very nearly synonymous. He seems to be conscious of this, for following the two currents of Socinianism and Separatism he says: "Finally we can admit that in the fundamental conception of the followers of the first current, and throughout their work there transpired the dominant and characteristic note of the whole of their mentality, that is to say, *skepticism*. But here we must also bring against separatism the charge of never having been able to divest itself completely of the character which was imprinted upon it at its birth—the character, let it be said without irreverence, of *fanaticism*."

But, as we have already suggested, no short notice can do justice to a book of such massive learning and elaboration.

The Poets of the Old Testament. By Alex. R. Gordon. New York: G. H. Doran Co., 1912. Pp. xiv+368. \$1.50.

The aim of this book is "to bring home the results [of much recent and important work upon the poetry of the Old Testament], as a unified whole, to the English reader."

This general purpose is here admirably accomplished. But Dr. Gordon has not failed to enrich the volume by much that is distinctly his own. The translations are all original, and the sympathetic appreciation of, and insight into, the soul of Hebrew poetry are not such as come at second hand.

An initial chapter sets forth the general characteristics of Hebrew poetry. Then the folk-poetry is listed and surveyed rapidly. This is followed by a study of the various kinds of

musical accompaniments to Hebrew song. Afterward, the books of Lamentations, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes are expounded in succession. Dr. Gordon has not given us another *Introduction to the Poetry of the Old Testament*, but rather an exposition of its contents. Questions of introduction are touched upon, to be sure, but only lightly; they are made wholly subsidiary to the more important task of interpretation.

As indicative of the author's critical standpoint, it may be noted that he declares that "it is now impossible to distinguish with any certainty the Davidic Element in the Psalter." That is, whatever Davidic psalms there were have been so edited and revised as to have lost nearly all semblance of their original form and content. The earliest psalms, in their present form, are placed in the days prior to the Exile; but the first "Davidic" Psalter was not completed until after the work of Ezra and Nehemiah. The second "Davidic" collection (Pss. 51-72) originated in the following century. Many psalms come from the late Persian and Greek periods, and not a few from the Maccabean age. The I of the Psalter represents to a large extent the Jewish community, rather than any individual speaker. The Book of Job originated in the period following the restoration from exile as a prose story of a pious man tried to the utmost, but steadfast throughout and finally rewarded with abundant prosperity. The poetical portion of the book was written, at a somewhat later date, by an author who was unable to heal the hurt of the daughter of his people so lightly. The Elihu speeches (chaps. 32-37) are a later contribution, and many other passages have been freely added to the original work by editors too solicitous regarding the effect of the books' unchallenged teachings.

The bulk of Proverbs, viz., chaps. 10-29, goes back, at least in collected form, only as far as the fourth century B.C.; while the rest of the book must be accounted for before the end of the third century B.C. The Song of Songs is a collection of love-songs, rather than a drama, and had its origin in the latter part of the third century B.C. In his treatment of Ecclesiastes, Dr. Gordon follows in the footsteps of McNeile and Barton.

Any student desirous of knowing what modern scholarship has to say about the origin and meaning of the poetic literature of the Old Testament will find here just what he needs. He will, furthermore, not be confronted continually by the dry bones of scholarship, but will be shown the way into a fuller understanding of this rich literature and a higher appreciation of the character of a people capable of producing such a series of exalted religious forms in the midst of conditions that were anything but helpful to the growth of faith in God.

What Does Christianity Mean? The Cole Lectures for 1912. By William Herbert Perry Faunce. Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1912. \$1.25 net.

In the stimulating lectures delivered on the E. W. Cole Foundation at Vanderbilt University last spring, President Faunce has furnished a point of view for judging Christianity which is in accord with the modern voluntaristic trend in philosophical thinking and is at the same time thoroughly practical and inspiring for those who care more for the experienced values of religion than for formal analysis. Christianity is defined in terms of purpose. "It is the revelation of the persistent loving purpose of the eternal God and the implanting of that same purpose in man." When once this forward-looking definition is accepted, we shall see the abandonment of painstaking attempts to identify Christianity with some past formulation or with some fixed system of doctrine. Christianity is too large and too vital for such definition. The second chapter, on "The Meaning of God," frankly accepts some of the logical conclusions involved in the conception of never-ceasing purposeful activity. If we are not able to say that the creative work is finished, if we are compelled to think of God as having in some sense a growing experience, "even such a God would be a higher object of worship than the solid block of imperturbability that metaphysicians call 'the Absolute.'" Other chapters bear the titles "The Basis and Test of Character," "The Principle of Fellowship," "The Aim of Education," and "The Goal of Our Effort." In all these realms the author's wide experience as a pastor and a college president furnish innumerable happy and suggestive illustrations of the themes which he is discussing. Character is determined by asking what a man intends in his life. To seek to realize the purpose of Jesus involves closer discipleship than to hark back to the precepts of Jesus or to debate concerning his metaphysical nature. Fellowship in the recognition of a common purpose is both more practicable and more in accord with the spirit of Christianity itself than is organic unity of churches based on an appeal to an authority coming out of the past. Education has ceased to be concerned primarily with the receptive powers of children, and is now facing the duty of preparing the growing mind to face the future. The kingdom of God, the goal of our effort, is to be realized in the future, and is the source of our inspiration for the tasks of personal and social religious effort. A book so vital in content and so enthusiastic in spirit cannot fail to kindle in those who read it a new sense of the latent power of Christianity which may be released when we cease to expend our energies in debating obsolete theological issues and bring to bear upon the future the rich and varied inheri-

ance which is ours. It should be added that the literary style sweeps one along with constant exhilaration, giving refreshing emotional reinforcement to the ideals presented.

The Preacher: His Life and Work. By J. H. Jowett. New York: Hodder & Stoughton. \$1.25 net.

Dr. Jowett's Yale Lectures on Preaching are at once a literary delight and a spiritual inspiration. These are not dry lectures on homiletics and pastoral duties, but the confidences of a master workman who is telling the apprentices how he found the way into his skill in his calling. Yet there is much in these lectures that has to do with the technique of the minister's business: the building of the sermon, the organization of worship, pastoral ministry, institutional efficiency. A minister will find the book full of practical hints, and these subjects are treated with freshness and genuine power.

Dr. Jowett is an individualist in religion. His strength is in his utter sincerity, his simple clear sense of the fellowship of God, his passion for the salvation of the individual man. All that was so powerful in Spurgeon, in Moody, in the spiritual preacher back to Bunyan and Baxter, is found in Dr. Jowett. And his expression of his faith has a beauty of style, a charm and simplicity, a richness of felicitous biblical quotation (albeit with the allegorical freedom of the mystic, e.g., in the use of the Song of Songs), that puts him in the front rank of the preachers of his type. He frankly distrusts the preaching of a social gospel. He warns the coming preacher against living with the prophets instead of with the apostles and evangelists. He sees a peril that the pulpit of today will be concerned with "the Old Testament message of reform instead of the New Testament message of redemption." Dr. Jowett's fine challenge for personal religion will do every preacher good. But his antithesis is unfortunate. Were not the greatest prophets evangelists and the greatest evangelists prophets? Was not Jesus the supreme prophet-evangelist? And are not reformation and redemption ultimately, if one go deep enough, the same thing? We must save men and we must save society, and we cannot make the one the concern of the pulpit and the other the concern of the platform. The preaching of the kingdom of God must never lose its social emphasis.

The Home University Library (Henry Holt & Co., New York, each 50 cents net) contains some admirable little books dealing with philosophy and religion. Among those which have most recently appeared are three. Professor B. W. Bacon's little volume on *The Making of the New Testament* takes up rapidly the life of

Paul and his various letters, and follows with the literature of catechist and prophet and what he calls the literature of the theologian. The Gospel of John is introduced by a discussion of canonization and inspiration. It is a capital piece of thoroughgoing scholarship, and gives the reader the desired impression of the relation of the Christian literature of the New Testament to the actual life of the times.

Another book is G. E. Moore's *Ethics*, which covers the ordinary field of ethical discussion with particular emphasis upon utilitarianism and the objectivity of moral judgments. The book is not written in altogether fullest sympathy with the most recent discussions in ethics. The book involves three general principles: a thing is intrinsically good only when it either is or contains an excess of pleasure or pain; second, a thing is better than another on the basis of its goodness or badness; and third, the intrinsically better must always be preferred to the intrinsically bad. The volume concludes with a discussion of intrinsic value.

The third volume is that of Louise Creighton, *Missions, Their Rise and Development*. It is, as the title indicates, a rapid historical sketch and is written with considerable vividness. It is so far brought up to date as to mention the Edinburgh Conference. Anyone who wishes a rapid review of the present situation in missions could not do better than to read this little volume.

In *The New Immigration* (Macmillan, New York, \$1.60 net), Mr. Peter Roberts has written a popular book picturing the new immigrant in all his relationships, and he adds a plea for the "square deal" from the government, from industry, and from the American people.

The new immigration is that which comes from southwestern Europe and which since 1896 has formed the major part of our foreign population. The material has been gathered largely by personal study and is replete with "cases." Beginning with the multitude of motives, religious, moral, and economic, which have stimulated this movement, the author pictures the new arrival, his temptations and hardships, on shipboard, in Ellis Island, by train, and at his destination, with incidental criticisms and suggestions as to the treatment of the foreigner by the government and the people.

Mr. Roberts touches on the city character of the new immigration, the colonizing habit, the "stag" boarding-house, the political, religious, and industrial leader and the numerous societies, religious, benevolent, radical, military, social, and national.

Education by voluntary organizations and by individuals through the churches, the Y.M.C.A.'s, etc., is the chief constructive suggestion of the book. As an introduction to

the study of the immigration problem by such voluntary organizations this work will be exceedingly valuable for its wealth of personal material and the exhaustive though sketchy way in which it covers the field.

This seems to be a time of small handbooks, written by recognized specialists. One of these is the Short Course Series edited by John Adams. The volumes composing it are of the nature of expository discussions of the Bible and will serve to make biblical literature inviting to the general reader. The volumes that thus far have appeared are *A Cry for Justice—A Study in Amos*, by Professor John E. McFadyen, *The Lenten Psalms*, by the editor, Rev. John Adams, and *The Beatitudes*, by Rev. R. H. Fisher (Scribner, 60 cents each). Of the series announced practically all are to be written by English and Scotch theologians, and as the series is without American contributors its various volumes may be taken as an example of the expository preaching of the British pulpit—and very good preaching it must be. If these little volumes do nothing more than stimulate an interest in the expository use of the Scripture, they will serve a very useful purpose.

The scholarship and real homiletical feeling are well combined in their pages. They would make capital Sunday reading for men who want something a little more scholarly than the average sermon, and at the same time something more vital than technical commentary.

Professor Abram S. Isaacs, of New York University, publishes a rather small volume entitled *What Is Judaism?* (Putnam, \$1.25). In this Professor Isaacs discusses sympathetically the history of the Jew. His sympathies are modern in that he regards Judaism as a religion of daily life, of growth, unmechanical, and broad. As a Modernist he would hold that the rabbinical elements are not so essential as the inward spirit. In his discussion of Jewish characteristics he very naturally sets forth the idealistic side of his fellow-countrymen and reaches there a hopefulness which he carries still farther in his discussion of the possible future of Judaism. At this point he leads up to Zionism, but does not discuss the matter very vigorously at any place in his volume. He gives a full discussion of the contribution of the Jews to literature, and of Jewish literature itself. He further deals briefly and superficially with the Talmud, the Cabala, and with the various other aspects of Jewish life. It is interesting and informing reading, although Professor Isaacs never plows very deep beneath the surface. There is room for a thoroughgoing treatise in the very field that Professor Isaacs treats in his journalistic fashion.

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“I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER, MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH”

That is the challenge which Christianity flung at the feet of science, or what passed as science in the days of the Gnostics. And that is the challenge which Christianity flings at the feet of empirical science today.

We believe in God; God who is the Father, revealed by Jesus; God who is the immanent Will of our universe; a God of love and law.



Yet this confession of the faith of successive millions in the heavenly Father must ever defend itself against assault.

Once Christianity was forced to vindicate its faith in the cosmic Reason; and it saw materialism shrink into an oracular agnosticism.

Today our Christian experience itself is tortured into yielding us doubts, and that, too, the psychology of religion.

For religion, we are sometimes euphemistically and sometimes bluntly told, has been forced to confess its central illusion.

It has a psychology with much information concerning hysteria, hypnotism, alternating personalities, and adolescence; an encyclopedic wealth of tribal customs, totems, dances, myths, devils, fairies, and tabu; elaborate questionnaires and convincing statistical curves, sociological inductions and anthropological reductions.

But no God.

For in the beginning primitive men invented “God” that he might create heaven and earth.



Far be it from any serious student of religion to belittle, or in the slightest degree to hinder the ambition of those who would study the human soul in its search for spiritual help.

But to study experience and its resultant intellectual conceptions is not to deny an outer world in religion. The psychology of sensation is not the world about us; that will exist however inconclusive may be our metaphysics.

The Ptolemaic or the Copernican astronomy is not the sun and the eight planets.

Even Uncle Sam, that creature of anthropomorphic patriotism, stands for an unimagined nation with prairies and mountains, legislatures and armies.

Religion may have made its gods, but it never made its God.



Suppose it had, would you pray to a psychological mood? Would you, indeed, be religious any longer?

To have a belief function well you must not tell yourself it is false.

A godless religion would be about as morally effective as an unloaded revolver after the highwayman has discovered its emptiness.



No honest man need be afraid of facts. If there be no God, we will not help to make one with stained glass windows, social customs, and theologies. We will face our task in our lonesome, loveless universe, and then, bewildered and protesting, but with souls that have never sought consolation in a comfortable lie, we will fall back into the universe from which we sprang.

But it will not be the psychology of religion that will break our faith any more than the pre-Kantian empiricism broke our great-grandfathers' faith.

When faith in God the Father fails, it will be because of the world's evil and suffering, its moral enigmas, and its outraged sense of justice.



For injustice and sensuality, conscienceless capitalism, and materialistic philosophies are to be overcome, not by the idea of God, but by a real God mighty in battle.

With this faith the church dares to face its tasks. With anything less it would be nothing but a group of antiquarian triflers.

HAS EVOLUTION "COLLAPSED"?

A SYMPOSIUM BY SCIENTISTS

Many earnest Christians are afraid of evolution as something which will destroy their faith in God and Jesus Christ. Indeed, no thoughtful person can fail to perceive the dangers to religious faith implied in certain philosophies which are based upon evolution. But such apprehensions are sometimes expressed unfortunately. The public, for instance, has been widely assured that "evolution has collapsed." Such an affirmation involves a question of fact. If evolution has collapsed, scientists, particularly the astronomers, geologists, and biologists, would be the first to know. If it has not collapsed, the religious world must discover a way in which evolution can be utilized as one of the revelations of God's will. Accordingly, in order to get at the opinion of the scientific world, the BIBLICAL WORLD asked a number of the leaders of American science to give a brief answer not to exceed fifty or one hundred words to the question: "Does modern science still believe in evolution?" The answers from these gentlemen are given below. The unanimity of response makes it apparent that our theological thinking cannot ignore, much less deny, the place which evolution is holding in our modern world. For our own part we believe that, so far from being inconsistent with the gospel, evolution furnishes one of the means by which we may better understand the relations of God with his world.

WILLIAM PATTEN

Professor of Biology and Zoölogy, Dartmouth College

Evolution is the accepted doctrine of the natural sciences to the extent that it has long ceased to be a subject of debate in standard scientific journals, or in the organized conferences of men of science. It is no longer a question whether this, that, or the other has been evolved, but where, and when, and how, and why it was evolved.

As for the biologists, they are now farther from agreement as to what constitutes the processes and conditions essential to organic evolution, and farther from mutual understanding, or from a just appreciation of both the supplementary and the antagonistic views held by their colleagues, than they were a generation ago.

This is an index of real progress—progress along divergent lines, too rapid for the pioneers to keep in constant touch with each other, or with the rear guard.

The brief reports of individual success, or failure, on the frontier, which from time to time reach the public ear, are as a rule unintelligible to the layman; they are sometimes improperly utilized to proclaim a general defeat, or a general victory, for this or that cause; or to allay partisan fear, or encourage partisan hope.

Allow me, a soldier in the ranks, to report that there is but one army in the field; the fight moves bravely on toward "The Light," and science and humanity lead.

RAY MOULTON

Professor of Astronomy, University of Chicago

In reply to your inquiry whether or not scientific men still believe in evolution, I beg to state that I do not know of one who doubts it. Perhaps their attitude of mind on the subject can best be indicated by a brief explanation of their conception of what evolution is, when fundamentally considered.

The fundamental basis of science, that which makes it possible, is that the universe is orderly and not chaotic. This is not only the absolutely fundamental postulate of scientists, but it is in effect adopted either consciously or unconsciously by everyone else. Not only is the universe at this instant an orderly one, but it was orderly yesterday and on all preceding days. We believe that it will be orderly in the future. Now the essence of evolution is that the order which exists one day changes into those orders which will exist on succeeding days in a systematic manner, rather

than in an irregular and chaotic one. That is, the fundamental conception in evolution is that the universe is orderly in *time* as well as in *space*. It is seen from this that the doctrine of evolution is the completion of the doctrine of science itself. It started in astronomy more than a century ago and spread through geology and zoölogy to all the domains of our thought, and its importance cannot be overestimated. Those who are trying to appraise correctly the great intellectual movements in the world and not to see the universe through a gimlet hole, believe that the nineteenth century will be remembered by those of our successors who are far enough from it to regard its achievements in correct perspective as being noteworthy chiefly because it was that one in which the doctrine of evolution became the common property of mankind.

HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN

President of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Evolution has long since passed out of the domain of speculation, of hypothesis, and even of theory. It is a law of living nature as firmly and incontrovertibly established as the law of gravitation in respect to the celestial spheres. Men of science are thus no longer seeking evidence of evolution because it is wholly unnecessary to reinforce a thoroughly established law.

The reason there is confusion in the minds of many people regarding evolu-

tion is that the various explanations of the evolution process which have been put forward, that is, of the means by which evolution goes on, are continually under discussion and will probably always remain so. This is because no explanation is a complete one; while it may solve many of the questions which arise in regard to the evolution process it does not solve all. Thus the hypotheses and theories regarding the process which have been

advanced since the middle of the eighteenth century by Buffon, Lamarck, Darwin, Spencer, Weissmann, Driesch, Bergson, and hosts of others are constantly undergoing critical examination and revision, in course of which each theory is put to the severe test of experiment, that is, an application to all the

known facts of the evolution process. But these doubts, discussions, and even controversies which are constantly arising regarding the *nature* of the evolution process do not in the least disturb the *law* itself, which is as firmly established, perhaps more so, than many of the great laws of the physical universe.

T. P. MALL

Professor of Anatomy, Johns Hopkins Medical School

As far as I am aware, scientists accept fully the theory of evolution. Really it is not questioned. It is true that gradual evolution, as advocated by Darwin, is seriously questioned by those who believe

that it takes place by "rapid jumps," mutation, but this does not contradict evolution. In fact, the theory is being tested by the experimental method, and it withstands the test fully.

S. W. WILLISTON

Professor of Paleontology, University of Chicago

I know of no biologist, whether of high or low degree, master or tyro, who ventures to suggest a doubt as to the fundamental truths of organic evolution. Possibly it has been the disputes in recent years over the methods and causes of evolution—natural selection, mutation, Weissmannism, transmission of acquired characters, etc.—which have given rise to misconceptions on the

part of many not familiar with the subject. That all living things, at least since the first speck of primordial protoplasm, have arisen on this earth by a process of evolution is, I am safe in saying, a demonstrated fact. But the *causes* of organic evolution are still an unsolved problem; and he will be a greater man than was Darwin who finally demonstrates them.

ALBERT P. MATHEWS

Professor of Chemistry, University of Chicago

So far as I know, no physiologist or biologist in the world doubts the fact of evolution. It is regarded as completely established as the heliocentric theory of the solar system. No one raises the question any more. All

biological evidence, physiological, morphological, zoological, and paleontological, is unanimous on the subject. But while the fact of evolution is universally admitted, the means by which evolution is brought to pass are un-

certain. While natural selection still remains as one of the most important factors so far discovered, there is perhaps a tendency at the present time to look deeper into the fundamental constitution of living matter itself for at least one of the essential causes of evolutionary progress.

JACQUES LOEB

Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, New York

Modern science believes more firmly than ever in evolution. Less is today written on the subject than formerly because modern biologists find it more profitable to experiment than to argue. Two essential groups of data have been added since the days of Darwin as the result of experimental work. First, it was shown through a blood reaction, which was discovered in connection with work on immunity, that a close blood relationship exists between man and anthropoid apes. Second, breeding experiments by Mendelian methods have established the fact of the independent disappearance and possibly also the appearance of hereditary factors for unit characters in the germ.

JOHN M. COULTER

Professor of Botany, University of Chicago

The fact of organic evolution is no longer debated by biologists. The discussions among biologists have arisen in reference to the proposed explanations of evolution. These discussions have confused outsiders, because they imagine that the fact of evolution is being discussed rather than some explanation of it. For example, there is a wide impression that Darwin is the author of the theory of evolution, and when it is known that Darwinism is being attacked by biologists, the inference is that if natural selection goes, evolution goes. Every proposed explanation may be proved inadequate, and still evolution remains to be explained.

E. G. CONKLIN

Professor of Biology, Princeton University

Although there is considerable difference of opinion among naturalists as to the factors of organic evolution, there is almost no disagreement as to the fact. The fact of evolution does not depend upon the fate of Darwinism, Lamarckism, or any other theory of the cause of evolution. The evidences in favor of organic evolution are almost as complete as those in favor of individual development. There are still a few people who affirm that everything is contained in an egg that will ever develop out of it, but they are not people who have made

a thorough study of embryology. Similarly, there are people who deny the transmutation of species, but they are not those who have made a scientific study of species. The evidences in favor of transmutation are overwhelming and they are constantly increasing.

It would be as impossible for the biological sciences to go back to the pre-evolution standpoint as it would for astronomy to go back to the Ptolemaic theory—as impossible as it would be to put the fully developed animal back into the egg from which it came.

C. M. CHILD

Associate Professor of Zoölogy, University of Chicago

In reply to your question: "Does modern science still believe in evolution?" I would say most emphatically, Yes. The only question in the minds of biologists is as to the manner in which evolution has occurred. The ideas of Darwin are less generally accepted than formerly, but this means only that our conclusions concerning the method of

evolution are different from his. Our knowledge of the dynamics of organisms is increasing as experimental investigation replaces description and our point of view is consequently changing, but it may be said without qualification that no evidence against evolution and an overwhelming volume for it has been discovered.

FRANK R. LILLIE

Professor of Embryology, University of Chicago

I feel pretty impatient over the statements of certain religious teachers that evolution has collapsed. It seems such a manifest evidence of the "*will to believe*." Evolution is the foundation of all our biological work, and the evidences of it grow more cogent as the years pass, instead of less. The teachers in question take advantage of differences in opinion

among recent investigators concerning the *method* of evolution. Opinion in reference to this matter is in a state of flux, and this is always a hopeful condition in scientific work because it means an abundance of research. I am not acquainted with any biologist of standing who does not regard the principle of evolution as the foundation of biology.

EDWARD B. WILSON

Professor of Zoölogy, Columbia University

If there be an impression that the theory of evolution has "collapsed," it is entirely unfounded. Evolution is now taken for granted by every biologi-

cal investigator; and if there be any competent biologists who reject it, I have not the rare privilege of their acquaintance. I am aware that the

impression concerning the "collapse" of the evolution theory to which you refer does exist in certain lay circles, and I fear that it has been fostered by persons who ought to know better. In so far as it does exist it is owing entirely to a confusion between the fact of evolution and the causes by which it has been

brought about and determined. If less attention is for the moment being given to the direct investigation of evolution itself, it is only because the problem cannot be successfully attacked until the phenomena of mutation, variation, and heredity have become more accurately and fully known.

CHARLES B. DAVENPORT

Department of Experimental Evolution, Carnegie Institution of Washington

I do not see the necessity of fifty or a hundred words when all I can say on the matter can be expressed in a

sentence. I do not know a modern scientific man who does not believe in evolution.

THE RELIGION OF A SCIENTIST

JOHN M. COULTER

Professor of Botany, University of Chicago

On another page will be found a contribution by Professor Coulter to a symposium on evolution. In his present paper he speaks as an active church worker as well as one of the leading scientists of America. The attitude which Professor Coulter takes we believe is characteristic of an increasing number of scientists. Having once distinguished the essential elements of religion from the various doctrinal systems with which men have attempted to explain religion, they see that Christianity is something vastly more than speculation and ecclesiastical authority. To use the happy expression which, unless we mistake, Professor Coulter himself originated, they are ready to accept the "old gospel but not a Middle-Age gospel."

It is a common remark that religion had a stronger hold upon our fathers than upon us; and that it seems to have more hold upon us than upon our children. The inference is that the world is becoming more irreligious, a very serious fact, if true. Such statements and inferences call for a definition

of religion. Of course we have in mind the Christian religion. Briefly speaking, it is a sense of obligation to God and a willingness to fulfil the obligation. Jesus defined this obligation as follows: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength; and thy neighbor as

thyself." This means that religion must appeal to and use the affection, the intellect, and the physical powers. This triple alliance represents the whole constitution of man. It is evident that, according to the definition of Jesus, a religion that does not include one's intellect, with all of its training and experience, is an incomplete one. It may be affectionate, but it may not be intelligent; it may be emotional, but it may not be sane. Religion of the exclusively emotional sort belongs to certain temperaments; but these temperaments do not often belong to the most effective people. And yet, the belief is too prevalent that one must dismiss his reason if he accepts religion; or, as one has put it, he must keep the two in separate compartments that they may not interfere with one another. Most men are honest enough to refuse any such arrangement; and under these conditions, religion is dismissed and reason is retained. This makes it all the more important to realize the fact that the association of reason and religion is not only possible, but that the founder of Christianity insisted that reason is an essential constituent of religion. This means that religion cannot contain anything that reason rejects; that all the triumphs of reason must ever be consistent with religion; and that loyal affection and a trained mind are helps in the progress of religion.

It must be confessed that the church, the organized representative of the Christian religion, has often laid too exclusive stress upon the factor of affection, and the result has been what may be called *blind* devotion rather than *intelligent* devotion. It has even de-

plored intellectual triumphs because they tended to unsettle blind devotion. In the light of the attitude of Jesus, this seems unthinkable, but it is true, and serves to illustrate the danger of any religion that does not preserve and use the open mind.

I wish to illustrate the kind of service that knowledge must render to religion, if religion is not to be regarded more and more as an outgrown sentiment, and the church an outgrown institution. I am simply illustrating the attitude of mind that must belong to religion, by selecting a few notable cases.

Religion Not Theology

The most common intellectual blunder is to confuse *religion* with *theology*, and as this confusion probably explains what has been regarded as the gradual decline of religion, it needs to be cleared up.

Theology may be called a science, the science whose subject is God, and the great body of whose literature is the record of man's conclusions concerning God, much of which may fairly be called philosophical speculation. That such speculations have developed great diversity of opinion is evidenced by the existence of different church denominations. In the midst of clashing theologies religion remains the same; for it deals, not with speculation, but with *character*, and its measure of character is *conduct*. That belief in the speculations of one theology rather than another is not essential to religion is evidenced by the fact that from all these beliefs there have emerged lives full of pure and undefiled religion. In the constant search for truth, facts are discovered

now and then that contradict certain conclusions of a speculative philosophy, and the result is inevitable. This is no reflection upon theology, for it is the noblest of subjects; but its speculations must stand or fall by discovered facts, just as do those of any other science.

One of the great contributions of modern education and experience has been to develop the type of mind that has been able to disentangle essential religion from speculative theology; to separate the things we *know* from the things we *infer*. It has always seemed to me that the most conspicuous illustration of this process is to be obtained from the teachings of Jesus. He was the embodiment of *religion*, but no one thinks of him as a *theologian*. He was surrounded by a nation of theologians, who had woven about the great fundamental truths of the Hebrew religion such a meshwork of speculation that they had become completely concealed. Every utterance of his pierced through the meshwork and revealed essential religion; and he left it completely uncovered for us, more attractive than it had ever been. But a philosophical age soon began to weave about it again a new mesh of speculation; and often it has been nearly if not quite concealed. What has been called the emancipation of thought, however, is bringing it to light again, insisting that the mission of theology is not to *obscure* religion, but to keep it in plain sight.

Any interdenominational movement is one of the many evidences that essential religion is to the front, and that it means the same thing to the representatives of every phase of ecclesiastical organization and belief. Such united

movements mean that the unessential things are being kept in the background. They mean that the great organization we call the church, with its tremendous historic background, is not frittering away its strength in rival camps but with united front is advancing the cause of our common religion.

This somewhat extended contrast between religion and theology has prepared us to explain the contrast between our fathers and ourselves in the matter of religion. They belonged to an age intensely interested in theology. Its speculations were their intellectual meat and drink. Naturally these speculations became so interwoven with their religion that the two were not dissociated, and *belief* was apt to be regarded as more important than *conduct*. This was in spite of the fact that Jesus repeatedly insisted "that it was not what men professed but what men did, not what men called him but how genuinely men followed him, not what men speculated concerning him, but how far men were willing to accept in their lives the ways of life that he embodied, that determined whether or not they were his disciples." There is no plainer statement of the contrast between theology and religion, between belief and conduct, than the following: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

The theological interest of our fathers did not continue in their sons; for other absorbing intellectual interests presented themselves, interests that seemed to have more to do with our immediate welfare. More than all, the enormous advances in

knowledge, made common property by our organization for general education, developed an attitude of mind that does not take kindly to theological speculation, or to speculation of any kind. In so far as there are people who still confuse religion with theology, this new attitude of mind has weakened the attraction of religion. Many an intelligent man to-day looks askance upon religion simply because he thinks it involves belief in certain speculations to which his experience and his training forbid his assent. And still, at no time has there been such a wide interest in real religion as now.

The time has come to stop thinking of the Christian religion as being represented by the "traditions of the elders," as a maze of irreconcilable speculations, irreconcilable not only with one another but with known facts; and to regard it as represented by the life and teachings of Jesus. Its obligations are not those of intellectual consent to ancient beliefs, but of progressive belief in all that increasing knowledge brings and of progressive service as new opportunities arise. As Peabody puts it: "The church, the organized representative of religion, is to be regarded, not as a cold-storage warehouse, but as a power-house."

One of the first intellectual duties in reference to religion, therefore, is to discover what it really is; to disentangle its essentials from the innumerable opinions concerning it. There is only one way to do this, and that is to go directly to the sayings of Jesus as reported in the gospels. This is not all the information we could desire, but it is all we have; and for our purpose it is quite sufficient. Now comes the most difficult part of the

process. To get real, first-hand information from this source, we must free ourselves from all previous opinion, and come with an open mind. Perhaps we do not realize how much heirloom rubbish exists among our intellectual furniture. More than anything else, we must lay aside the mysticism that has blinded the eyes of millions to what is obvious. If we expect to find hidden meanings, our imagination will detect them everywhere. The accounts are simple, written in the vernacular for people of average intelligence, and the most obvious meaning is the one most probably intended. Treat the statements just as you would treat those of a friend in conversation, who has no difficulty in conveying his meaning to you. It is the search for the imaginary hidden things that has caused people to miss the obvious things. A great teacher is always clear, and it is absurd to think of Jesus as talking like the Delphic oracle. He meant just what he said; and as he was giving directions for the actions of people, he had to speak with no ambiguous meaning. The more one takes this attitude toward Jesus, the more and more does he cease to be a mysterious, oracle-speaking personality of twenty centuries ago; and the more and more does he become a friend walking among men today, who sees things through their eyes, and commends himself by being up to date.

Religion and the Bible

A second intellectual duty in reference to religion is to recognize the relation which the Bible holds to it. Never has the Bible held a higher place in the attention of mankind than now. Never was

the necessity so great to take it from the domain of human superstition and to place it within the domain of human thought. To make it a fetish is to dismiss all helpful contact with it. Bound up as it is with the very existence of the Christian religion, too great care cannot be taken to establish the claims it makes for itself, and at the same time to investigate the claims that human judgment has made for it. Nothing can be more unwise than to put in peril essential truth by fastening upon it unessential and doubtful claims. The thoughtful Christian certainly appreciates the fact that the presentation of his religion must be adjusted to the increasing body of knowledge. To hazard religion upon the issue involved in denying matters of definite experience is not to be thought of. This would result in eliminating the increasing thousands who have breathed the atmosphere of modern education, and in converting a powerful and helpful influence into a serious obstruction.

The Bible is our great textbook of religion, and it is in a class by itself. It teaches neither history nor science, but it uses both, and many other things beside, to enforce the religious point of view. The parables of Jesus illustrate the use of the same method for the same purpose. The Bible has become so sacred a thing in the best life of the world, has generated within us such an intense enthusiasm of loyalty, that we feel like making *assertions* concerning it rather than *arguments*, and are tempted to applaud every claim made for it, without stopping to consider whether it is well founded or not. We must recognize that this is unfair to the Bible. I must

confess that the worst foes of the Bible have been those of its own household; for they have continually put it in the attitude of being defended by theology against knowledge; and knowledge has won all the battles.

The problem of religion is to develop effective men and an effective social order. This is certainly the work to which Jesus addressed himself. To help in the accomplishment of this end, clear and definite statements have been formulated for the instruction of men. In the childhood of the race, these statements took the form of commands; but with growth in knowledge and increase in experience, the tone of command changes to something much more binding. It is recognized that these statements are statements of eternal truth. The child has grown to an understanding of the wisdom of the command, and *blind* obedience passes into *appreciative* obedience; and the authority recognized is not the authority of *power*, but the far greater authority of *truth*.

To take an extreme illustration: The set of religious principles contained in the Ten Commandments, or in the Sermon on the Mount, are not authoritative because they are *commanded*, but because they are *true*. It is missing the point entirely ever to raise the question whether the Ten Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount are "binding" upon this nation or upon that, upon this generation or upon some other. The question is simply whether they contain principles essential to a well-ordered individual or society; if so, they are true, and *always* apply *everywhere*, just as does what we call "the law of gravitation." Newton has the reputa-

tion of having announced the law of gravitation; but I presume that no one would say that this law is binding upon us because Newton announced it. The world, like the individual, grows in knowledge; and the childhood of the race was compelled to receive as commands what greater maturity recognizes as statements of eternal truth, infinitely more binding than any command could be. There is no resenting truth or quibbling about it; and obedience is imperative. Religious truth, therefore, has the eternal and binding qualities of the truths of nature, which we call laws. When this compelling power of knowledge is reinforced by the attraction of a noble emotion, we have the tremendous combination presented by the Christian religion.

Religion and Prayer

My third illustration has to do with prayer. There is nothing more sacred and more fundamental in connection with religion than prayer. It is an essential feature of all religions, and its evolution with the progress of knowledge is a most interesting study. It began as a request for deliverance from physical troubles, and for the gratification of material desires. Its form of address was adapted to the idea of a whimsical, oriental despot, who must be placated or cajoled into granting the request.

With the Hebrew race there was added to this material point of view a spiritual point of view, which sought for spiritual blessings; but much of the old vocabulary and general attitude remained. Gradually the spiritual dominated the material; and this culminated in Christ's doctrine of prayer, as a purely spiritual exercise, a communion

of spirit with spirit, a real spiritual companionship, resulting in spiritual invigoration and a courage to face the material side of life.

It is curious that after Jesus the church lapsed so much into the old materialistic formulæ again. Even to this day, an analysis of the usual prayer heard in public meetings reveals the attitude of approaching an oriental despot, the language being inflated and servile; and the requests often as childish (not childlike) as in the primitive days of the race. Naturally all this is unconscious, for prayer becomes ritualistic more easily than any other religious exercise. I imagine that many a good man would be startled by the implications of a prayer that seems to him to be in excellent form.

It is just this materialistic inheritance in connection with prayer that runs counter to modern knowledge and raises most trying questions. Such questions would never have been raised had prayer kept along the lines suggested by the incomparable, spiritual, model prayer of Jesus, addressed to a Father rather than to a despot.

We are in a material world, and we take what it brings us, as Jesus did; but the proper use of prayer is not to change material conditions, but to develop the spirit that enables us to use them to the best advantage.

If prayer is held to steadily as a spiritual exercise, whose beneficent results in millions of lives can be pointed out, there can be no criticism against it. But if we claim for it what Jesus never did, we will find ourselves offending the good sense of those who ought to be induced to join us in using it.

The Mission of Christianity

My last illustration has to do with the mission of Christianity. We have been too content with the view that this mission is only to save individuals; and we have accepted the profession of men as a proof that our mission with them is at an end. We conduct evangelistic campaigns and are satisfied if the end result is a notable addition to the membership of churches. It is certainly true that the first step in the mission of Christianity is to save men; but what are they to be saved for? To be saved *from* the world, and to be saved *for* heaven? Is that your understanding of the religion of Jesus? According to him men are to be saved so as to constitute a citizenship for a "kingdom of God," which as Jesus describes it is certainly a regenerated social order. When a man is saved, therefore, the

mission of Christianity has only begun. Citizenship implies organized society; Christian citizenship implies a society organized on Christian principles. The mission of Christianity, therefore, is first to the individual, and then through him to the social order of which he is a part. Wherever there is injustice or cruelty or lack of opportunity or wrongdoing of any kind, in any social order, there lies the mission of Christianity. Its field is not merely the individual and the home, but it is to be found in politics, in business, in education, in all places where men deal with men. The church is not an institution for itself, and religious activity is not working for the church. The church is religion organized for work among men and in society; and whatever makes for health and virtue and honesty and happiness and justice and love among men is religious work.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

II

THE FATAL COMPROMISE

THOMAS C. HALL, D.D.

Professor of Christian Ethics in Union Theological Seminary

The last vestiges of the senatorial oligarchy that once ruled Rome disappeared with the coming to power of Diocletian. He completed the work of transforming the Empire into an oriental despotism. In his way there stood, however, some valuable memories of freedom and self-government conserved by the growing organization of the

Christian church. As we now know, the church was neither a proletarian nor yet an aristocratic body. There never seems to have been a time, indeed, in which her communion did not embrace a certain proportion of wealthy and even politically influential members. The last struggle of Diocletian for absolute despotism was therefore with

this religious organization, and a fierce persecution was undertaken. But it was well-nigh the last effort to destroy Christianity.

The various Roman persecutions of the church have probably been over-emphasized. More than once had the Roman emperors really treated this growing hierarchy as a force to be reckoned with. In the search that every far-seeing ruler made for a religious bond to hold the Empire together, it was natural that some attention should be paid to the church. On the other hand, it was natural that the choice should be postponed. In the first place, the hierarchy was intolerant, and for political purposes, therefore, hard to handle. The political, literary, and hereditary aristocracies were still to a great degree outside her influence. Her numbers it is hard to estimate, but 10 per cent of the population is probably a high estimate. Her faith forbade oriental adoration of the emperor, and from Caesar Augustus to Diocletian the constant effort had been made to enforce this as the groundwork of a new religious bond. The wonder, in fact, is that the persecution of the church was so spasmodic and ineffective. It was generally the far-seeing ruler who understood the danger, but the cosmopolitan indifference to all religious forms, and the necessary tolerance of differing religions made it hard to persecute the church or single her out among many. Now at last the issue seemed joined. The oriental ideals of Diocletian demanded a complete subservience that even a somewhat secularized and worldly minded church could not be guilty of and still call itself monotheistic and Christian. The last bloody

baptism of any note served to do two things: it cleansed the church, in the regions that suffered, of many faint-hearted followers and revealed a strength that had, no doubt, much to do with at last turning the eyes of the ruling court to the Christian church as the only claimant strong enough to prove an effective bond for the new oriental despotism.

The numerical strength of the Christian church no one has known or ever will know. Data for any exact statement are totally wanting. The significant thing is that its strength was evidently in the towns, and among the freedman class. There were, no doubt, many slaves, but the attitude of the early church to slavery reveals the fact that they were in a distinct minority. There were, again, notable names among the converts, but here too the enthusiastic and practical paganism of the Roman aristocracy on down into the sixth and even seventh century reveals how very nominal was the victory of the church in this social stratum.

It is not quite accurate to claim that the church was the heir of the old Roman imperialism on its political side. In fact the organization of the church was a growth meeting practical needs from year to year, and taking from synagogue, Roman provincial government, and oriental tyranny elements adapted to its wants. On the whole, however, the Hellenistic city as it had developed under Roman protection in Asia Minor and Africa may be called the real source of her political wisdom. Elements may also have come in from the organizations of the mystery cults, but of their real political and economic organiza-

tion too little is known to make even guessing profitable.

It is impossible to judge very harshly the weak and persecuted church for entering into her bargain with the emperor Constantine. Yet the church yielded to the temptation so dramatically foreshadowed by Jesus in his picture of the three temptations on the Mount. Where the Messiah stood firm the church in effect yielded. She bowed the knee for imperial power, nor did the tempter cheat her. For a thousand years the dominion lasted, but she lost so much that it may almost be called the climactic tragedy of history.

The Beginnings of Political Christianity

To the Council of Nicea it seemed that the messianic kingdom had begun. The fulsome flattery of the emperor, who at this time was not even nominally a Christian, was rendered in true oriental style, and yet in both the East and the West the political ruler had from this time on to share his power with the priest and the church her power with paganism. The attitude of the political ruler or ruling class was, of course, that the priest was to occupy himself with men's souls and with heaven and eternity, and incidentally assist the state to maintain peace and order. The attitude of the priest, equally naturally, was that the political ruler was to do the bidding of the church as the supreme power, whenever the church claimed that her interests were involved. Thus an impossible dualism between a "religious" and a "secular" state became the prevalent assumption and works its havoc on into our own

day. Two aspects of a life that is an inevitable totality were lifted into permanent separations. Of social idealism there is hardly any trace from the close of the New Testament canon—say about 130 A.D.—to Augustine. The Lord's Prayer was repeated, and the apocalyptic visions were read and re-read. But all that these things stood for were swallowed up in the absorbing work of working out the doctrinal basis for the unity of an imperial organization, and in the proclamation of the individual immortality of the soul, with its rewards and punishments. The thirteenth chapter of Romans seemed a working-basis for a compromise between a pagan fighting oriental despotism and the ecclesiastical organization with its priestly and sacramental machinery.

The Roman Empire was, moreover, drifting rapidly apart. The Eastern and the Western churches were never really as unified in interest or essential purpose as the church historian is apt to picture them. A silent but steady struggle was going on for primacy between the great bishoprics, and the Eastern church labored under the grave political disadvantage that Antioch was declining in importance and that Constantinople had no such history as Rome. North Africa held the two branches of the church together, and was in a sense a mediator between the two interests. Rome accepted, it is true, the creeds of the Eastern church, but her main interest was ecclesiastical and not creedal. She desired a unity of faith as the basis for her far-reaching plans of ecclesiastical conquest of the world. But she had no such intense desire to intellectually formulate the

faith as led to the great schools of Alexandrine and Eastern theology. Then, again, Rome had a great advantage in the distance from the centralized imperialism which gave her a certain freedom by neglect. The chance was given and taken to establish ecclesiastical control as the actual government of various centers. The great influence of Ambrose in Milan was only a later and striking instance of a process already long begun. But the remarkable thing is how silently and unheralded the great change took place. There was no conscious struggle for political power. Indeed, as so often happens in history, the power was often almost thrust upon an unwilling organization.

Athanasius was the great figure in the Nicean period. How far he had a supreme intellectual interest in the controversy about what was orthodoxy it is difficult to say. Certainly the unity of the Catholic tradition and his conviction that the metaphysical identity of the essential being of the second person of the Trinity with the being of God had always been the historical attitude of the church were his main arguments. In his exile he came into contact with Egyptian monasticism, and found in their fanaticism a source of strength. It was as much Athanasius as any single man who made the Roman Catholic church. He stamped upon it the intellectualistic cast of mind borrowed from the Hellenistic world of controversy, and thus identified faith with believing things; and it was he who handed the church over to Egyptian monasticism. Yet in doing this he introduced the church to a political imperialism without social ideals, and

even led the church along the dangerous path of an exchange of this world for a future heaven.

It is not likely that Egyptian monasticism historically is dependent upon Indian Buddhism. They both arose, however, in a world that despaired of life and found religious consolation in flight out of life. The religious life was essentially individualistic extrication from an evil world, and in the last analysis really selfish and un-Christian. The imperial ambition jostled constantly with this other-worldly interest, but with fine capacity for adaptation she made place for the two elements not only in her organization, but even in the hearts of some of her ablest leaders like Leo and Gregory. Nevertheless, the imperial ambition was for a world-wide organization ruling men in order to prepare them rather for death than for life, to lead men out of the world into the presence of God rather than to make the presence of God felt in all the common affairs of life. Hence often in all unconsciousness, but at times with deliberation, the organized church compromised with political infamy on the basis of the support by the "worldly" state of her own other worldly ends.

The Social Attitude of Early Ecclesiastical Imperialism

This ecclesiastical imperialism was, therefore, like Rome before her, very willing to give great local freedom to any ruling power that simply admitted her supremacy and then went its own way. Under the terms of such a compromise social idealism was practically barred. Not that the church did not render social service. She did, and that

of a very high order, but she had no organized social ideal, and little place even for the growth of social idealism. Monasticism conserved the learning of the Hellenistic world and became the church's chief instrument for taming and organizing the wild North. Both the Western and the Eastern churches remained missionary in spirit, and Russia and France and Germany were the fields for noble and self-denying social service. The monastery taught agriculture and gardening; it was a rude asylum in days of violence and private warfare. In every town and village the priest and monk, the church and monastery became integral parts of the new feudal system that sprang up in what we now know as Italy, Germany, France, and southern Austria. Not least among the indirect services the churches of East and West rendered was the conservation of Latin and Greek as sacred languages to bind together the severed worlds to which they ministered.

The separation between the two churches was not a matter of orthodoxy, but of social ideal. The Eastern church accepted the quasi-oriental Byzantinism, while the Roman church pushed on to the more elastic and more vigorous feudal system.

The Church and Feudalism

It is not even safe to assume that the peculiar organization of the Roman church had very much to do with forming the social order of feudalism. It is true that it fitted in well with it, and that the hierarchy was able most readily to fall into the feudal molds, yet on the other hand the increasing celibacy of the clergy and the fact that clerical

office and retirement to a monastery were open to all classes distinctly offset to some extent the family caste system into which feudalism logically grows. The church was, however, soon one of the large landowners and acquired an increasing stake in the social organization. Property rights loomed for her more largely as time went by and her property increased. Vows of poverty affected only individuals and not the corporate body, which in fact greatly flourished on the property her sons and daughters abandoned. It is interesting but vain to speculate upon what might have happened had a feudal family caste of the military type been brought face to face with an ecclesiastical caste with a self-perpetuating family life behind it. Celibacy made it easier for the landed families to get on with the church and even to find in her service honorable places in life for the landless sons.

Thus as an organization the church became the maintainer of the existing system. It seemed to her only in details to need any correction at her hands. Slavery passed within her life as within the life of the feudal landholders into serfdom and tenant holdings. Some of the last slaves to be released and the last feudal collars to be struck off were those on the great land holdings of the churches and monasteries. The church grew up condemning, indeed, the excesses of war, but regarding war itself as a social necessity and needing only to have her blessing to be just. She condemned the excesses of tyranny, but saw no evil in tyranny as such. She vigorously reproved the exactions of great monopolies, but simply de-

mandated that the monopolies be merciful; and in fact was quite willing to enter into a quasi-partnership with tyranny and monopoly and to carry on war, provided only that her own material life was enriched and her spiritual supremacy acknowledged.

It would have demanded an organization incarnating the single redemptive purpose of God as completely as Jesus did, to have done otherwise; and such an organization would have had to face the possible cross and destruction as Jesus did. No organized ecclesiasticism has ever risen to that height. More particularly the church of the Middle Ages was a compromise with material power of so distinct and self-conscious a character that even today the Roman communion regards her temporal sovereignty as of the essence of her being.

National Compromise of the Mediaeval Church

The striking thing about the whole matter is the curiously unreflecting character of the church's political and economic life. Even as far down in her history as the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas (†1274), we find the most conflicting intellectual analysis of her relations to the state; and into the theory of the two swords, most clearly set forth in the time of Charlemagne (800 A.D.), entered many elements of conflicting political theory. As James Bryce remarks, "the Middle Ages were

essentially unpolitical." So far as any one type of thinking affected the current of men's thoughts, it was that of Plato's *Republic* as known in Augustine's *City of God*. But the age was really unreflective. Its very charm is the child-like vividness of its experience. Only a visible world-wide church could have power over its quick imaginings. And so also its longings went out to a world-wide political empire, but without any really effective attempt at either intellectual analysis or consistent realization.

Into the very heart of men's thinking went the tremendous assumptions of the fatal compromise with unmoralized political power. The very name "Roman" became synonymous with that of Christian. The lowly servant became a "Prince" of the church. Heathenism was rampant in the morals and theology of the ecclesiastical leaders, and entered into all her social theory and political ambition. The contradictions within her life were uncritically accepted, and even when scholasticism began the task of rationalizing the fundamental assumptions of the faith, men's eyes were closed to fatal clashing of the colors within the framework of the picture. Men vainly dreamed that the kingdom of God might come in the form of a benevolent feudal tyranny, a fixed caste system, and an outward ecclesiastical authority, saving men the trouble of both religious and ethical maturity by doing their thinking for them, and treating them permanently as children of a mother-church.

THE REHABILITATION OF PHARISAISM

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

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One of the first questions that early Christianity faced was that of the actual humanity of Jesus. Was he truly man as well as the incarnation of the Logos or was his humanity only an appearance? The early church settled that question and in the great formula of the Council of Chalcedon built his true humanity into orthodoxy by the phrase: "of the same substance with us as to his humanity." Our present age is facing the same question from a different angle, for as we come to see that to be a man is not only to have a human body and soul but is to participate in the social conditions of one's time, on the one side is developing a school which denies any real historicity to Jesus and on the other is a tendency to deny to Jesus everything that is not to be accounted for by an appeal to conditions in which he lived. The former school, like the old Docetic movement, speaks of a "Jesus God," while the second, like the Ebionites, would make him only a Jew among Jews. For our own part we have no doubt as to the outcome of the new controversy. In fact it is already in sight: Jesus was truly historical but his great significance did not lie in what he inherited from humanity but in what he contributed to humanity. Nothing could be more unsatisfactory than to make Jesus intelligible by omitting all those exceptional qualities in his person which give him influence. Professor Case's article gives a discriminating estimate of one of the recent efforts to make Jesus appear more historical by denying his uniqueness.

"Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Outwardly ye appear righteous unto men, but inwardly ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity." For centuries Christians have thus expressed their opinion of Pharisaism. In contrast with this religion, so severely condemned for its formalism and insincerity, Christianity has defined its ideal in terms of Jesus' words: "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven. . . . Ye therefore shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect."

On the basis of these, and similar

teachings of Jesus reported in the gospels, Christians have generally believed that God utterly disinherited the Pharisees and opened the doors of his kingdom to members of the Christian community only. The revelation which he had entrusted in former times to patriarchs and prophets had been rescued from destruction at the hands of the Pharisees and committed to a new keeper, the Christian church. Jesus, in accomplishing this rescue and in enlarging the content of the revelation through his own life and teaching, himself, fell a victim to the deadly work of the Pharisees. Yet he gladly paid this price in order to wrest the treasures of Old Testament

religion from Pharisaic perversion and accomplish the redemption of humanity in accordance with the divine plan which had begun to be operative on the day when God affirmed that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head.

According to this reading of history God utterly cast off the Pharisees, and with them all Jews who did not pass over into Christianity. Notwithstanding sporadic attempts at their evangelization, Christian hatred of the Jews has often burned hotly—an alleged righteous indignation which justified itself as being in strict harmony with God's will. Proof of the divine displeasure was seen in the fall of Jerusalem, and in the ultimate scattering of the homeless Jews throughout foreign lands where Christians were often found ready to give this supposed divine intention a generous human support. To hate and persecute the Jew was to do God's service.

This is an anomalous position, to say the least, for the adherents of a religion which claims to be founded upon the principles of divine love and human brotherhood. The Jews, on their part, have always felt Christian enmity toward them to be most unjust, and they have protested against the Christian interpretation of Jewish history. Never for a moment have they conceded that God has cast them off, but they have ever believed themselves to be Jehovah's chosen people and the custodians of the divine oracles. Gerald Friedlander, minister of the western synagogue in London, in his recent volume on *Hellenism and Christianity* expresses this conviction as follows:

The Jew still believes that the mission of Israel is a real living power in the world of today. To live the true Jewish life is the highest ideal he knows. He has learnt from the prophets and from history that Israel has been chosen to be a "light to the Gentiles," but he has also been taught, and he has experienced, that the light of Israel is God.

In more recent years Christendom itself, particularly in the English-speaking world, has assumed a much less hostile attitude toward the Jews. The Jewish and the Christian religions remain sharply separated, but the Jewish people find themselves free to hold their own opinions and to pursue unmolested the religion of their fathers. Indeed several Jewish scholars have of late expressed their views upon the question of Christian origins, particularly on the side of relation to Judaism. It goes without saying that they reject Christian belief in the messiahship and deity of Jesus. But when they discuss problems of a more strictly historical character, such as the debt of early Christianity to contemporary Judaism, or Jesus' relation to the Pharisees, their acquaintance with Jewish history and their exceptional aptitude for understanding the Jewish mind would seem to make their conclusions worthy of special consideration on the part of Christian scholars. In this connection one readily recalls the work of Ludwig Philippson and Moriz Friedländer in Germany, Montefiore and Abrahams in England, Schechter, Kohler, and Hirsch in America. These, and other reputable Jewish scholars think the link binding early Christianity to Judaism is stronger than many Christians imagine.

Friedländer in his earlier works connected Christianity most closely with the Wisdom Literature, the Apocalyptic Writings, and the Judaism of the Dispersion. More recently, in *Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen* (1908), he locates its beginnings in Perea where ancient Judaism, according to his hypothesis, was perpetuated in a purer form than in the Pharisaism of Judea. While he is disposed to depreciate the Pharisees, other Jewish writers come vigorously to their defense. It is contended, in the first place, that the breach between them and Jesus was by no means so wide as the gospels represent; and, secondly, that the Pharisees as a class were not formalists and hypocrites but were the exponents of a genuinely spiritual religion. Kohler, for instance, in his article "Pharisees" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, says, in substance, that nothing could have been more loathsome to genuine Pharisees than hypocrisy. While he admits that there doubtless were insincere individuals among them, they as a whole were not guilty of the sweeping charges made against them in the New Testament. This false representation is thought to reflect the hostile polemic of Pauline Christianity in the time of Hadrian, when the word "Pharisees" was inserted in the gospels where high priests and Sadducees or Herodians were originally mentioned.

Many Jewish interpreters allege that often the gospel statements about the Pharisaism of Jesus' day are erroneous. A guarded expression of this opinion is given by Montefiore in his *Synoptic Gospels*. Commenting on Mark 7:9-13 he says that the usual interpretation, which credits the Pharisees and scribes

with setting duty to the temple above obligation to parents, is not justified on historical grounds. What Jesus here attributes to tradition is "in flat contradiction to the law as laid down by the Mishnah, as commented on by the Talmud, and as universally accepted and interpreted by all the Jewish codifiers." Furthermore, "the truth is that the rabbis taught a tremendous respect and reverence for parents. In this matter they are perfectly sound; indeed on family relations they are keener than Jesus."

That the Pharisees were immediately responsible for Jesus' death has also been doubted. In 1866 Philippson (*Haben die Juden wirklich Jesum gekreuzigt?*) maintained that the Pharisees and Jewish people were not guilty, but the blame should be placed upon the Sadducean high priesthood and the Romans. The same view has been defended by various Jewish writers in more recent times. To cite from Montefiore again, in his cautious remarks on Mark 14: 56-65 he says that

the balance of probability strongly inclines to the view that the gospel narratives are so far correct in that Jesus was really put to death by the Romans at the instance and instigation of the Jewish authorities, and more especially of the ruling priesthood. That there was any meeting of the full Sanhedrin is most doubtful; doubtful also is the part played by the "Scribes" and Pharisees; but that the Sadducean priesthood was at the bottom of the arrest and of the "trial," and that the result of this "trial" was adequate to obtain a condemnation from Pilate cannot reasonably be doubted.

Instead of deadly opposition between Jesus and contemporary religious leaders, some modern Jews find essential har-

mony. The Christian claim for unique originality in the teaching of Jesus is denied, and the content of his ethical message, as found in the Sermon on the Mount, is said to be in essential agreement with contemporary rabbinism. The disposition of Christians to claim that only Jesus can have been the source of noble thinking and keen spiritual insight is vigorously combated, since it implies an impoverished religious life for Pharisaic Judaism. This is held to be unfair to the facts, for the Jews were capable of deep religious experiences and cherished a vital personal religion. One writer affirms that "the greater part of the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, and some of the parables may truly be described as the fruit of Pharisaic Judaism."

The Jews do not stand alone in this disposition to rehabilitate Pharisaism. Some Christian scholars are beginning to think that Jesus' debt to contemporary Judaism was greater than has formerly been supposed; and the character of Pharisaism is also being judged much more leniently in several quarters. Recently Hart, in his *Hope of Catholic Judaism* (1910), endeavored to show that the idea of hope with the Jews has always been fundamentally and consciously a personal trust in God. But the latest and most vigorous defense of the Jewish religion, from a non-Jewish writer, is by Herford in his volume on Pharisaism.¹ The content of this book and its point of view merit further consideration.

The author is almost incensed at the way Christian writers like Weber con-

demn the Pharisees. To counteract this tendency, he proposes to study their conception of religion sympathetically, appreciating the point of view from which they regarded it and the methods by which they dealt with it. Thus he would help the Christian reader to understand the real spiritual meaning of Pharisaism. After a brief historical sketch, which traces the fundamental notion of Pharisaism to the work of Ezra in setting up a written authority as the guide of personal conduct, the "Theory of Torah" is expounded.

What did Torah mean, and what form did the religion of Torah actually assume? We are admonished to remember that "Torah primarily means teaching and not law. For a Jew it was the revelation of God's will, revealed in the first instances through Moses and elaborated and defined by later teachers. Since the prophet spoke the word of God, prophecy was also Torah. The work of Ezra and his successors, in enforcing the practical demands of Torah upon life, was essentially the same as the work of the prophets. The difference between the scribe and the prophet was one of method and not of principle. The Torah "was thereby enriched and not impoverished on its spiritual side; it did not sink but rise, it became, not more shallow and poor, but more full and deep, with greater power than it ever had before as a determining factor in individual life." Similarly the multiplication of commandments in oral tradition is thought to have been no detriment to the Pharisee's spirituality—he "never regarded the mere doing of

¹R. Travers Herford, *Pharisaism: Its Aim and Its Method*. New York: Putnam, 1912. Pp. ix+340. \$1.50.

the action as sufficient; in all and every case there must be the purpose of serving God." On this point Christians are charged with greatly misjudging a religion with which they were unfamiliar. "Beneath all that outward guise of unfamiliar phrase and uncongenial method . . . there was nevertheless the communion of living souls with the living God."

As for Jesus' relation to the Pharisees, our author finds much common ground between them. They shared alike in the religious heritage of Jewish history, they were practically one in their conception of God's fatherhood and divine forgiveness; nor is it certain that Jesus generally gave the common religious terms they used a deeper spiritual meaning than many of the Pharisees did. Yet between him and them there was an irreconcilable difference, due to Jesus' rejection of the principle of traditional authority. At first he may have been quite unconscious of the radical character of his attitude, but it rendered both parties incapable of a mutual understanding and so ultimately brought about a breach which could not be bridged. Both parties were genuinely sincere, but "the conflict was between two fundamentally different conceptions of religion, viz., that in which the supreme authority was Torah, and that in which the supreme authority was the immediate intuition of God in the individual soul and conscience."

Paul, Herford continues, though originally a strict Pharisee, or perhaps from that very cause, was most active in propagating a misconception of that religion. The peculiar type of soteriol-

ogy which he evolved as a Christian made it necessary for him to regard both Jews and Gentiles as objects of the divine displeasure. Salvation was possible only through belief in Christ. With this as the cue by which he interpreted everything in the world, Paul was incapable of estimating Pharisaism at its true value. But that was not all; he even misrepresented Judaism, we are told. His estimate of the Torah was doubly defective. On the one hand, he ascribed to it a character which it did not possess, when he implied that it was felt to be a burden because of the number or difficulty of its precepts, or the impossibility of satisfying its demands. He "would never have ascribed to the Torah such power to cause despair, unless he had ceased to feel toward it as a Pharisee would feel." Moreover, he omitted some of its essential features when he pictured it as precept rather than as revelation. The more immediate revelation which Paul found in Christ the Pharisee found in the living God.

The final section of the book deals with Pharisaism in its theological and spiritual aspects. We learn that the rabbis were not doctrinal theologians, that uniformity of religious belief was never required; and so Pharisaic theology can never be presented as a system. The purpose of speculation was rather for edification than for systematization, and its value should be judged in the light of this purpose. Nevertheless the Pharisees did hold some fairly well-defined beliefs regarding the supremacy of God and the obligation of man to serve him with full devotion of mind and heart. Thus the Pharisee was a truly

pious individual, the exponent of a genuine, spiritual religion. He was "sincere and in earnest about his religion," however strange the forms in which he expressed his ideas may be to Christians. But—

why should not the Christian be glad to own that the Jew, even the Pharisee, knew more of the deep things of God than he had supposed, and after a way which was not the Christian way, yet loved the Lord his God with heart and soul and strength and mind—yes, and his neighbor as himself?

The author tries to be truly historical and unbiased. He recognizes that the sources of information about Pharisaism in the first century of our era are scanty, but he thinks we may form an accurate idea of its character from the documents of late pre-Christian Judaism and from the earlier portions of the Mishnah. Notwithstanding his generous appreciation of the Pharisees, he assures us that he has not sought to write a panegyric on them, but only to present their case from their own standpoint, in so far as that was possible for one who is not a Jew. Accordingly he does not hesitate to affirm the superiority of Christianity. This he finds in the larger place it gives to personality and in its more universalistic interpretation of human brotherhood.

While this exposition of Pharisaism is refreshing and stimulating, and while one must commend highly the exercise of a spirit of fairness in dealing with a people who have often been misjudged still it is questionable whether our author has set the Pharisaism of Jesus' day in a strictly historical perspective. Undoubtedly it had a real ethical and

spiritual content, but that these features were always so dominant as Herford imagines seems to us doubtful. It is also unquestionably true that the Christian view of Pharisaism has too often been a prejudiced one, and doubtless the New Testament writers were not entirely free from bias, yet the Pharisaism we find in late pre-Christian Judaism and in the Mishnah does not seem to us capable of being defined so exclusively in terms of spontaneous spiritual and ethical life. Legalism, to be sure, has its ethics and its spirituality, but it also has something else which, in a comprehensive and correct definition of its character, looms much larger than Herford seems to allow.

These attempts to redefine Pharisaism in ethical and spiritual terms remind one of a similar disposition prevalent in many quarters today to define the "essence" of primitive Christianity in terms of Jesus' ethical teaching and spiritual insight. In this respect "liberal" Judaism and "liberal" Christianity approach one another. This fact is recognized by Montefiore, who believes that liberal Judaism is largely prophetic Judaism, and so suggests that "in the future Christianity and Judaism will be able to shake hands over the Sermon on the Mount and the fundamental elements in the moral and religious doctrine of Jesus." Following Wernle's view, that what is crucial in Jesus is "trust in God, purity of heart, compassion, humility, forgiveness, aspiration—this and nothing else," and that he who does the will of God as thus expressed in the Sermon on the Mount is "Jesus' mother and sister and brother," Montefiore continues: "Assuredly, if this be so, there have been very

many Jewish mothers and sisters and brothers of Jesus all these long years from Jesus until now."

This irenic spirit cannot be too highly commended, but as a solvent of historical problems its worth is less certain. If the "essence" of early Christianity and the "essence" of Pharisaism were so nearly identical, it is remarkable that the two religions, in their full historical manifestations, are so very different. And it is doubtful whether a fundamental likeness could be detected today, except by a "modernizing" process which eliminates features originally essential and distinctive to each. In fact one may question whether this whole tendency, on the part of both Jewish and Christian scholars, to rehabilitate Pharisaism does not have as its motive the

desire to find there a religion which can be approved today. A personal religion, ethical and spiritual in content, is thought to constitute the *summum bonum* for the modern man and so is made the "essence" of the ancient man's religion. However congenial such a point of view may be to certain moderns, it hardly represents the attitude of the ancients. Certainly it was not Christianity's ethical content—remarkable as that was—which gave it distinctive worth for the early Christians, but rather the assurance which it gave them of future blessedness. It is also probable that formal and legalistic items, as a means of attaining future reward, occupied a more dominant place in the life of ancient Pharisaism than some of its modern interpreters believe.

THE DOCTRINE OF SATAN

II

SATAN IN EXTRA-BIBLICAL APOCALYPTICAL LITERATURE

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A knowledge of this literature is indispensable for understanding original Christianity. As Sanday and Headlam say, "It is by a continuous and careful study of such works that any advance in exegesis of the New Testament will be possible" (*Romans*, p. vii). The New Testament, as we ordinarily read it, seems like a great granite boulder on the illimitable prairie, not a pebble

anywhere in sight to bear it company or own a kinship. The apocalyptic literature gives us the age, atmosphere, and condition of this great and unique deposit. The sand and tiny pebbles underneath the waving grass of the prairie may be very far removed from the majesty of the boulder, but they help us to understand how the isolated boulder came to its place. Judaism and

Christianity are very disparate, but without Judaism we could not well understand Christianity. Moreover, the connecting link between the old and the new is that modification of the old known as Pharisaic Judaism, and this came to expression, in one of its aspects at least, in the apocalyptic literature. A man who has risen to a high position of honor may wish to disown his poor relations, but we think less of him for so doing. Christianity cannot in the long run lose by acknowledging all the good ideas and noble aspirations in the evil time from which it sprang. Indeed by so doing it will gain the reward of showing itself as the culmination and climax of an age-long process of divine revelation. And, looked at from the human side, both Christianity and the Apocalyptic represent a revolt of the human spirit against the limitations of legalism and scribism. The pseudonymous Apocalyptic and authentic Christianity both have their roots in the great prophetic movement of the Old Testament, though their fruits bear evidence of a different fertilization. The continuity on the side of Christianity is witnessed in the Epistle to the Hebrews: the message of the Prophets is continued by the Son. The continuity on the side of Apocalyptic is seen in the fact that some of the later prophets had already become apocalyptic (e.g., Isa., chaps. 24-27; Joel; and Zech., chaps. 12-14). That is to say, these later prophets have despaired of God's world in its ordinary course. It must be saved by supra-mundane interference in history.

The adoption of pseudonymous authorship in this literature is in order to

gain the authority of a great name of the past, such as Enoch, Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, Daniel, or some other Old Testament worthy. We do not wonder that brave men of faith sought shelter under great names of the past in such degenerate and troublous times. The task of Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah, onerous as it was, was performed in a small world where unbelief was wicked. But the apocalyptic writers had to justify the ways of God to man in times of disorder and fear and despair under the galling yoke of one world-power after another. It is no longer a problem of the righteousness of man; the righteousness of God is at stake. Who is sufficient for such times? Let the founders of the nation, and the recognized bearers of God's word, speak.

The literature under consideration embraces the following, with dates given by R. H. Charles:

1. The Apocalypse of Baruch, 50-90 A.D., a composite work by orthodox Jewish writers, representing the type of Judaism which Paul fought. The book has a beauty of form which even successive translations from Hebrew to Greek, Syriac, and English have not entirely obscured. But in theology it represents a hard-and-fast form of legalism in which forgiveness is a *quid pro quo* transaction. In religious insight it falls far below the Old Testament. Sin is traced back to Adam, but spiritual death is referred to only in one suspected passage. The author is so absorbed in the thought of an apologetic for Judaism and an implicit polemic against Christianity that he finds little, if any, room for reference to Satan.

2. The Assumption of Moses, 14-

30 A.D., was written by a Pharisee. It was a "noble but ineffectual protest against zealots." Its aim also is the glorification of Moses, in opposition to the claims made for Christ. Non-resistance is a main doctrine of the book. "God will avenge his own, the kingdom will appear throughout all his creation, and then Satan will be no more, and sorrow will depart with him" (10:1).

3. The Book of Jubilees, also called "Little Genesis," 135-105 B.C., is an apologetic for Judaism against the Hellenic spirit. The Pharisaic author rewrites the history of Israel and Judah from his new point of view. He takes the fine old portraits of the patriarchs and paints out the wrinkles and warts. He takes the offending passages in the Old Testament which ascribe acts of tempting, slaying, and hardening to God and substitutes the action of Mastêmâ, or Satan. This tendency had already appeared in the Old Testament. Cf. II Sam. 24:1 with I Chron. 21:1. Accordingly, Mastêmâ hardens Pharaoh's heart. This removes the difficulty from Exod. 14:8. He also tries to kill Moses (cf. Exod. 4:24), and instigates the trial of Abraham's faith:

The prince Mastêmâ came and said before God, Behold Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt offering on the altar, and then thou wilt see if he will do this command, and then thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein thou dost try him [17:16; cf. Gen. 21:1; James 1:13].

Mastêmâ is not independent, but a certain amount of evil is permitted him. The permission and restraint are witnessed in the following:

[The] unclean demons began to lead astray the Sons of Noah. Noah prayed for his sons and the Lord bade the angels bind all the evil spirits. But Mastêmâ came and said, Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men."

This prayer was granted and one-tenth of the evil spirits were left to Mastêmâ.

This word Mastêmâ is the equivalent of Satan etymologically and functionally. The two words are used in one passage for the same person. The kingdom of Satan is one of well-organized opposition to the good. His subjects are Satans and demons, and his purpose the seduction and destruction of men. But he can have no power over the righteous, or over Israel. When the messianic kingdom is set up Satan will be powerless against mankind.

There are many passages in the New Testament, both in the gospels and in the epistles as well as in Revelation, to show that the writers were thoroughly familiar with the language and thought of the Book of Jubilees.

4. The Book of Enoch, 200-64 B.C., is a composite work of authors holding somewhat variant points of view. In fact, the book before us only gives us large fragments of an extensive literature created under the great name of Enoch, who not only had a reputation for having walked with God, but who was also believed to have had special access to knowledge of divine things. According to Charles, "the influence

of Enoch on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books taken together" and the "demonology of Enoch reappears for the most part in the New Testament." Jude has many points of contact with Enoch, and appears to quote the book directly as a genuine work of Enoch, "the seventh from Adam." All the writers in the New Testament seem in some measure to reflect thoughts found in the Book of Enoch. The book had canonical value in the sub-Apostolic age. It began to lose this in the third century. The book was lost sight of for about a thousand years previous to the discovery of the Ethiopic version in Abyssinia, 1773. The book as a whole seems "an uncommonly stubborn effort" to justify the ways of God to men and to get at the roots of evil.

Accordingly, in Sections 1-36, sin is traced back to the lust of the fallen angels (the watchers) for the fair and comely daughters of men. The account here given differs from the account given in the Book of Jubilees. According to the latter, a class of angels, called watchers, were sent to earth by God to instruct the children of men to do judgment and uprightness, and when so doing they began to lust after the daughters of men (Secs. 4, 5). According to Enoch (Secs. 6-16), the angels, the sons of heaven, saw and lusted after the beautiful and comely daughters of men, and spoke one to another, "Come now, let us choose wives from among the children of men and beget children." These offenders were punished with imprisonment. Azazel, the leader and chief offender, received especially severe

punishment. But the children of the fallen angels and the human mothers are giants and their disembodied spirits are the demons that work under Satan for the moral ruin of man and they are permitted to work till the Judgment without hindrance.

But in the Similitudes, Secs. 37-70, the author has a more comprehensive world-view; he traces evil farther back, responsibility lies at the door of the Satans (40:7). The guilt of the watchers was not due to simple lust, it was yielding to the Satans (54:6). That is to say, in this section of Enoch the origin of sin is traced back to the Satans. Other angels and men were misled by them, yet a Persian dualism does not seem implied, for the Satans are subject to the Lord of spirits. The Satans still appear in heaven, as in the Book of Job, though they do not always seem welcome (40:7).

The functions of the Satans and the fallen angels are sometimes confused, as in 69:4 f. Their office is threefold: (1) They tempt to evil, through lustful suggestion, evil counsel, teaching men war and its weapons. (2) They accuse the fallen (40:7); Faunel, an angel of the presence, acts as a check on the Satans in this sinister work. (3) They, as angels of punishment, punished the condemned. For their purpose they used scourges and chains of iron and bronze and other "instruments of Satan" (53:3; 56:6).

5. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, 1-50 A.D. This book was much read in the first three centuries of the Christian era, but for more than a thousand years it was unknown except in Russia. It was not known in western Europe

till 1892. It is of great exegetical importance, especially in reference to some of Paul's cosmography. The doctrine of the plurality of the heavens implicit in Paul's epistles is explicit here. This doctrine, as here conceived, makes it easier to see how Satan could appear in heaven, as in the Book of Job, or the evil spirit in I Kings 22:19 f. If Eph. 6:12 refers to the powers of Satan, prince of the air, we may have a kindred passage in the Secrets of Enoch 29:4, 5:

One of the ranks of archangels, having turned away from the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea, that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to my power, and I hurled him from the heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually above the abyss.

In 18:3, 4 we read:

These are the watchers, who, with their price Satanail, rejected the holy Lord. And in consequence of these things they were kept in great darkness in the second heaven.

In 31:3 ff.:

The devil took thought, as if wishing to make another world, because things were subservient to Adam on earth . . . he became Satan after he left the heavens. His name was formerly Satanail. . . . He deceived Eve, but he did not touch Adam.

Or more briefly, Satan, of the class of archangels, persuaded the angels of the fifth heaven, called watchers, to

revolt with him and set up a kingdom in opposition to God. Satan was cast down from heaven and given the air for his domain. When man was created, Satan envied him. He sought man's destruction. His temptation was proposed to Eve. The connection with Gen., chap. 3, is evident. Satan is identified with the Serpent of that chapter. In 29:4, 5, quoted above, "we have one of the ultimate sources of Milton's conception of Satan's revolt."

6. The Ascension of Isaiah, 1-100 A.D. This is a composite work of great importance in many ways. In it we witness the growth and fusion of myths of Anti-Christ, Nero, and Beliar. No longer is evil tolerated in any of the heavens. Satan is cast down to the firmament under the first heaven.

Other books belonging to this literature are the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, 130 B.C.—10 A.D., containing both the legalistic and apocalyptic side of Pharisaism; the Psalms of Solomon, 70-40 B.C., and expression of Pharisaic thought; and the Sibylline Oracles, 180 B.C.—350 A.D., Greek hexameters written by Jewish and Christian authors. An examination of these books, useful in other ways, would yield less for our subject.

In this very incomplete statement we see that we have come a long way from the Old Testament soil and have gained hints that will prepare us for the next study, Satan in the New Testament.

THE NEED OF INDUSTRIAL MISSIONS IN AFRICA

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The content of this article is the result of a first-hand study of African missions with particular reference to what is being done for the native in the way of general and industrial education. Last April the writer and Mr. N. O. Moore, of Riverside, Cal., were sent upon a special commission to visit and investigate certain missionary interests of the Seventh Day Baptists in British Central Africa. The route taken made it possible to visit many stations of other established missions in the south and east of Africa, from Cape Colony to Egypt. It also afforded them a limited opportunity to observe the extent and scope of the educational work of the different missions visited and to discuss the problems involved with many missionaries, teachers, government officials, and other European residents of the country. Professor Wilcox also talked with a number of educated natives in South Africa and elsewhere and learned their views as to what form of missionary education was the best suited to native life and progress.

The opinions expressed in this paper are based upon the study of missions conducted by several different Protestant denominations, under English, Scotch, German, and American missionary societies, as well as several Roman Catholic missions. No particular mention can be made by name of any of the stations and institutions visited, or of the many kind people who did all they could to help forward the investigation and study upon which we were engaged. Perhaps it is presumptive for one who has made but a brief and passing visit, and at best but a hasty study of the field and work, to attempt to form a critical judgment of it, or to suggest a comparison of values in the methods employed. But it often happens that one who observes a work from the point of view of a student and critic can, by comparing methods and results, better appreciate what is being

done or is failing to be done than can those whose whole time and attention are engrossed in the doing of the work itself. At any rate, my experience and study of the last eight months have forced upon me certain very definite convictions and conclusions as to the conduct of missions and the best methods to be employed in educational work on the foreign mission field; and such as these conclusions are, I shall submit them without further apology.

It must be acknowledged that most missionaries and many government officials have the welfare of the natives at heart and are doing all they can to the best of their ability and judgment for their moral, spiritual, and material advancement. I have the profoundest respect for the heroic men and women who are spending their lives with such self-sacrificing self-denial among the natives of Africa and in other foreign

fields. But I am compelled to say that in some instances it seemed to me that their zeal is greater than their judgment, and the methods used are not always the wisest and the most conducive to permanent good results.

Possibly what is here written concerning industrial methods in the missions of Africa may not be equally true and valid of other mission fields, though it would seem that the problem should be similar wherever a large heathen population is to be brought out from a primitive religion and life into Christianity and Christian civilization.

There are two motives which send Europeans (I use the term in the generic sense) to a new and heathen land: one, commercial and selfish, to exploit the native and his country for their own aggrandizement; and another, philanthropic, to help the native to better ways of life and thought. Most of the white settlers in Africa seem to have gone there from the first motive, and their chief concern seems to be to appropriate the native's land and to make him a beast of burden.

There is a terrible race prejudice among a certain class of white residents in Africa, and one hears much of the so-called "black peril" in the great cities like Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban. But most right-thinking people know that the "black peril" of Africa is, in its final analysis, a "white peril," for unscrupulous whites have brought evil influences to bear upon the blacks which were wholly unknown to them in their native state, and the black man is quite as susceptible to evil influences as to good. The result is that you do find in the great cities of

South and East Africa a vicious type of native who has been spoiled by his evil training and his contact with bad white men. In his native habitat the African Negro is not a bad type, but is a good deal of a gentleman, even when he has had few advantages of education and civilization.

One also hears a good deal of talk about a "White Africa" upon the one side, and a "Black Africa" or "Ethiopianism" upon the other. But such talk can only be provocative of harm and of bad feeling between the races. Europeans have gone to Africa to stay, and it is a good thing for the world that they have, for they are developing the natural resources of the country as the natives could not do for generations yet to come. And the native is also in Africa to stay, and he is there in large and ever-increasing numbers. Africa will never be a "white man's country" in the sense that America is. The African Negro will not die out after the alleged tendency of the American Indian, for the cessation of intertribal wars and the passing-away of heathen and barbaric practices have removed the former natural checks upon the growth of population, and the African in his native environment is increasing, not diminishing, in numbers. In the mines of the south where he has gone in multitudes for work there is a frightful rate of mortality, due to accidents and the prevalence of such diseases as pneumonia and tuberculosis; but in the great centers of native population in the central parts of Africa the natives seem to be comparatively free from such diseases, and the birth-rate far exceeds the death-rate.

The foregoing, which may have seemed a digression, brings me to the very crux of the mission problem which I wish to discuss in this article. I have said that the Europeans in Africa may be roughly divided into the two classes of those whose motive is commercial and selfish, and those whose motive is philanthropic and altruistic. Mine-owners, planters, and traders do not as a class wish the natives to be trained beyond the drudgery of manual labor. They value the native only as a cheap servant, and their interest ceases with their interest in the labor market. When one considers that in some parts of Africa the rate of wages for hard labor is only about one dollar a month, it is easy to see where the interests of the employer lie. It is increasingly difficult to get native labor and in many sections recruiting of labor is forbidden by law, while a native cannot go to the mines of South Africa to work without government permission. At the same time there is a limited demand for native clerks who have a good command of English and are competent as interpreters, bookkeepers, or stenographers. But with an increasing white population and a consequent competition between the races for such employment, this demand will diminish, for it must be evident that with so strong a race prejudice as exists all through South Africa it will be increasingly difficult for a native clerk, however well he may be qualified, to win recognition in direct competition with a white man. The result is that the native soon sees the fault of his artificial standing in society, which is largely due to the faulty training he has received, and he becomes

discouraged and embittered, and finally either he returns to his blanket and hut or he becomes a malcontent, perhaps a criminal, and a menace to society.

One day while I was returning from a visit to one of the largest and oldest mission colleges in Africa, I was accosted by a fine-looking young Zulu in a loin cloth and blanket, who asked in perfect English if I would tell him the time of day. After complying with his request I asked him what he was doing there when he had evidently received such a superior education; and he told me his story. He was a graduate of the institution I had just visited; he had been a teacher, and afterward a clerk in the employ of a large corporation. But he had lost his position in competition with white men; had been mistreated and abused on account of his color, until he had finally decided there was no truth in the Christian teachings of the Golden Rule and brotherly love. So he had returned to his blanket, his hut, and his plural wives, who could take care of his garden and his cattle while he ruminated on the injustice and deceit of the white man. I give the story as he told it to me, for what it is worth. Perhaps his grievance was somewhat fancied and overdrawn; but it at least shows the result of the higher education on one young Zulu, and I was told by many Europeans that he represents a large class of natives mistakenly so trained.

When rightly understood and appreciated, a missionary is more than a voluntary exile who leaves his own country and the society of his friends and equals in order to minister to the spiritual needs of heathen and of native Christians; he is the advance guard of

Christian civilization and a pioneer in the building of empire. As such he has not only a great opportunity but a mighty responsibility. It is right that a large emphasis should be laid upon the religious training of mission converts, but it is wrong that in so many missions there is so little attention paid to that industrial training of the natives which would not only prepare them for the new life which Christianity opens to them, but which would also go far toward putting the mission itself upon a self-supporting basis. Several missionaries of different denominations told me that they would be glad to see industrial methods adopted if only the mission boards at home would see the necessity for the industrial training and furnish the necessary funds for its inauguration. Within one week I visited two missions, the first of which had very little if any industrial work and was receiving large yearly grants from the home land, while the other mission had a well-organized industrial department with classes in agriculture, shoemaking, dressmaking, and laundering, and it was not only entirely self-supporting, but also furnished a good share of the maintenance of a neighboring station of the same mission society where there is no industrial work.

In only one instance did I hear missionaries or other European residents criticize industrial training as such. That was in the case of a very large industrial mission which has invited criticism by becoming too commercial and entering into direct, and possibly unfair, competition with planters and merchants. But I did hear many criticisms of that type of mission education

which trains the head and not the hand, and thus holds out to the natives a false hope by not really fitting them for the life that most of them must live.

From the point of view of the immediate and the ultimate needs of the natives themselves, industrial training is most essential. The African native is naturally apt at mechanics, and even in his heathen and primitive state he has developed a considerable mechanical genius in the making of the rude implements he uses for weapons and tools. In some sections of the interior I saw crude clay smelters for the separation of iron from its ore. And a number of times I watched native blacksmiths forging axes, hoes, and spears under most primitive conditions. The forge was an open charcoal fire, with a goat skin and a bamboo tube attached for a bellows. A split stick for tongs, a flat rock for an anvil, and a rude iron hammer completed the outfit; yet the implements made with such poor machinery were really well made and serviceable.

When native boys are taken at an early age into the shop of an industrial mission or of a plantation or trading company, they soon become used to modern methods and machinery and become competent and skilful mechanics. The superintendent of the largest repair and construction shop in British Central Africa told me that so far as their mechanical ability was concerned he believed the natives were quite as good as white men, but they were not able to take the initiative in construction work, i.e., they need supervision, which is hardly to be wondered at when one considers that the best of them are only one or two generations removed from

absolute savagery. Any traveler in that country who has seen the ivory curios and the filigree work in silver that the natives manufacture can bear testimony to their natural mechanical ability.

And what has been said of workmen in iron and steel is equally true of the men who have been trained as cabinet-makers, carpenters, shoemakers, printers, bookbinders, brick-makers, etc. In the shops of the industrial missions and in the buildings themselves one can see examples of native industry that quite equal anything which can be shown as the product of the ordinary European or American mechanic. At one station visited the church was built entirely by native labor and also by native contributions; not a penny was received from any other source. And all the material used is of native construction or manufacture, with the exception of an iron roof which was imported from England at a cost of five hundred dollars, and even this is being paid for by the natives. The intention had been to put on a native tile roof, but the missionary in charge thought it would be too heavy and also not so capable of withstanding severe windstorms.

The native girls and women are quite as capable of instruction in the household arts as are the men in their several vocations. Specimens of their handiwork in sewing, cooking, and laundering are to be seen at all missions where such industrial training is given.

Natives, both men and women, who are trained in such useful industries as have been mentioned are those who are helping to advance the civilization of their race in Africa. Men who have been trained industrially at the missions

or elsewhere are building square houses with separate rooms to take the place of the primitive round hut with its one room; they are making articles of furniture, such as beds, tables, and chairs; and women who have learned better ways are making clothes for themselves and their children.

Idleness is the besetting sin of the African. In Africa as in all other lands "the devil finds work for idle hands." In their native state the Africans can live without much labor, and such work as is done is performed by the women. The men need to be taught industry and thrift as a means of helping themselves to better standards of living. Sometimes this is a slow and laborious process for the missionary, but it needs to be done, for it is not enough that the natives should be taught the Bible and the teachings of Christianity—they need to be taught how to *live as Christians*. And they do not always grasp this by mere emulation of Christians living among them, as the following case will illustrate.

At one station of a mission society which does not believe in industrial training there was recently an epidemic of theft. The missionary in charge complained to the local resident magistrate at a near-by government station, and he sent out soldiers to search the huts on the mission grounds. Nearly every hut disclosed some hidden treasure of mission property, and all the stolen articles were recovered. When the missionary suggested that the culprits be reprimanded and the matter dropped, the magistrate refused and sentenced those who were proven guilty to imprisonment and labor, saying that if the mission would not teach the natives to work,

the government would have to do so. The general criticism of government officials and others upon the work of this particular mission was that it is concerned only with the welfare of the natives' souls, and it neglects to teach them how to live. Certainly the self-sacrificing zeal of the missionaries is to be admired, but they fail to grasp the larger opportunity that lies before them as the builders of a Christian civilization.

At the present time comparatively few missions give industrial training to the natives; and those which do are usually so situated as to be accessible only to those ambitious natives who are eager and willing to learn and to go away from home to attend a mission school. These industrial training-stations usually have all the students they can accommodate, which shows that the natives desire the training and are willing to pay the required fee to get it. The mission out-stations which are located in the midst of the great native populations have very little if any industrial work. They conduct religious services according to their several denominational views, and hold a day- or boarding-school for teaching the lower English branches and the vernacular language. Some of them also have a training-school for teachers. The more efficient and ambitious pupils may go from the out-station to the mission institution and there receive further training. But such students are usually eager to become proficient in English and the three "R's" in order that they may become teachers acceptable to the government for native schools, or clerks and interpreters in the employ of the government or of the trading companies. As has been said, there is a limited opportunity for such

exceptional natives, and it is right and proper that the exceptional native should have such training. But it is not what is needed by the average native.

The training needed by the average native is one which will *help him to help himself to live a better life in the environment of his own village*; and he will in turn be a true missionary by helping his less fortunate neighbors to a higher standard of living. From my limited yet critical study of the question I am led to believe that industrial training in a Christian environment is the thing most needed. And more than all else, as it seems to me, there should be training in agriculture, a thing sadly neglected by most missions. The natives have the land, and it is usually good land, but they do not know how to work it. Why should they not be given a training that would teach them the dignity of toiling on the land at home? In Africa they can be taught to raise cotton, coffee, tea, rubber, and other products which have a ready market value, as well as better ways of producing their own food crops. Those missions which have attempted such training have had most satisfactory results, and there is a decided improvement in the condition of the natives who have profited by it. Native cotton, coffee, and rubber are being sold upon the European markets, and they are bringing a good price.

With the increase of agricultural and mechanical industry there will come a cleaner and more wholesome standard of living, and the development of the native community which will be in the truest sense Christian and a fitting monument to the sacrifice and service of Christian missions.

GOD'S CHALLENGE TO HIS CHURCH

Again the world stands at the cross-roads of history. A few brief years will fix the course of centuries.

Great crises will come again, but they will spring from the crisis of our day. New institutions, new nations will be developed but we shall determine whether they shall be Christian.

Never again can China arouse itself from the quiet of centuries into a republic.

Never again can Africa be so free from Mohammedanism and European greed.

Never again can the vast social movements which are remaking our homes, our industry, our very ideals be so easily Christianized.

Never again can the Gospel help organize a new civilization among the hundreds of millions who never heard of Jesus.

Never again can we be in a position to fix the future of those who are to come after us.

Christianity must dominate the new forces, the new conditions, the new nations, the new institutions, the new ideals now or lose the greatest opportunity the church has ever faced.

We blame the church of the past—of Judaea, of the Roman Empire, of the Crusades, of the Reformation, of the American colonies—because it did not know the day of its visitation and let so many opportunities slip from its grasp.

Will the future say the same of us?

No generation ever faced such possibilities of future weal or woe as does ours as it sees nations being reborn, civilizations looking to the church for guidance, and yet sees the forces of evil, of Paganism, of Mohammedanism growing more aggressive.

The church of Jesus Christ must grow militant or it will grow feeble. Christians must sacrifice for their Master or see their Master put to an open shame.

The opportunity is marvelous and appalling.

It is God's challenge to his church.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE

A PROFESSIONAL READING COURSE ON THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. I

From the course on the Apostolic age, dealing with the spread of Christianity in the first Christian century, we turn with the present issue of the BIBLICAL WORLD to the expansion of the Christian religion in the present day. No subject pertaining to the Christian religion could be more timely. Never in the history of the world have political conditions been more favorable to the interchange of thought between nations. Never have the non-Christian nations been more willing to give attention to Christianity. Never has the church in Christian lands been more awake to the opportunity thus created, and never has it been better able to furnish both the men and the money needed to meet and use it. These facts give peculiar interest and importance to the study of the conditions affecting the progress of Christianity throughout the world. In the next four months PROFESSOR ERNEST D. BURTON, lately Commissioner of the University of Chicago for the study of educational conditions in the Orient, and PROFESSOR ALONZO K. PARKER, Professor of Missions in the University of Chicago, will outline a course of reading on this topic and will discuss some of the best and most recent contributions of scholars to it. Questions concerning the subject-matter of the course should be addressed to the BIBLICAL WORLD. Inquiries concerning traveling libraries containing the books of the course should be sent to the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.¹

Introduction

The present moment is a particularly opportune one at which to undertake a general survey of the modern expansive movement of Christianity. The Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in June, 1910, not only brought together a large number of Christian men most deeply interested in the promotion of Christianity throughout the world, and, by the reports carefully prepared beforehand, summarized as had never before been done the facts respecting the progress of Christianity and the opinions and convictions of those who are actively

engaged in missionary work, but gave a definite impulse to the missionary movement itself. A Continuation Committee was appointed to carry forward during the next ten years the work begun by the Conference. The appointment of this committee and of the subcommittees on the various phases of missionary effort will go far toward perpetuating the influence of the assembly in Edinburgh. The steps that have been taken, even within the short period since the holding of the conference, in co-operative organization of forces working in given countries are of great significance.

¹ All readers in this course are requested to see that their names are enrolled as members of the Professional Reading Course at the office of the Institute.

While the tasks that still remain, some of them not yet begun, are immeasurable as compared with what has been done, yet never since the first century has the Christian church so definitely faced the problem of the christianizing of the world, or the forces of the church been so well organized for the achievement of that end.

Within the limits of the time which can reasonably be given to a reading course of the kind proposed here it is impossible to take even a general survey of the entire field of modern missionary enterprise. Still less can the history of modern missions be covered. This course must, therefore, be limited to the study of the four great regions within which Christian missions are now being vigorously carried forward, and in the case of two of these something of the history of missionary work will be included. The four regions selected are (1) China, (2) Japan including Korea, (3) India, and (4) the lands in which Islam is dominant, including the Turkish Empire and Africa.

The aim sought will be to enable the reader to gain a vivid and reasonably accurate impression of the work that has been already achieved in these countries, of the tasks that are immediately impending, and of the forces that are available for these tasks. Such a survey should enable him to form a definite judgment on these questions: Are Christian missions to non-Christian lands justified? Have they thus far achieved results commensurate with the cost? Is there reason to hope that they may be ultimately successful? Are young men and women warranted in devoting their lives to this work, and is it reason-

able for the church to contribute of its wealth for the prosecution of missions?

Such a study as is here undertaken should properly begin with a consideration of the political, economic, social, educational, moral, and religious condition of the countries under consideration. This would then be rightly followed by the story of the introduction of Christianity into these lands and of the progress that has been made since such introduction. To these might then be added a survey of present-day conditions, an outlook upon the tasks and problems to be faced in the immediate future, and a survey of the forces available to accomplish these tasks. The limitations of the course, however, make impossible so full a study. A few books have been selected for each country, chosen with a view to giving an intelligent account of the present situation in the lands under consideration, together with as much of the preliminary history as it is possible to include. Each of these books will be passed in review to assist the reader more effectively to gain the information that they contain. Additional books will be suggested for those who have time to carry this study farther and topics and questions for additional study will be added.

Books Required for This Course

- World's Missionary Conference Reports*, 1910. New York: Revell. \$5.00.
The China Mission Year Book, 1912. New York: Missionary Education Movement. \$1.50.
 Blakeslee (ed.). *China and the Far East*. Clark University Lectures, 1910. New York: Crowell. \$2.00.
 Ross. *The Changing Chinese*. New York: Century Co. \$2.40.

- Christian Movement in Japan*, 1912. New York: Missionary Education Movement. \$1.00.
- Cary. *History of Christianity in Japan*, Vol. II. New York: Revell. \$2.50.
- Mission Handbook for India*, 1912. New York: Missionary Education Movement. \$1.50.
- Jones. *India's Problem, Krishna or Christ*. New York: Revell. \$1.50.
- Richter. *History of Missions in India*. New York: Revell. \$2.50.
- Lucas. *The Empire of Christ*. New York: Macmillan. \$0.80.
- Barton. *Day Break in Turkey*. The Pilgrim Press. \$0.50-\$1.50.
- Stewart. *Dawn in the Dark Continent*. New York: Revell. \$1.50.
- Gairdner. *The Reproach of Islam*. London: C.M.S. 2s.
- Barton. *Human Progress through Missions*. New York: Revell. \$0.50 net.

**Literature Recommended for the
Entire Course**

- Dennis, Beach and Fahs. *World Atlas of Christian Missions*. New York: Revell. \$4.00.
- The International Review of Missions*. New York: Missionary Education Movement. \$2.00 a year.

General Survey

First among the required books of this reading course we place Vol. I of the *Edinburgh Conference Reports* in order to furnish a background of general information for the books which are to follow dealing with particular fields. It is in every way important that before China or India is entered a survey should be taken of missionary conditions and opportunities in the entire non-Christian world. It appears to not a few close observers of the world-evangelization endeavor that present-day conditions furnish a peculiarly urgent

situation, and an irresistible mandate. The reader must judge as he continues his studies whether the facts warrant this conclusion.

It is not rash to promise that the *Report* itself will be found illuminating reading. These nine little red books which contain the proceedings and conclusions of the Edinburgh Conference will be approached by many, it is not unlikely, with reluctance. One would like to be better informed of course regarding the most significant and serious of all twentieth-century enterprises. But is it really necessary to wade through these dull reports in order to reach the interesting matter? Suspicions such as these, not altogether without justification in experience, will be quickly dispelled. Not only has the material contained in these volumes the great value always attaching to first-hand information regarding a weighty undertaking, but it has been so skilfully sifted and collated and the indispensable introductions and summaries are prepared with so much care that each report possesses the effectiveness and charm of literary workmanship. One need not be a missionary enthusiast to find the *Edinburgh Reports* good reading.

Some practical suggestions may here be offered as to the most effective method of attack upon report No. 1, "Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World." Give attention first to the contents. Plainly, Part I, "The Opportunity and Urgency of Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World," comes first in its demand upon the reader. To the framers of this report the recognition at the outset of this

"opportunity and urgency" is the premiss upon which the argument of the entire book hangs.

Part III, "Factors in Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World," an enumeration of the instrumentalities upon which the church depends in its endeavor to meet the demand the non-Christian world makes upon it, should be read next. Give particular attention to the section in Part III, entitled, "The Superhuman Factor," weighing well the reply it offers to the tendency so common today to attribute the success of missions entirely to such agencies as the school, the dispensary, the shop. The missionary enterprise cannot afford to purchase popularity and patronage at the cost of minimizing the superhuman factors.

Prepared by these introductory studies we should be ready for Part II, "Survey of the Non-Christian World." You will make your survey under the guidance of experts. This accumulation of material illustrating the conditions which the missionary enterprise encounters the world over has been made through a very extensive correspondence with the wisest and the best-informed men and women anywhere to be found in the missionary service. Read the "Survey" with the *World Atlas of Christian Missions* before you. Locate every country, province and city explicitly mentioned. An acquaintance with the geographical setting will often go far to elucidate a missionary problem. Be at the pains especially to study with the map the unoccupied and the overoccupied fields. Inquire of the map whether the missionary board of which you are a sup-

porter is making a sagacious distribution of its forces.

But there is much information of great interest to be found in this atlas beside that contained in the maps. The great *Directory of Missionary Societies*, unequaled for its completeness and correctness, gives a clear conspectus of the missionary activities of the home base; which, taken together with the extraordinarily full statistical tables, enables the student to ascertain, so far as figures can tell the story, just what has been accomplished, what particular endeavors are now being made, under what direction and with what resources, in any given missionary field of the world. For edification and inspiration few books are of greater value than this atlas.

Part IV (of Vol. I of the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*), "Findings of the Commission," is a unique missionary document. For the first time in the history of missions, a series of recommendations has been put forth addressed to the entire missionary constituency of Protestant Christianity regarding the particular tasks to be undertaken in the future and the particular policies to be pursued. This manifesto is so well supported by facts, it ignores so completely all denominational prejudices, it is so candid and so far-seeing, that it must carry great weight. We have known in our hearts for a long time that it is not true that

Like a mighty army
Moves the Church of God.

Rather has it moved upon the non-Christian world in detached regiments, each with its own banner and each following the counsel of its own wisdom

or caprice. Certainly that confused and wasteful day of independent and even rival endeavors must be drawing to a close.

Part I. China

Books Required

Edinburgh Conference Reports, passim, especially Vol. III, "Education."

China Mission Year Book, 1912.

Ross. *The Changing Chinese*.

Blakeslee. *China and the Far East*.

The General Situation

The *China Mission Year Book* for 1912 represents a comparatively new sort of missionary literature. A Japanese year book has reached its tenth issue and the first volume of an Indian year book is ready. These volumes witness most impressively to the deepening conviction of the men on the field that they are not merely foreign representatives of denominational interests at home but the servants of one Master, engaged in a common task. Information on nearly every question an intelligent man is likely to ask regarding missions in China may be found somewhere within the covers of this book. The first four chapters have to do with recent political reconstructions and revolutions. It is not at all clear that the order in which these chapters stand is the order in which they may most profitably be read. It does not greatly matter. In whatever order they are taken there will be repetition. Nor is this a fault. The subject demands the protracted study which reads and reads again. It has become a commonplace to speak of the epoch-making significance of recent events in the Middle Kingdom. One does not explain a situation, however, by labeling it "epochal."

It must always be possible to get at least a little way into an understanding of the causes and the meaning of the epoch, and in that search articles such as these of the *Year Book* are far more trustworthy guides than the picturesque and impressionist narratives of popular journalism.

For a fresh impression of the religious situation in China, one should reread the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, Vol. I, pp. 81-89; and to gain a notion of the extent of the Protestant Christian community consult statistical tables in the *Missionary Atlas*, and p. 370 of the *China Year Book*.

Evangelization

Modern missionary work has been forced in large part by its success to take on diversified forms. Beside the preacher is the physician, the teacher, the translator, the writer, and even the printer, publisher, and builder. This fact has given rise to serious questioning whether evangelistic work is being unduly neglected by the foreign missionary, or whether, on the other hand, it is the wisest policy as rapidly as possible to give over to the native Christian church the work of preaching the gospel to non-Christians, the foreign missionary confining his effort to oversight, education, and inspiration. The *Edinburgh Conference Report*, Vol. I, discusses on pp. 298-316 the "Various Missionary Methods," and on pp. 318-43 the "Church in the Mission Field as an Evangelizing Agency"; and chap. ii of the *China Mission Year Book* has a symposium upon the matter. It is suggested that these be read in the order named, and that at the end the reader endeavor in view of the various opinions

expressed to decide, if not precisely what the missionaries in China ought to do today, yet what is the goal toward which they ought to be working in this matter.

Education

The importance of education as an element of missionary work is more clearly and generally recognized today than ever before. Almost every American and European missionary society has at one time or another passed through a period of skepticism respecting the value or legitimacy of education as a part of missionary work, and a reaction in favor of limiting its work to evangelism pure and simple. No society has experienced such an anti-educational movement without subsequently having reason deeply to regret it, and most of the societies that have been founded on a platform of no education have been forced later to include educational work.

In China the situation in respect to educational work conducted by missionary societies is so intimately connected with the education conducted by the government that the former cannot be treated intelligently without some knowledge of the latter.

The Chinese people have from time immemorial believed in education and revered educated men. There is no caste in China, and wealth has not carried with it the prestige which it has conferred in some Western countries. Standing in the community and political position have both depended mainly on education. Until 1905 eligibility to the highest offices was conditioned on passing a series of examinations. Passing the preliminary examination ad-

mitted the candidate to the examination for the first degree. In 1900 there were first-degree halls in about 250 cities, most of these being chief cities of a district. The examination for the second degree, open only to those who already held the first degree, was held in the eighteen provincial capitals. The examination for the third degree was held once in three years, in Peking. In Peking also once in three years an examination was held for the title of Han Lin, only those who held the third degree being eligible. For all these examinations the number of candidates was large, the number who succeeded small, and not a few spent their whole lives in the effort to reach the highest degree and the high official position to which it made one eligible.

But there was no system of public or state schools. Preparation for the examinations was made under private tuition or in small private schools. The examination halls were a striking feature of the various capitals, but there were no academies, colleges, or universities.

This was the situation when the Protestant missionary societies, about the middle of the last century, began, of course in a very small way, their educational work in China, and such continued to be the situation until the beginning of the present century.

It was her defeat by Japan in 1895 that first gave China serious doubt about the adequacy of her civilization in general and her education in particular. To have been conquered by a nation so much smaller raised the question what that other nation had acquired to make her so powerful.

The answer was Western education, and the young emperor at once began to ask how China also could acquire it.

The Boxer movement of 1900 was a temporary reaction, an attempt to repel the steady aggression of the Western powers, not by acquiring their weapons, but by expelling them and exterminating all their works. When it failed, the empress dowager took up the policy for the adoption of which she had previously forced the young emperor into retirement, and reissued in effect his edicts, approving the movement for adopting Western ideas and education. As early as September, 1901, she issued a decree commanding the establishment of schools of various grades throughout the empire, in which along with the Chinese classics principles of government and foreign science were to be taught. Various other decrees followed, culminating in that of September 2, 1905, definitely abolishing the old-style examinations and that of September 3, 1905, establishing a curriculum, modeled mainly on that of Japan and composed chiefly of subjects of the Western learning.

The decade from 1901 to 1911 was a period of great activity. In every province, schools of all grades were established from the most elementary to those which aspired to be universities but were in most cases little more than high schools. According to the third annual report of the minister of education, published in 1911, and covering the year 1910, there were in China 52,650 schools of different types, with a student body numbering 1,625,534

students, or about 1 in 250 of the total population; the total amount expended was something over 24,000,000 taels, or about \$16,000,000.

The revolution of 1911 was, of course, a serious blow to government education, cutting off in large part its financial support. But the new republican government promptly organized a department of education, and appropriated for schools about two-thirds of the amount provided for that purpose in the annual budget of the old government. To what extent the schools have actually been reopened, it is difficult to say definitely, but much progress has undoubtedly been made.¹

The radical change in China's educational policy which has taken place since 1895, and especially the friendly attitude of the new government to Christianity have opened to the Christian educational forces working in China a great door of opportunity and responsibility. Under the pressure thus created, rapid progress has been made in the direction of co-operation and co-ordination. Previous to 1900, there was very little union educational work, each board for the most part conducting its own schools. The destruction of mission property by the Boxers in 1900 furnished some opportunities for consolidation and the great demand for education and the correspondingly great opportunity for educational work have furnished a much greater spur in the direction of union.

From the point of view of Christian education, the empire of China falls into the following great divisions: (1) South

¹See address delivered by P. W. Kuo at the Clark University Conference, November, 1912, and published in the *Chinese Student's Monthly*, for December 10, 1912.

China, with Canton as the principal and Swatow a secondary center; (2) the Fukien Province, with Foochow as the principal and Amoy a secondary center; (3) East China, with Shanghai and Nanking as the centers; (4) Central China, with Hankow-Wuchang as the principal center and Changsha second; (5) North China, with Peking and Tientsin as the most important points; (6) West China, with Chengtu as the capital, and Chung King an important center; (7) North-west China, including the provinces of Shansi and Shensi; (8) the province of Shantung, lying between North and East China, with important educational work at Weihsien and Tsinanfu; and (9) Manchuria, with Mukden as its capital.

Each of those districts has its Christian educational work. In most of them there is a Christian college which is now, or is in the way of becoming, the unifying center of the educational work; nearly all of them have a Christian educational association representing various boards and denominations, and in nearly all decided progress has been made in the last five years in the direction of the co-ordination of educational effort.

West China was the first region definitely to co-ordinate all of its Christian education. The Christian Educational Union of West China, organized in 1905, has oversight of all elementary and secondary education in the three provinces that constitute West China. The West China Union University in Chengtu unites practically all denominations and boards in the work of higher education (see *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, Vol. VIII, Appendix G).

In South China there is the Canton

Christian College, and a South China educational association, and progress is making toward co-ordination of all lower schools with the college. The Chinese dean of this school, Mr. Chung, is also the director of government education for the province. In the province of Fukien, there are two colleges, at Foochow, one for boys and one for girls, and two for boys at Amoy; but the project of one Christian university for the province is under consideration. East China has colleges at Shanghai, Nanking, Soochow, and Hangchow; but Nanking, with the University of Nanking under a board of trustees elected by four denominational mission boards, and with affiliated medical and theological schools, is rapidly becoming the co-ordinating center for the educational work of all the non-Episcopal boards; while St. John's University at Shanghai, often spoken of as the best college in China, represents the Episcopal church of America. In Central China, Boone University at Wuchang is conducted by the American Episcopalians, Griffith John College in Hankow by the London Missionary Society, and Yale College in China at Changsha by the Yale University Mission. In North China there is the Peking University at Peking, the North China Union College at Tungchow, the Anglo-Chinese College at Tienstin, and the North China Woman's College in Peking; but steps have already been taken toward the uniting of the first two of these, and there is already in Peking the Union Medical College, in which both British and American societies are working together. In the province of Shantung, the Shantung Union University with

its college, normal, and theological school and medical school is supported by the Presbyterians of the United States (North) and the English Baptists, with the co-operation of other boards working in that province. In Shansi, the Oberlin Memorial Association conducts an academy at Taikuhsien, with ten affiliated schools. The educational work in Manchuria is chiefly conducted by the English and Scotch Presbyterians, the latter having a college at Mukden.¹

Throughout the whole field the tendency, manifest especially in the more advanced provinces, is toward the development in each great division of the republic, of a unified system of Christian education, which shall include the schools of all the mission boards and of all kinds and grades.

According to the *World Atlas of Missions*, published in 1911, the total number of pupils in Christian schools in China, presumably in 1910, was 79,953. The reader will do well to consult these statistics somewhat in detail. This is about one-twentieth of the number in the government schools in this same year. Since that date the number in government schools has probably decreased and those in Christian schools increased. But it is evident that there is no prospect of the Christian schools rivaling the national schools in numbers. The aim must rather be to provide for China schools which, like the denominational schools in America, shall supplement the work of public schools and state institutions, filling a place otherwise unoccupied and doing a kind

of work which the government schools cannot do as well, if at all.

What that place and work is, is the question with which chap. iii in the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, volume on "Education," deals. The reader is advised to preface the reading of this chapter on China with chap. xi, setting forth the conclusions of the commission on the general subject of missionary education. Special attention is called to the section on the "Aim of Missionary Education," a topic on which, it will be noticed, the members of the commission were not wholly of one mind, and to the section on the importance of making the missionary aim predominant. After this, chap. iii should be read, and the portion of chaps. vii, viii, and ix that pertain to China. The discussion of the report on pp. 425-37 will also be of interest.

Those who wish to go into the subject more fully will do well to obtain and read Lewis, *The Educational Conquest of the Far East*, which gives an excellent account of matters up to 1902; the "Report of the Commission on Education" in the *Report of the Shanghai Missionary Conference, 1907*; King, *The Educational System of China as Recently Reconstructed* (U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 462, 1911); and Miss Burton's volume on *The Education of Women in China*. A vigorous criticism of government schools from a Chinese point of view is found in the *China Mission Year Book* for 1911, pp. 104-11.

Literature and Intellectual Life

Closely akin to the education of the schools as a factor in the extension of

¹ Cf. *China Mission Year Book*, 1912, chap. xviii, which is, however, already out of date on some points.

the influence of Christianity are the production, publication, and circulation of literature. Under this head fall not only the translation and publication of the Bible and the issuance of books of a distinctly religious character, but many other books which either presuppose the principles of Christianity or are useful in the Christian schools. A good idea of the importance of such work may be gained from the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, Vol. II, chap. vii, and Vol. III, chap. x. A general, though inadequate, knowledge of the work actually going on in China can be got from the *China Mission Year Book* for 1912, chaps. xxi, xvi, and xix.

Medical Work

Medical missions, including hospitals and medical schools, occupy a very different place in China from that which they fill in Japan or even India. In Japan, the government itself makes large provision in both directions, and in India much is done by the British administration. In China, on the other hand, until recently, government and other native agencies have done very little in medical work. In 1909 there were but four government medical schools in the empire (two of these for the army and navy), and a very limited number of hospitals, if, indeed, there were any. On the other hand, the extreme ignorance of the native practitioner and the habitual neglect of the sick and unfortunate have led Christian missionaries to the establishment of numerous hospitals and medical schools. As a consequence (see the *Atlas of Christian Missions*, tables of medical work), it appears that while Japan (exclusive of Korea) had in 1910 but

10 Christian hospitals and 4 medical schools, and India 170 hospitals and 26 medical schools, China with a much smaller Christian population than that of India had 207 hospitals (the *Year Book* for 1912, p. 370, reports 235) and 55 medical schools.

The subject is unfortunately very inadequately treated both in the *Edinburgh Conference Reports* and in the *Year Book*. But see the latter, pp. 260 ff., noting that the statistics on p. 262 cover less than half the whole number of hospitals. The sketches of the lives of the women physicians in Miss Burton's *Notable Women of Modern China* will give a more vivid impression of the need and value of medical work than statistics.

Interdenominational and Undenominational Movements

Among the many other topics discussed in the *Year Book* two deserve particular notice, namely, chaps. xiii and xvii, treating of independent and self-supporting Chinese churches and of the progress of the movement toward union and federation. These are both vital questions to Christian China. The missionaries are taking serious account of that fact. They desire nothing so much as to make themselves superfluous in China. The home boards are asking what their duty may be. Certainly we are all agreed at home and abroad that the enlightenment and guidance of the Holy Spirit are not confined to English-speaking people. On this question, of so great immediate concern, Vol. VIII of the *Edinburgh Reports* should be consulted, and in particular pp. 191-97 and Appendices C and H.

Among union movements mention should be made of the Young Men's Christian Association. This organization has had most able leaders and has not only done a great service directly through its work for the Chinese, but has on the one hand exemplified, and so promoted, a broader conception of the scope of Christian missions, and on the other acted as a powerful unifying force among the missionary forces by securing the co-operation of all and demonstrating that sectarianism is not a necessary element of success. Chap. xxiv of the *China Year Book* gives some impression of the work. The report of the previous year gives fuller details of the evangelistic work of the association.

The Young Women's Christian Asso-

ciation, which first entered China in 1903, is aiming to do a work for the higher class of women. Its work has not yet extended beyond a few of the larger cities.

Roman Catholic Missions

Inquiry is often made as to the present condition of Roman Catholic missions in China. The information is not easily obtained. It is the more gratifying to find that the *Year Book* publishes from authoritative sources quite complete statistics. It will probably surprise most of us that the Roman Catholic Christians (exclusive of Catechumens) number eight times as many as the baptized Protestant Christians, and four times as many as the whole Protestant community.

[Professor Burton's discussion will be continued in March "Biblical World"]

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

Every month from October to June there will be presented in this department of the BIBLICAL WORLD suggestions to leaders of Bible Classes, desiring to use as a basis for class work either the outline Bible-study course on "THE LIFE OF CHRIST" prepared by ERNEST D. BURTON, or that on "THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST" by WILLIAM R. HARPER. Suggestions are prepared by GEORGIA LOUISE CHAMBERLIN, Secretary of the Reading and Library Department of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, who will be glad to consider any questions which club leaders may choose to address to the INSTITUTE.

The Life of Christ¹

In the presentation of the work this month, there is opportunity for careful study of, and special emphasis upon, the development of the character of Jesus under the increasing shadow of the certainty of his approaching death. The events of this period, the final one of the Galilean ministry reveal him as reaching the highest point of

spiritual exaltation, and in spirit completing his sacrificial life, although the actual time of his death was yet in the future. Such sublime moments as that in which Jesus rejected the suggestion of his friend Peter, that the future which he predicted need not be, and in which he rose to the height of transfiguration, should be made to

¹The textbook for this course is *The Life of Christ*, by Ernest D. Burton; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, Chicago, Ill.

stand out clearly as crises, only in the light of which all the daily deeds, and the more exalted spiritual teachings of this period of his life may be interpreted. As one reads the many lives of Jesus which are to be found, one is impressed with the multiplicity of detail which is rendered important by each author, as, for instance, the spot where this deed was done or the hour at which this thing was said. What the average student needs is not such a study, but such a cultivation of the historic and spiritual imagination as will enable him to see a colossal character rising day by day to greater heights of self-abnegation, and spiritual conception—the God-man striving to translate into the limited language of his followers the spiritual vision to which the world has not yet attained. Not only study, but meditation is necessary on the part of the leader, if he would achieve this result with his class.

Program I

Leader: Jesus' journeys in foreign territory, and their purpose.

Members of the class: (1) The attitude of Jesus toward Gentiles as expressed in the incidents of his northern journey. (2) The relation of Peter to Jesus as thus far developed. (3) Jesus' announcement of his approaching death, his attitude toward it, and that of his disciples. (4) The story of the transfiguration, and a study of its significance to Jesus and to his disciples.

Subject for discussion: Suppose that Jesus had continued his northern journey away from Palestine, and had not returned? How might the history of the world have been different?

Program II

Leader: The Gospel of John and its relation to the great discourses of Jesus.

Members of the class: (1) An imaginative description of the incident of the "Child in the Midst," with an interpretation of Jesus' teaching in this incident. (2) The story of the debtors, and some analogies in modern life. (3) The discourse on the Light of the World, considered in connection with the past nineteen centuries of history. (4) Has the statement of Jesus, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," been confirmed by the history of civilization?

Subject for discussion: How greatly were the Pharisees to be condemned for their blindness to the character and teaching of Jesus?

REFERENCE READING

Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, II, pp. 3-194; Stalker, *The Life of Christ*, pp. 105-11; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, pp. 242-342; Gilbert, *The Student's Life of Jesus*, pp. 253-97; Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. xxxiv-xlii; Rhees, *The Life of Jesus*, pp. 138-52; Burton and Mathews, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. xvii-xx; Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus*, chap. xi; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Book V, chaps. iii-xii; Book VI, chaps. i-iii; Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, pp. 122-37.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* for articles on "Blindness," "Multitude, Feeding of the," "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," "Announcements of Death," "Forgiveness," "Gentiles," "Hermon," "Little Ones," "Messiah," "Syrophenician Woman," "Tabernacles, Feast of," "Temptation," "Transfiguration." Articles on many of these subjects will be found in the four-volume and the one-volume edition of Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

The Foreshadowings of the Christ¹

In the study of the foreshadowings of the Christ in the writings of Isaiah, which will

constitute the work of the class for the present month, it will be especially inter-

¹ The textbook for this course is *The Foreshadowings of the Christ*, by William Rainey Harper; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

esting to note the various phases of the messianic element. "The king in his beauty" is not more conspicuous than the joy, peace, safety, permanency, and widespread knowledge of Jehovah, which are to characterize the land and the people over which he shall reign. Effectively to present these exalted ideals against the background of weak and vacillating administration of government, invasion of vast armies noted for their cruelty, and finally the horrors of a long-continued siege of an oriental city should be a grateful task to any teacher. No portion of the Old Testament so liberally rewards careful study with rich material for use in popularizing biblical literature.

A study of the complicated political relationships of Assyria and Babylonia in the time of Hezekiah is desirable if one would understand the political temptations which Hezekiah was compelled to face. A full appreciation also of the moral effect of the fall of Samaria is necessary. The deliverance of the Hebrews from the army of Sennacherib, whose invasions marked the reign of Hezekiah, unexplained by any annals of history, provides an unexampled instance of the fulfilment on a stupendous scale of a prophet's word, concerning an event which changed the current of war and conquest for a considerable period of years. To enter sympathetically into the view of the prophet concerning this event, and to regard it, whether through natural means or otherwise, as the work of the hand of Jehovah, is the only key to a true appreciation of the work of this prophet.

Program I

Leader: The political situation in the relationships of Egypt, Assyria, and North-ern Israel in the time of Hezekiah.

Members of the class: (1) Hezekiah as a politician. (2) Isaiah's conception of the relation of God to the nations of Syria, Assyria, and Egypt—especially Assyria.

(3) Isaiah as a statesman and his relation to Hezekiah. (4) Readings selected from the sermons of Isaiah previous to the ending of the siege of Jerusalem.

Subject for discussion: Can prayer effect changes in the life of men and nations, or (2) Is it likely that the people were more influenced by the reassurance or the denunciation of Isaiah's sermons in this period?

Program II

Leader: What was involved in the proposed surrender of Hezekiah, from the religious and political point of view?

Members of the class: (1) The last days of the siege and the great deliverance from the point of view of the Hebrews. (2) Reading of some songs of rejoicing. (3) A summary of the ideas of Isaiah concerning the glorious future, and the deliverer. (4) The great deliverance viewed from the standpoint of the Assyrians.

Subject for discussion: Taking into consideration all that we know of the ideals of the common people at this time, and Isaiah's struggle with them, to what extent can we infer that the songs which voice the feeling of the prophets of this period record also the ideals of the people?

REFERENCE READING

Kent, *The History of the Hebrews*, II, pp. 141-58; Wade, *Old Testament History*, pp. 364ff; Smith, *Old Testament History*, chap. xiii; Kent, *Historical Bible*, III, 150-81; Chamberlin, *Hebrew Prophets*, chap. ix; George Adam Smith, *Isaiah*, Vol. I; Sanders and Kent, *Messages of the Earlier Prophets*, pp. 133-69; Goodspeed, *Israel's Messianic Hope*, chap. v; volume on Isaiah; "International Critical Commentary." *Cambridge, Bible for Schools and Colleges, Century Bible, and Bible for Home and Schools.*

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* one-volume and four-volume editions, on Syria, Assyria, Book of Isaiah, Isaiah, Babylonia, Jerusalem, Hezekiah, Merodach-baladan, Rabshakeh, Sennacherib, Shalmaneser.

CURRENT OPINION

Giving Justice to the Foes of the Prophets

Professor W. H. Bennett is presenting a series of articles in the *Expositor* on "Religious Controversy in the Old Testament." The second article in the December number deals with the period of the great prophets. The author attempts to show that, from the standpoint of foreign policy, social ethics, religion and morality, theology and ritual, something may be, and in all fairness should be, said for the other party or parties in the conflict. Historically, in any great moral struggle, it has never been true that one party had all of right and conscience on its side while the other side was wholly devoid of these. Just as the prophets in their great moral earnestness brooked no conciliatory spirit, so they naturally painted their opponents in the blackest colors. And it is well, in the interests of charity, to at least occasionally recall that the reports that come to us of these parties are from their bitterest enemies. Professor Bennett's article gains great force in that it draws striking analogies from history and especially from the modern conflict of classes in church and state, to show that men differ less in conscience than they do in the honest interpretation of facts and conditions.

A New and Significant Quarterly

The George H. Doran Company announces the approaching publication of the first number of the *Constructive Quarterly*, a journal of the faith, work, and thought of Christendom, to be edited by Silas McBee, formerly editor of the *Churchman*. In many ways this new quarterly marks a radical departure in religious journalism. The editorial statement is worth quoting at some length:

The *Constructive Quarterly* recognizes the need that is finding expression in every organ-

ized Christian church—the need of the impact of the whole of Christianity on the race.

It recognizes that the obligation to witness to Christ is as wide as Christendom, that the need of that witness is as wide as humanity, that only a united witness can meet this universal need.

The *Quarterly* has no scheme for propagating a system for the unity of Christian churches. It will therefore have no editorial pronouncements. It offers itself rather as a forum where the isolated churches of Christendom may reintroduce themselves to one another through the things that they themselves positively hold to be vital to Christianity.

The *Quarterly* invites the free, living, and deliberate statement of actual, operative belief.

Two conditions are imposed: First, that the faith and work and thought of each communion shall be presented in its absolute integrity including and not avoiding differences; and second, that no attack with polemical animus shall be made on others.

It is proposed that differences, like agreements, shall be fully set forth, explained, and defended, so that all may learn to know what the differences are and what they stand for, and that all may respect them, in order to cherish and preserve whatever is true and helpful and to discover and grow out of whatever is harmful and false. This policy is intended to cultivate and stimulate loyalty to conviction—pre-eminently to the corporate convictions of the communion to which men owe their allegiance. The policy is based upon the principle that loyalty to conviction and courage of conviction on all sides are essential to mutual understanding or confidence.

The editorial board are, in America: Archbishop Platon, the Russian Cathedral, New York; Rev. William Adams Brown, Ph.D., D.D., New York; Rev. W. P. Du Bose, S.T.D., D.C.L., Sewanee; President Robert A. Falconer, D.Litt., C.M.G., Toronto; Chancellor J. H. Kirkland, Ph.D., LL.D., Nashville; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Denver; President W. Douglas Mackenzie, D.D., LL.D., Hartford; Dean

Shailer Mathews, A.M., D.D., Chicago; Rev. Dickinson S. Miller, Ph.D., New York; George Wharton Pepper, Philadelphia; Robert E. Speer, D.D., New York; Rev. Henry Van Dyke, D.D., LL.D., Princeton; Rev. W. H. Van Allen, D.D., Boston. The board includes among its German representatives the following: Dr. Dryander, Berlin; Dr. von Bezzel, Munich; Professor Dr. Adolf Deissmann, Berlin; Professor Dr. F. Loofs, Halle; and from England: the Bishop of Winchester, Farnham Castle; Rt. Hon. Arthur James Balfour, M.P., F.R.S., London; Rev. James Denney, D.D., Glasgow; Professor Terrot Reaveley Glover, Cambridge; Arthur Henderson, M.P., London; Very Rev. W. R. Inge, D.D., London; Rev. James Hope Moulton, D.D., Manchester; Rev. W. P. Paterson, D.D., Edinburgh; Rev. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford; Rev. Principal Selbie, D.D., Oxford; Rev. William Temple, Repton.

It has also associated with it committees from the Roman Catholic church. The undertaking is certainly notable and offers a splendid platform for the representatives of the various forms of Christianity.

The first volume is to appear in March; the subscription price is \$2.50.

Baptism in the Oriental Mystery-Religions

Professor H. A. A. Kennedy, continuing in the *Expositor* for December his series on "St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions," discusses the baptismal rites as observed in the oriental cults. Rites of purification were common to all ancient religions. One of the best-known features in the Eleusinian mysteries was the bath of cleansing in the sea. No doubt the idea of regeneration was associated with these lustrations, but our knowledge of the baptismal rites of the mystery-religions is meager in the extreme. No trace remains of the baptism of the initiated "into the name" of any of the

mystery-deities, although the cult-action may have formed part of a definite acknowledgment of the deity in question. Nor is there any hint that the influence of the divine *pneuma*, a feature which we have seen to be current in mystic doctrine, was ever connected with the ritual of lustration.

He sums up his discussion of the relation of Paul's doctrine of baptism to that of the oriental cults as follows: Our material for estimating the significance of baptismal rites in the mystery-religions is far too meager to admit of dogmatic conclusions. But it is highly probable that they were conceived as working *ex opere operato*. An examination of Paul's utterances on baptism does not suggest that in it we have a second principle of salvation, and that, quoting from Heitmüller, "the conceptions of justification and the forgiveness of sins are connected with baptism only in a quite cursory fashion." On the contrary, the faith which welcomes the divine message of forgiveness and new life in Christ crucified and risen is invariably presupposed as the background of the solemn ritual. It is in virtue of their faith that converts proceed to baptism. But the ordinance is far more than a symbol of spiritual processes. It is a sacrament, that is, as Professor Bartlet admirably defines it, "a symbol conditioning a present deeper and decisive experience of the divine grace, already embraced by faith. But all is psychologically conditioned, being thereby raised above the level of the magical or quasi-physical conception of sacramental grace."

Will the Pentateuchal Question Be Reopened?

"We are not at the end of Pentateuchal criticism, but at its beginning. As in the New Testament, so here, a backward movement has set in, and it is possible that again in the future a greater portion of the Pentateuch than formerly will be ascribed to the time of Moses or to the oldest times

in Israel." This is the conclusion reached by Johannes Dahse, a German writer, in a short article on "New Methods of Inquiry concerning the Pentateuch" (translated) in the current *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and also published separately by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge with a preface by Professor Sayce (4 d.). Younger scholars, he holds, are beginning to doubt seriously the old criteria of criticism in this field, as weak, if not worthless. De Lagarde has already pointed out that all criticism of the Pentateuch has proceeded solely on the basis of the Hebrew text, without an examination of other editions which are strongly entitled to consideration, on the basis of age. No criticism can be scientific until it has taken account of all available materials for arriving at sources. The so-called document, "P," was never a separate writing, but its parts are largely repetitions or condensations of other passages. Hence these "P" portions were "an explanatory aid in conducting worship." Neither is all the "so-called" P post-exilic. Gen., chaps. 17 and 23, e.g., "belong to the old history," and "there are many late additions and so-called glosses in the P writings which were not found in the Hebrew source of 'the Septuagint.'" The writer refers his readers for further discussions to his *Text-kritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage*. Professor Sayce in his Preface also insists that "the philological structure that has been built on the existing Hebrew text is giving away," and believes he has shown "that a good part of the existing Hebrew text has been translated, more or less literally, from a cuneiform original."

The Individualism of the Old Testament

Professor James Orr contributes an article to the January *Review and Expositor* on "The Reality of Individual Piety in the Old Testament." The burden of the

article is to remove the emphasis that has been placed on corporate consciousness as against individual or personal responsibility and initiative in early Old Testament times. He contends that when we speak of family, or clan, or tribe as the unit, we are speaking relatively, and that even in these early times the individual had his "sphere of duties, rights and interests." By copious illustration from biography, the processes of law, devotional literature, and even the wisdom utterances of the Book of Proverbs, the author shows, conclusively to himself, that, prior to the time of the prophets, "individual piety was a necessary element in the religious life of the nation" even from the beginning. This piety is, at the beginning, and indeed continues to be, even under the law, a simple life of prayer, vow, and sacrifice and a walking with God by faith, much as in our best religious life and obedience today.

Jewish Ideas of Demons

Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, contributes an interesting article to the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for December on the Jewish idea of angels and demons in the New Testament period. He describes four distinct types of belief. In one type Satan was the archdemon who tempted man and led him astray; this idea of Satan was derived from the Old Testament and his semi-divine or angelic origin apparently was forgotten. In this form of thought the part played by angels and demons was comparatively small, although the belief itself was by no means relinquished. In the second type, there was a keen interest in tracing the origin of demons and of evil. Starting from Gen. 6:2-4, and under the influence of Persian dualism, they conceived a previous rebellion and sin on the part of the angels. We find an archdemon named Azazel figuring even more prominently than Satan, and many other of the fallen angels received specific names. A third type of

thought may be seen in the Book of Tobit, where Persian influence is dominant and where the archdemon bears the Persian name Asmodaeus. A fourth type has a demonology that is real and pervasive, but made up in a rational way. The world is thought to be pervaded by evil spirits, but these spirits are simply the personification of the evil propensities of man.

To most of the Jews of that period, as indeed to most of the men of that time, the world was full of supernatural agencies. As there were angels to accomplish every good act, so there were demons or evil spirits to perpetrate every evil deed or to prompt every sinful impulse.

Another Eschatological Interpretation of Christianity

"The Prime Object of Original Christianity" was to meet the need of the people during the first few years after its origin, concludes A. Kemper in an article with the above title in the November *Open Court*. He states his position in his first sentence: "That Christianity in its origin was a purely eschatological religion intended only for the time of its origin is a fact which clearly stands forth in the writings of the New Testament." It is maintained that the people expected an immediate coming of the kingdom of God and of the judgment, and that Christianity arose as a means of preparation. The author finds evidences of this belief in the preaching of John the Baptist, Jesus, Paul, and others, and also in practically every book contained in the New Testament.

Can the Historical Study of Christianity Yield a Systematic Theology?

It is felt by many theologians that the principles of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, if consistently carried through, would involve the abandonment of a belief in any special revelation in Christianity. If the conception of revelation be aban-

doned, can we any longer have a theology in the proper sense of the word? This question is considered by Professor Troeltsch in an article in the January number of the *American Journal of Theology* entitled, "The Dogmatics of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule." Professor Troeltsch holds that there can be a genuinely positive theology worked out by a man who recognizes in Christianity a long, historical development. The theology of any given age will consist in the systematizing of those religious convictions and ideals which dominate the Christian thinkers of the age. Such a dogmatics must, of course, abandon any claim to universal absoluteness. On the other hand, however, Professor Troeltsch contends that its intimate appreciation of present-day movements makes it peculiarly efficient for the task of preaching. This article should be read by all those who wish to see the doctrinal outcome of the historical-critical method.

Eucken on Salvation

Professor Rudolph Eucken of the University of Jena in Germany, aside from Henri Bergson, the best-known modern philosopher, comes forward with statements which it is to be hoped are true, and which, if so, mean Christian advance. He says in substance that materialism is dead, that intellectualism is not intellectual, that naturalism is not natural; that the only basis of philosophy is life; that the only basis of knowledge is experience; that there is an organized spiritual world into which no one can enter without a revolutionary experience; that the only limit to knowledge, to joy, to being, is the limit of experience in intimate relations with God. As he sets aside intellectualism in philosophy he thrusts it aside in theology. Spiritual life is king in the spiritual world; and a new spiritual birth is necessary to spiritual experiences. The only hope of the human being, Professor Eucken concludes, is salvation straight from God.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

FOREIGN MISSIONS

A Campaign to Save West China

A campaign for \$700,000 and for 100 volunteers, 70 men and 30 women, for West China within the next year, has been begun by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In commenting on the plan, the *Spirit of Missions* (Episcopal) says editorially in its December number that in comparison the desire of its own denomination to raise \$200,000 for a similar work is very modest indeed. In this connection it may be of interest to note that the American Presbyterian church of Montreal gave last year for foreign missions \$8,502 and \$8,514 for home missions. The membership of the church is 1,565.

Advance Steps in Missionary Finances

The Methodist commission of finance will apportion the following sums among the northern Methodist churches, to be raised during the next twelve months: for foreign missions, \$1,800,000; home missions, \$1,560,000; Freedman's aid, \$270,000; Sunday-school board, \$210,000; total, \$3,975,000. In each church there will be a unified budget embracing a set proportion of these amounts. The northern Baptists are now in the midst of a campaign to raise annually for home and foreign missions \$3,000,000 from churches and personal gifts in addition to income from vested funds and legacies.

A Memorial Church to Paul in Tarsus

A memorial church bearing the name of the Apostle Paul is soon to be built in Tarsus, according to the *Quarterly News Bulletin* of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of November 15. A movement to secure this result was started at the annual meeting of the

Board in Williston Church, Portland, Maine. The desirability of erecting such a structure was urged upon the gathering by Rev. William N. Chambers, D.D., who is in charge of the mission work of the board in the Adana-Tarsus district. In announcing the plan, the *Bulletin* says: "Christendom certainly owes it to the stricken people of the Tarsus district, if not to the memory of St. Paul to have a worthy church erected at the birthplace of the great apostle." Over \$6,000 has been raised and the board feels assured that more will follow. The native Christians at Tarsus are deeply interested in the project. They have already purchased the site and are eager to do all in their power to aid in erecting the memorial.

Campaigns of Inspiration

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions announce a series of institutes for 1913, the object of which is to "bring before our churches the great facts and successes of the foreign work, and to present the latest and best plans for securing the co-operation of the people at home." There will be four teams of speakers, one for each of the four districts into which the board has divided the country, and each team will be directed by the board secretary for that district. One institute a week will be held in each district. The program suggested will begin Sunday and continue through Monday. Sunday will be devoted to arousing enthusiasm. The program on Monday will be for practical effect. The standard team will be composed of one or more secretaries of the American board, one secretary of the woman's board, one or more missionaries of the American board, one missionary of the woman's board, and various others.

In the announcement, the board calls the institutes "something new." For the past four years, it states, it has had no deficit, and during the past year its receipts reached the highest mark in its history, \$1,062,442.98. This successful state of affairs makes it possible to inaugurate this educational campaign at home.

A somewhat similar campaign was inaugurated in the middle of January by the \$3,000,000 Campaign Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention. Conferences will be held simultaneously in the East, the Central West, and on the Pacific Coast.

Agnosticism in Japan

That the issue in Japan is no longer between Christianity and the native religions but between Christianity and nothing, is the inference that must be drawn from the figures of a religious census recently taken in the Imperial University of Japan in Tokyo. It classifies more than 4,000 students by religions as follows: Shinto 8, Buddhist 50, Christian 60, atheist 1,500, and agnostic 3,000. It appears from this that the educated classes of Japan have practically broken with the old beliefs and are searching for some better basis for ethics and faith.

The Modern Man as a Missionary

"The Liberal Movement and Missions" is the title of a suggestive article by Professor E. C. Moore of Harvard University in the January number of the *American Journal of Theology*. Professor Moore writes on the basis of an unusually wide opportunity for observing defects. He has himself made a first-hand study of missionary activities in the Orient and has for years been one of the leading preachers representing the liberal point of view. His contention is that missionary efficiency depends upon the presence of a strong religious experience rather than upon the proclamation of this or that kind of theology. He pays high

tribute to the work of the missionaries in the past precisely on the ground of this profound religious experience, and he contends that if liberal missions are equally religious their truer appreciation of the place and function of religion in human experience will enable them to be far more efficient than orthodoxy could possibly be:

There is that in the cause of Christ and for the furtherance of the Kingdom which the very simplest can do. There is that which only the man who has the qualities which true liberalism gives him can do. There is that which only such a man will undertake, which is yet very necessary to be undertaken. There is that in the doing of which he has an advantage, with which nothing which the other man possesses can compare. There is that which constitutes his peculiar challenge. Upon this it would indeed be a pity if there were no chance for him to offer up his heart and life.

Women in Moslem Lands

One of the results of missionary activity in Moslem lands is a great improvement in the condition of women, states "The New Woman in the Mohammedan World," by Saint Nihal Singh in the *Review of Reviews* for December. One of the indications of the improvement, says the article, is the fact that Mohammedan women in Persia, Turkey, India, and Egypt are seeking to acquire western education in the government and mission schools, and that the men, if not in favor of the innovation, at least do not actively oppose it. This education, embracing those branches commonly taught in our high schools and colleges, is imparted for the most part by missionaries.

Comparing the Koran and the Bible

A former Moslem fanatic, F. Masih, now a missionary among peoples of his former creed, is giving joint readings of the Bible and the Koran to his hearers and permitting them to decide the relative value of Mohammedanism and Christianity. Great success has attended this novel procedure. It is a

healthy sign of the times as well as evidence of the Bible's power still to grip and hold the mind.

Why Missions Do Not Succeed Better in Mexico

One of the great obstacles attending the spread of the gospel in Mexico is the belief that the United States intends to annex the country, says Rev. Ignacio M. Lopez, pastor of an El Paso, Tex., church in an

article in the December *Missionary Herald*. The people believe that, with this end in view, societies have been organized, which, under the pretext of religious aims, seek only political results. The article states: "This silly pretense, which was sown with malicious ingenuity by the Roman church for many years before Protestantism was known in this country, has been cultivated assiduously . . . from generation to generation."

CHURCH EFFICIENCY

Where Protestant Churches Thrive

Figures showing that the Methodist church is chiefly a rural church were recently published in the *Central Christian Advocate* (Kansas City). While the statistics pertain to one denomination only, they may point to a prevailing condition in Protestantism. A digest of them is as follows: 60 per cent of the Jewish congregations of the country are in cities of 300,000 or over, while 5 per cent of the Methodists are in cities of that size; 90 per cent of Jewish congregations are in cities of more than 25,000; 60 per cent of the Christian Scientists are in cities of 300,000 or over, and only 15 per cent are outside of cities; more than 50 per cent of the Roman Catholics are in cities of 25,000; only 10 per cent of all Methodists of whatever name are in cities larger than 50,000 and less than 15 per cent of all Methodists are in cities even as large as 25,000. "That is to say," continues the article, "that 85 per cent of all the Methodists there are, are in the country or in small towns and little cities."

The Penalty of Liberty without Morality

That the "gunmen" recently convicted in New York for the slaying of Herman Rosenthal are members of a fraternity recruited chiefly from the ranks of Italians and Jews is the gist of "Where the Gunmen Come from," by James Forbes, director of

the National Association for the Prevention of Mendicancy, in the *Outlook* for November 30.

Mr. Forbes claims that members of these two races, freed from strict parental and, in some cases, patriarchal restraint at home, are cast adrift in the stimulating atmosphere of western cities where they come into contact with commercialized vice, the life of the street, hangers-on of poolrooms and similar places, and finally become addicted to drugs. Generally speaking, underworld people are one-sided or defective morally or physically, or both. "In another generation," prophesies the author, "it is likely that men of this class who get into the clutches of the law will face tests by alienists rather than widely advertised criminal trials." These tests "will show," he continues, "in all instances, probably, that arrested mental development is symptomatic of the underworld."

Foreign Missions in Chicago

One of the more interesting phases of aggressive church work in our great cities is the work among the Chinese and Japanese. In Chicago, for instance, there is maintained a Japanese institute. This institute is conducted in accordance with the general method of the Young Men's Christian Association and is already having a decided influence over the Japanese of the city. In

the dormitories there are thirty-two residents, and the religious services are well attended considering the number of Japanese in the city. A number of conversions have been reported. The institute is able to interest a number of the prominent Japanese in its work.

A significant development is also to be seen in the work among the Chinese. There is growing up in Chicago a new Chinese quarter to which the inhabitants of the older quarter are migrating. It seemed to the Co-operative Council of City Missions that there should be some rational provision made for co-operative religious work in the new quarter. Accordingly, during the past few months, the matter has been agitated and it now looks as if all the various missions which have been working among the Chinese might unite in the establishment of the First Chinese Evangelical Church. It is possible also that the Young Men's Christian Association may co-operate with the church when it is established and furnish institutional features.

Church Federation in New York

In the New York City Federation of Churches 41 denominations are represented, not to mention numerous rabbis who are termed associate members of the council. This great union of churches, working hand in hand for the betterment of mankind socially, morally, and religiously, is realizing its opportunities in the great American metropolis and facing problems in a sane, business-like fashion.

Roman Catholic Censorship of Plays

A much-needed social reform in regard to plays has been carefully worked out by the Catholic clergy, according to the *Literary Digest*. Plays verging upon the immoral and sacrilegious have from time to time fallen under the ban of Catholic church authorities. Now, as we read in several of that church's weekly papers, there is to be built up a

nation-wide Catholic theatrical uplift movement. Cardinal Farley has given the plan his personal indorsement, and will soon announce the personnel of the national and local committees, while Miss Eliza O'B. Lummis, the founder of the movement, has already sent an outline of the organization scheme to every bishop in the United States and Canada. "Active co-operation upon the part of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops with the laity of their respective diocese is asked in this concerted effort to bring all classes, irrespective of creed, into a national union for the eradication of immoral drama from the American stage." Bad plays are to be censured, good ones are to be supported.

Bibles on the Fleet

The last Sunday on which the battle-ships of the Atlantic fleet were in the harbor of New York, a company of 115 young people distributed 24,600 portions of the gospels to as many men on thirty-two ships. Among other sailors in the harbor, 15,000 volumes were distributed. Over 85,000 volumes were distributed among immigrants landing at Ellis Island, who carried the books into every state of the Union.

A New Victory for Christian Politics

A significant victory for temperance came in West Virginia as a result of the recent election. The fight was waged chiefly by the churches and the clergy. The 80,000 majority simply indicates what the church people can do and the power that is theirs when they act as a unit.

Preparing for a Better Race

As a result of the great emphasis now being laid on eugenics, New York comes forward with an educational propaganda along this line. "The Society for the Instruction of Eugenics," with headquarters in New York, is announced. Its purpose is

"for the benefit of everyone who desires to give to all children moral self-protection by a simple and true knowledge of the science of life, which means, eventually, a higher order of morality, spirituality, intellect, and physical perfection for future generations."

New Advances in Church Union

The United Brethren and Methodist Protestant bodies have recently held through delegated committees a meeting to endeavor to effect an organic union. This union will mean a body of 500,000 communicants, with an income of about \$15,000,000. The educational institutions of both denominations will be united. In towns where the population does not warrant a continuation of both churches a union will be effected. In the case of churches able to take care of themselves without union the old names will be retained but the administration will be from one source.

The Presbyterian Bureau of Social Service

A booklet recently issued under the supervision of Charles Stelzle presents an interesting and suggestive outline of the social-service work now being done by the Presbyterian church in the United States. It will be recalled that in 1903 the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions established a "Workingmen's Department," which later became known as the "Department of Church and Labor." The success of this experiment led the General Assembly in 1911 to instruct the board to organize a "Bureau of Social Service," which should include the Department of Church and Labor, and whose function it should be "to study social conditions as they are related to the progress of the Kingdom of God and to suggest to the church practical ways of realizing the social ideals of the gospel."

The various lines of work undertaken

by this new church agency are described in a series of paragraphs under the following heads: Church Efficiency; Survey Work; Church Publicity; Social Service Campaigns; City Problems; Church and Labor; Labor Temperance Movement; Workingmen's Mass Meetings; Shop Campaigns; Staff Service; Municipal Problems; Library and Research Work. We reproduce from the section under the head of City Problems:

"During the past ten years the population of the United States increased 21 per cent. The cities having a population of 25,000 and over increased 55 per cent during the same period. The tendency of the population is toward the city. The church as a whole also increased 21 per cent from 1900 to 1910, but it is rapidly losing strength in the cities. If the city is to dominate the nation—and it will—and if the church continues to lose in the city, it does not require a prophet to foretell the inevitable result. It is a simple proposition in mathematics. The church is said to preach 'a universal gospel,' but when the foreigner moves in the church usually moves out, thereby confessing that its gospel is effective for the foreigner only when it is exported. We are declaring that our gospel is the best and only solvent for the social problem, but when the masses crowd into the tenements, facing the most perplexing questions that ever troubled any people, the tendency on the part of the church is to move into 'uptown' districts or into the suburbs. What a challenge is the city—can the church meet the situation? Either it will do so, or the church will soon have finished its work, for other forces are challenging the church for supremacy in the hearts of the people.

"The city has been the special subject of study with the Bureau since its organization. Not only have the problems of the city been investigated in many surveys and in special studies, but the Bureau has been

principally concerned with methods whereby these problems may be got at. Probably the most notable achievement of the Bureau in the city is the *Labor Temple*, in lower New York—one of the most difficult city fields in America. The two years' experiment just completed has demonstrated that for such a field the kind of an organization which we set up is most successful."

The Bureau includes among its activities a Correspondence Course in Applied Christianity. Literature describing this course may be obtained by writing to the Bureau at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

One Reason Why Methodist Seminaries Are Crowded

During the year just passed the Methodist Episcopal denomination has raised \$140,000 for the education of young men who are studying for the gospel ministry. As a result of this amount, loans can be made to 2,100 worthy men, divided as follows: New England 197; Middle States 507; Western States 1,060; Southern States 283, and foreign countries 61.

As a proof of the wide-awake and efficient clergy and laymen of the Methodist church, about 65,000 new members have been added to the church in the United

States. This gives a grand total of 3,607,898. The increase for 1912 was nearly double that of 1911.

Educating Laymen

Bishop Greer of New York has, together with the clergy of his diocese and a number of laymen, organized a new church extension society. The idea of the society is to educate the layman in such a manner that he will realize parish responsibilities. Briefly, the aim is to make each church, especially in the Bronx (New York City), a social and community center. It seems as if in the majority of great American cities almost the only churches able to stand in the midst of so-called "downtown district" with its great foreign population have been either Catholic or Episcopal. It is Bishop Greer's idea to make the church firmer, the work more effective, and the layman more alive to the need.

Liberalizing Cambridge Degrees

An effort is on foot to make the degrees B.D. and D.D. from Cambridge University, England, open to all creeds. A recent petition with this purpose in view was presented to the university authorities by five professors of the theological faculty.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Utilizing the Local Library for Religious Education

An investigation of the sections devoted to religious books, if such there were, in important libraries in different sections of the country, east and west, has betrayed an astonishing number of collections of shabby books, worn out externally and equally out of date in contents. In many cases the whole collection was the gift of the family of some minister who has long since passed away. Occasionally the shelves devoted to education have contained a few of the modern books on religious education. Of

the many volumes of stories, poetry, and all those numerous books from modern writers dealing with biblical literature and the social aspects of biblical history, there is not a trace. Supposing that the present agitation on the question of religious and moral education in the public schools or apart from them should suddenly assume a militant aspect, the public library, upon which the public-school teacher depends so largely for material, would offer no adequate means of preparation for the presentation of religious teaching.

Librarians who have been questioned

concerning the defects of their libraries in this respect have one and all lamented the difficulty, and have frequently made the statement that they would be glad to add religious books to the shelves, but did not know what to add. They further claim that there is no authority on the best books in this field. If they ask the ministers, they will be influenced by their religious denomination, and there are many Hebrews and Catholics in any community. This answer rests upon the outworn theory that the differences between religious denominations, whether they be Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, are greater than the elements which they have in common. Great bodies, such as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, are teaching us daily to emphasize the universal elements of religion. While this tendency has but recently become expressed as a definite principle, it has been affecting the production of literature for many years, and those who are familiar with this field no longer expect to find a history of the Hebrews impregnated with some distinctively denominational tenet, or a life of Paul which cannot be used with equal efficiency in churches of all denominations.

A large literature has come into existence, which should be well represented in every library of importance; a literature including books both scholarly and popular, books which no longer forbid by their ugly bindings and small type but are models of typography, binding, and frequently of illustration as well. Moreover, there are sources from which the librarian may secure standard lists upon the impartiality and accuracy of which he may rely. In the *Biblical World*, in addition to its book reviews, specially selected lists of books particularly interesting to ministers and teachers are published in connection with the reading courses current each year. These lists are selected by the best authorities, and the lists comprehensively present

the subjects which they treat. A list on so important a historical subject as the expansion of Christianity in the twentieth century appears in this very number. The American Institute of Sacred Literature, under whose auspices these courses are published in the *Biblical World*, is another efficient source of information on religious books, open to any librarian. The Religious Education Association, with headquarters in Chicago, is also ready to furnish lists. For the children of the community, there have been published within the last five years numerous delightful books of biblical stories.

It would appear that, for the present at least, the public library may render the largest service of any organization in the community outside of the church in the religious education of its constituency, and at the same time need have no apprehension concerning the inculcation of narrow bigotry or the propagation of truths which are not unusual in their application. The minister and the Sunday-school teacher are, as a matter of fact, among the most influential of the residents of a given community. Why should not the public library assist such persons in the performance of their work by giving them adequate material for study? More than this, the public library is supposed to furnish to all persons in the community a well-rounded and approximately complete presentation of modern conditions in science, history, art, and literature, and why not religion?

This item is not meant to be an arraignment of librarians, but an assurance of the existence of adequate literature, and a suggestion of sources where information concerning it can be obtained.

The Educational Value of Religious Art

Much is being said at present in the public press about the Sunday attendance at art galleries. In New York and Chicago, it is

stated that the Sunday attendance amounts to one-third, and in some smaller cities to two-thirds, of the total attendance. Most of these institutions are open only on Sunday afternoon, Sunday morning being tacitly recognized as the time for church attendance. There are those who go so far as to believe that that which is beautiful in conception, color, or form is calculated to make men and women better. We are not ready to dispute that fact at this time, but we do believe that much could be done to make more effective in the inspiration of definite religious thought and ideal this Sunday afternoon ministry of art to the public.

Many of us recall the peculiar atmosphere which pervaded the galleries where the Tissot pictures were exhibited in this country, many years ago. The marked reverence of the crowd, the deep reveries of individuals before certain pictures, the subdued conversation, all showed how strong was the religious emotion evoked by the pictures. Modern art does not, it is true, lay emphasis upon biblical history, or the famous characters of the Old and New Testaments. Pictures of the Virgin with the Child are becoming less and less frequent expressions of the feeling of artists of today. On the other hand, modern life is presenting to art magnificent examples of human life molded on the principles of the heroes of our faith, both biblical and post-biblical. The revived interest in biblical literature, which is a feature of present religious awakening, will express itself sooner or later in art, and we shall again have in large numbers, and with more adequate spiritual interpretation, pictures growing out of the great religious history and literature of the past.

In the meantime, pastors and Sunday-school teachers would do well to make a study, not only of the picture galleries in the great cities, but of the numerous prints which may represent these to those who are

remote from them. Within the last decade the use of the penny print, and of the larger yet extremely inexpensive reproductions of great masterpieces has entered into all education. Art has yet to make its strongest appeal in religious education. The material is adequate and easily secured. It is our own fault if we do not make use of it.

The Organization of Denominations for Educational Work

Those who have watched carefully the reports of the annual meetings of great denominations have noted that the matter of religious education is assuming, with great rapidity, a systematic form. We find now in several of the denominations a general officer who bears the title of "educational secretary." Other denominations have not yet adopted this title, but have really established the office, and designate it by some old title in order that they shall not seem to have created a new office.

The Protestant Episcopal church is perhaps the most recent church to establish an educational secretary. Mr. Robert H. Gardner, of Maine, who has already served the church most efficiently in connection with his relation as secretary of the St. Andrew's Brotherhood, has just entered upon his work as educational secretary of the church. This denomination has been one of those leading in its enthusiasm for better methods and more attractive material in religious education. It was the first to put out a series of graded lessons for its own people, and the number of Episcopalian churches using other graded lesson series is large.

A group of small pamphlets entitled, *A Message to the Home*, from the Episcopalian press, represents another phase of educational activity which strikes at the root of things. The subjects treated in brief but effective form are: "Responsibility for Your Children's Character"; "Your Per-

sonal Relationship to Your Children"; "The Personal Study of Your Children"; "The Negative and Positive Influences of the Home"; "The Dangers of the Adolescent Period." These pamphlets are sold by the thousand to rectors for distribution to the homes represented in their parishes. They suggest a kind of pastoral care which is greatly needed in churches of all denominations.

In this connection we may mention the work of the Congregationalists in the appointment of secretaries under their Missionary and Extension Department of the Sunday School and Publishing Society with special reference to their educational ability. Some comparatively recent appointments are the Rev. Milton S. Littlefield, well known as an exponent of handwork in the Sunday school, as superintendent of the New York district; Rev. Arthur W. Bailey for northern New England; Rev. Charles L. Fisk for Ohio; Rev. R. W. Gammon for the Chicago district; and Rev. Miles B. Fisher for the Pacific Coast. Rev. J. P. O'Brien, who has long been representing his denomination, is now placed over the entire Southwest. Others have been appointed for oversight in more limited fields such as Utah, Oklahoma, Colorado, North Dakota, and Washington. These educational representatives are urged to assist in the organization and conducting of institutes where child-study, the principles of education, the use of the Bible in teaching, Sunday-school organization, and like topics are adequately presented. These institutes vary in length from one day to six weeks or more. An important feature of the work of the secretaries is to get into touch with colleges and universities within their territory, and to stimulate, so far as possible, the offering of systematic courses in these institutions which will prepare the students in attendance upon them for future work as Sunday-school teachers.

Another denomination has recently fallen

into line by the appointment of Professor Edwin D. Starbuck, well known as the author of important works on the psychology of religion, to revise its publications from the educational point of view. One of the interesting church documents of 1912 was the report of the Commission of Religious Education of the Northern Baptist Convention, a commission of which Professor Ira M. Price of the University of Chicago was chairman. The report covers twenty-four pages, and embraces sections on courses for Bible-study, for study of missions, social service, the home church, teacher training in seminaries and colleges as well as in Sunday schools. It is the most comprehensive document of its kind which has yet been issued by any denomination.

The History of Religion in German Universities

A remarkable advance is making in Germany in the department of the history of religion. It is a peculiar fact that Germany had neglected this branch of study, and it was not until two years ago that there was a chair of the history of religion in any German institution. Mr. Louis H. Jordan writes of this situation in the *Expository Times* for December. When Professor Otto Pfeiderer died, it was decided to make his chair distinctly a chair of the history of religion. But there was no German scholar who was regarded as suitable to appoint to the position. After a careful search Dr. Lehmann of Copenhagen was invited to the position. He accepted and entered upon his duties, the first professor distinctly appointed to this department of study in Germany.

Now the government of Saxony has decided to found a chair of the history of religion in the University of Leipzig. Last October the chair was formally inaugurated. The experience of the University of Berlin was repeated at the University of Leipzig, for neither was this institution able to find a

German scholar to occupy the new chair. Once more Germany had to summon a teacher from another country. Professor Nathan Söderblom, of Upsala, accepted the chair, but with the understanding that he would be permitted after a very limited number of years to return to his position at the University of Upsala from which he has leave of absence for this particular service. It is expected that at Berlin and at Leipzig German scholars will now be fully equipped for professorships in the history of religion. It is to be noted that the study of the history of religion in German universities is being placed in charge of the theological faculties. This is a wise procedure, although in other countries, as Italy, the arrangement is different. In Germany, however, the historical method of inquiry has come to be more generally respected, and today is forcefully applied even in the departments of theology. Further, the new German professorships mean for the study of the history of religion a speedy and permanent advance. No greater boon could possibly have been conferred upon the promoters of this important branch of inquiry in every quarter of Christendom.

New Endowments for Religious Teaching

A gift of \$100,000 has been made to the Yale Divinity School for the endowment of a chair of missions on the condition that \$200,000 is secured in the near future for the school. This movement is part of the plan to secure \$1,000,000 for the development of the Divinity School into a university of religion.

The New York Bible Teachers Training School recently received \$100,000 on a \$500,000 campaign for endowment.

Introducing the Bible into the Public Schools of Egypt

The government of Egypt, through the Minister of Education, recently ordered 460 Bibles, 400 New Testaments, 20 reference

Bibles, and 20 copies of the Concordance for their schools. This is the first time the Bible has been introduced into the government schools of Egypt.

The Next Convention of the Religious Education Association

To a certain constituency of earnest leaders of religious education in local churches, as well as in the larger fields of college, seminary, Christian Association, and social service, the annual convention of the Religious Education Association is a source of inspiration, and an eagerly sought occasion for fellowship and the exchange of ideas and ideals.

The convention of 1913 will be held in Cleveland, March 10-13. The association numbers some three thousand members, and no list of any organization in the country presents such an array of actual contributors to aggressive movements in the modern church.

It may be remembered that last year at St. Louis there were some hostile elements fostered by a portion of the local press, and by a few churches. The city of Cleveland has, however, taken hold of preparations for the convention with great enthusiasm. Local committees, headed by leading men in education, the pulpit, and business circles, are actively at work spreading enthusiasm and making plans which will probably result in a larger local attendance than at any convention in the previous history of the association.

From the headquarters of the association in Chicago, equally vigorous work is bringing a response which indicates that the attendance from outside the city of Cleveland will also be large. President Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago, who is the president of the association, reports that nearly all the speakers invited for evening programs have accepted. A convention bulletin announcing speakers can be secured by addressing the headquarters, 332 South Michigan Ave., Chicago.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

FORCING THE ISSUE BETWEEN GOD AND MAMMON¹

SHAILER MATHEWS

Professor Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* was a trenchant and awakening criticism of present social conditions. His new volume which re-works two series of lectures, delivered at Pacific Theological Seminary and Ohio Wesleyan, follows to a considerable degree the line opened up by the previous work and resembles that work in the vividness of its portrayal of the wrongs perpetuated by and inherent in capitalism, but deals more fully with constructive ideals. The larger part of the book, however, is devoted to an indictment of capitalism as a basis of society. Any reader of *Christianity and the Social Crisis* does not need to be told that this presentation is brilliant and searching. Professor Rauschenbusch is so on fire with a sense of the injustice wrought by capitalism that he does not undertake an impartial discussion, and sometimes says things rhetorically that he would not say scientifically, e.g., as to the origin of corporations and women's dress. At the same time in the broad line of treatment he seeks to be balanced and does not omit an appreciation of certain good points in the capitalistic system. "It is," he says, "the most efficient system for the creation of material wealth which the world has ever seen." "It has put humanity under the law of work as never before." "It has taught society the laws and habits of society on a large scale." And as for its moral power, it develops in its leaders those same moral qualities which we admire in the great captains and kings of history, as well as venturesomeness, concentration, bravery.

Professor Rauschenbusch, however, very strenuously denies that capitalism is the source of the advance of civilization. The better side of social history he properly credits to more spiritual forces. Capitalism itself, he holds, is evil. And no one can read his exposition of the workings of the capitalistic system without being startled and depressed. This sense of depression affects Professor Rauschenbusch himself and repeatedly pulls him back to a frank facing of realities in the very midst of his hopes. If he had less trust in God he would be dispirited; and yet if he had not a clear eye for the actual evils of the social order he would have been an indiscriminating optimist.

At one or two main points his views do not compel full assent. I speak of these first.

The inclusive religious concept of the book is the kingdom of God. Professor Rauschenbusch is not affected by recent discussions as to the apocalyptic force of the term and he seems to waver between the conception of the kingdom of God as a social order and as the Reign of God. It is to be regretted that he should derive his view of the social significance of Christianity so completely from an interpretation of a term. His case is stronger than his exegesis warrants. A more effective basis than "the kingdom of God" is the idea of the quality of life which humanity is to gain when once men and women become disciples of Jesus, that is, possess what Jesus called "eternal life" or "Age-life." I believe it is thoroughly possible to build up an exposition of the social

¹*Christianizing the Social Order*. By Walter Rauschenbusch. Pp. xiii+493. New York: Macmillan, 1912. \$1.50.

significance of the teaching of Jesus upon this new attitude of soul which shall be exegetically sounder and religiously more effective than that derived from the conception of the kingdom of God as a social order. Democracy and "kingdom" or even "reign" do not happily agree.

I think, too, that Professor Rauschenbusch is inclined to minimize the worth of the individual and that he, like certain of our theological writers, rather fails to value properly the tremendous religious and social possibilities that lie in New Testament eschatology. As long as it seems to be only bizarre pictures, it will, of course, have no profit; but the time cannot be long coming when we shall come to see that eschatology was simply a carrying concept of the Jewish thought for two great religious fundamentals (1) the presence of God in history, and (2) the differences in outcome, both social and individual, between unrighteousness and righteousness.

But these differences of view apply to method rather than to content of his thought. Whichever view of the term "kingdom of God" may finally prevail, there can be no question as to where the sympathies of Jesus would lie in our present struggle between an economic autocracy and an ethical fraternity.

Although in some places it seems a trifle overdeveloped, even this quality may have its pedagogical value in driving home Professor Rauschenbusch's exposé of the evil effect of capitalism in all aspects of social life—family, beauty, amusements, industry, religion. For the central issue raised by the volume is the contrast between Christianity and capitalism, or Business. This contrast Professor Rauschenbusch states sharply on p. 321: "Religion declares the supreme value of life and personality, even the humblest; Business negatives that declaration of faith by setting up Profit as the supreme and engrossing object of thought

and effort, and by sacrificing life to Profit where necessary.

"Christianity teaches the unity and solidarity of men; capitalism reduces that teaching to a harmless expression of sentiment by splitting society into two antagonistic sections, unlike in their work, their income, their pleasures, and their point of view."

This estimate of capitalism appears in some form or other on almost every page, perhaps as effectively as any in these striking sentences: "Business life is the unregenerate section of our social order. If by some magic it could be plucked out of our total social life in all its raw selfishness, and isolated on an island, unmitigated by any other factors of our life, that island would immediately become the object of a great foreign mission crusade for all Christendom."

On the whole the book is stronger in criticism than in construction. This, however, is not to be wondered at and Professor Rauschenbusch's keen sense of the humor of situations plays around this aspect of his task. But he never trifles. His remedy is Christian socialism, but since socialism, as distinct from reform, grows daily less interested in constructive platforms, he must, in the nature of the case criticize his own remedy. The socialism which he favors is not orthodox Marxism, or the materialistic scheme of the European. It is rather Fabianism definitely subjected to ethical opportunism. But it, too, must be Christianized if capitalism is not to be replaced by merely another economic scheme. And to Professor Rauschenbusch as to everyone who believes in the power of the gospel, socialistic materialism in spirit would be as far from the kingdom of God as capitalistic materialism.

It is at this point that Professor Rauschenbusch faces his most critical task. What is the Christianizing of the social

order? He answers thus: "Christianizing the social order means bringing it into harmony with the ethical convictions which we identify with Christ. A fairly definite body of moral convictions has taken shape in modern humanity. They express our collective conscience, our working religion. The present social order denies and flouts many of these principles of our ethical life and compels us in practice to outrage our better self. We demand therefore that the moral sense of humanity shall be put in control and shall be allowed to reshape the institutions of social life."

Could the question be better answered?

But does this answer necessarily mean socialism? Might not the antithesis to capitalism with its hideous and admitted evils described in the burning sentences of Professor Rauschenbusch be some other form of economic organization in which the admitted advantages of capitalistic organization are maintained and the worst of its errors obviated? Professor Rauschenbusch is altogether too keen an observer of human nature not to disavow belief in Utopias or human perfection, and one cannot help feeling that he himself dislikes such an antithesis. Assuming the social order were Christianized up to the point of human capacity and that the evil which, because of individual weakness and temptation, Professor Rauschenbusch thinks would still exist, is it by any means certain that the socialistic order would not carry within it evils which in their time would be open to as bitter denunciation as are now those of capitalism? In other words, is Socialism the only and inevitable economic recourse for those of us who would Christianize the changing order?

In raising this question I do not mean to imply that Professor Rauschenbusch advances his socialism beyond his hope of the Reign of God, or that he prefers revolution to a cumulative control of capitalistic

activities, nor would I weaken his arraignment of un-Christian capitalism. I would simply clear the discussion in the interest of the fundamental issue which it is the particular virtue of this notable volume to force home on the church. If it were beyond a peradventure demonstrated that the only way in which the social order can be Christianized is by socialism, I believe the rank and file of Christians would become socialists. Professor Rauschenbusch has reached this decision. Personally, I have never been able to. But I do not see that the most pertinent of his own conclusions rise and fall with an attitude toward socialism as a constructive philosophy. He sees plainly what is the important thing to see just now, namely, that the Christianizing of the social order is a more or less empirical even opportunist reconstitution of capitalism under the inspiration of Christian ideals and scientific knowledge. That such a reconstitution is already in process, rectifying many of the evils of capitalism seems to me undeniable. That it will develop a democracy which will be completely the kingdom of God, I doubt. But, whatever our social creed, we can be at one with Professor Rauschenbusch in his insistence that the social gospel must do more than ameliorate; that it must regenerate the controlling forces of economic life. Capitalism will be stripped of its most potent evils if in no other way than by government control of corporations and government ownership of industries which are or tend to be monopolies.

I am not sure but this Christianizing of capitalism would ultimately result in something very like the modified socialism of Professor Rauschenbusch, so far removed from that of the socialist of the street corner. But it is not dependent upon a theory as to the basal principle on which the new order shall be grounded.

The fundamental conception of the

volume, however, does not depend on any socialistic theory. It is profoundly religious. We cannot serve God and Mammon; we must as Christians serve God! To that end the church, first of all, must Christianize itself by going out of its spiritual retirement, by realizing its immediate mission as the representative of Jesus, by emancipating itself from any possibility of control by capitalism and by holding itself steadily to its supreme mission of bringing individuals into fellowship with God and the establishment of the reign of God upon the earth. A new epoch would open in our church life if every intelligent Christian were to share in Professor Rauschenbusch's enthusiasm over the transformation through which the church is just now passing. It is already becoming convinced that it cannot proceed gingerly along the line of spiritual consolation; but that it must face the moral issues

of capitalism bravely, even, if necessary, with the spirit of the martyr.

And here we meet what to my mind is the really prophetic message of this volume: Whoever endeavors to bring into individual and social life the spirit and ideal of Jesus is working with God. For the social gospel is something more than an indictment of social injustice. It is more, too, than a call to duty on the part of Christians. The heart of the gospel is not that we must be sacrificing and helpful, but rather that God is in his world as a God of love, beating down the things that are unlovely, and that wherever love seeks expression in the abolition of abuse or the extension of fraternity, or the breaking of the crushing tyranny of business, cost what it may, there is God. On this profound trust in Him our hope of Christianizing the social order is ultimately based.

BOOK NOTICES

Liber Psalmorum iuxta Antiquissimam Latinam Versionem nunc primum ex Casinensi Cod. 557 . . . editus. (Collectanea Biblica Latina cura et Studio Monachorum S. Benedicti, Vol. I.) By Ambrosius M. Amellè, Rome: F. Pustet, 1912. Pp. xxxv + 175. \$1.75.

In preparation for the critical Vulgate, undertaken by a papal commission under the presidency of Abbot Gasquet, the full text of a remarkable Old Latin psalter is published, with a critical introduction and appendices, from a Monte Cassino manuscript of the twelfth century (*ca.* 1166). The manuscript contains no less than four successive psalters the third of which is here printed for the first time. It exhibits a remarkable text of the early African type, accommodated to the Hebrew text then current and to the Hexapla. These relationships give its text marked importance. Amelli supposes it to be very probably the work of Prefinus, a conjecture interesting indeed, but certainly difficult of proof. The appendices show the relations of the text, to Arnobius, Cyprian, Ambrose, and others.

There are good indices, and four excellent facsimile plates.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles. By A. E. Brooke. ("The International Critical Commentary.") New York: Scribner, 1912. Pp. xc + 242. \$2.50 net.

Mr. Brooke in his preface speaks of deliberately avoiding the question of authorship, but one is relieved to find that he is much better than his word. Indeed, it would be unfortunate to neglect the very important clues which the epistles supply on this subject. He holds the first epistle to be from the same hand as the gospel, which it probably followed after some little interval. The smaller letters are from the same hand, and all three belong to the opening years of the second century. Mr. Brooke is inclined to assign the epistles to John the Elder, perhaps a pupil of John the Apostle, and in some sense a disciple of the Lord (p. lxxvii). Harnack's reconstruction of their historical background is criticized, and not altogether successfully, by Mr. Brooke, who is

not convinced that the Elder was fighting a losing battle against the rising monarchical episcopate. The introduction is admirably complete; the sketch of the literary history of the letters is especially valuable. The textual notes are what we have a right to expect from one of the editors of the Cambridge Septuagint. The exegetical notes are sympathetic and discriminating and the whole work is able and scholarly.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.

By James Everett Frame. (The International Critical Commentary.) New York: Scribner, 1912. Pp. ix+326. \$2.50 net.

Professor Frame has produced in his *Thessalonians* a careful and detailed exposition of those earliest Christian documents. He has made use of the great body of exegetical literature which has gathered about these letters, but has contrived to make it serve instead of encumbering his work of interpretation. Matters of introduction are treated with reasonable fulness. Mr. Frame accepts both letters as genuine, and dates the first in the spring of 50 A.D. and the second "not more than five to seven weeks later" (p. 9). A somewhat fuller statement of how the date and place of composition are arrived at would have been helpful, in these days of rival chronologies. The treatment of external evidence is perhaps a little meager: On Marcion's canon one would have preferred a reference to the sources, e.g., Tertullian, rather than to Moffatt's *Introduction*. In connection with the manuscripts there is no mention of the new edition of Alexandrinus (1909). Mr. Frame holds I Thessalonians to be in part a reply to a letter from Thessalonica (p. 106), and conceives its leading motive to be apologetic. The contrast, not to say inconsistency, between 1:9 and Acts 17:4 is not freely explained. With his other careful word-studies, Mr. Frame might well have included one of *ecclesia*, on the momentous occasion when it first appears in a Christian sense. He is not altogether sure that the "restrainer" of II Thess. 2:6, 7 is the emperor or the empire. Some estimate of the historical worth of Acts should really have preceded the sketch of the founding of the Thessalonian church (pp. 1-7), which is mainly based on Acts.

Through an oversight, the opening sentence (p. 1) gives the reader to understand that John accompanied Paul and Barnabas in their evangelization of central Asia Minor, and that Timothy as well as Silas was with Paul when he set off to revisit his Galatian churches. But Mr. Frame's work in general is scholarly and painstaking, and his book will be widely welcomed.

The Gospels. By Rev. Leighton Pullan. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912. Pp. x+323. \$1.40.

This book is tolerably well characterized by the fact that it is a volume of the "Oxford Library of Practical Theology," i.e., it is an attempt of a very conservative but open-minded scholarship to present the "guaranteed" results of literary and historical criticism in a popular, highly apologetic, semi-devotional form. The bulk (pp. 65-242) of the present volume is devoted to the synoptic discussion and adopts as its premises about the position of Sanday's preface to the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*. Prefacing this are two chapters, one (pp. 1-31) on the history of the Canon and the other (pp. 32-64) on the history of gospel criticism. A treatment of the Johannine problem (pp. 243-316), which is concerned almost entirely with the historical "framework" and the external evidence, closes the book. This last discussion is badly proportioned. For to the ordinary reader the important question is the relation of the speeches in John to the historic sayings of Jesus, and this is barely glanced at. Still weaker is the chapter on the history of criticism. As regards matter, it is seriously incomplete and the author's favorable opinion of "the marked superiority of genuine English work over the work produced in other countries" (p. vii) seems to be based in part on the neglect of much non-translated, non-English work (e.g., Bernard Weiss is ignored). As regards form, an irritating tone of theological acerbity makes the section most unpleasant reading—and there is entirely too much of the same tone elsewhere throughout the volume. None the less, the author's standpoint is far from obscurantism. He is willing to admit not only error on the part of the evangelists but deliberate modifications by them of the historic material as well. And in the circles for which the book is intended it will certainly prove extremely useful.

The Minister and the Boy. A Handbook for Churchmen Engaged in Boys' Work. By Allan Hoben, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. viii+171. \$1.00 net.

The author makes the following introductory statement: "The aim of this book is to call the attention of ministers to the important place which boys' work may have in furthering the kingdom of God. To this end an endeavor is made to quicken the minister's appreciation of boys, to stimulate his study of them, and to suggest a few practical ways in which church work with boys may be conducted."

The book is not based on theory, but is the result of practical experience. Most of the material has been published in the *Biblical*

World, and it is now issued under the following chapter titles: "The Call of Boyhood"; "An Approach to Boyhood"; "The Boy in Village and Country"; "The Modern City and the Normal Boy"; "The Ethical Value of Organized Play"; "The Boy's Choice of a Vocation"; "Training for Citizenship"; "The Boy's Religious Life"; "The Church Boys' Club."

A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel, from the Earliest Times to 135 B.C. By Henry Thatcher Fowler, Ph.D. New York: Macmillan. Pp. xiv+392. \$2.25 net.

A number of useful treatises on the literature of Israel from the modern historical standpoint have appeared in recent years, notably those of Kautsch and Cornill in Germany, and of Driver in England. These works, by their form and manner of treatment, have been directly serviceable chiefly to professional students. The present book is written with as much care and accuracy as its predecessors in this field; but it has the merit of being cast in such a form that the intelligent layman can make full use of it. Professor Fowler's work is to be commended not only to the divinity student but to the non-professional inquirer who does not clearly understand the new movement in biblical scholarship.

The treatment opens with a chapter entitled "Israel in the Ancient Semitic World." Moving out from this introduction, the various documents of the Old Testament are considered in the order of their age, as determined by modern historical study. Beginning with the early heroic poems, which include such pieces as the "Deborah Song" and the lament of David over Saul and Jonathan, the author passes on to the rise of prose, the great J and E histories, the prophetic writings, the Deuteronomic literature, the songs and oracles of the restoration from exile, the priestly writings, the Wisdom literature, the Psalms, the early Maccabean writings, etc. In each case the literature is viewed as an expression of the life and history of the times with which it stands connected. The writer is clear and authoritative, and withal constructive and reverent, having the essential interests of religion constantly in view.

The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Davidians-Fichte. New York: Scribner. Vol. V. Pp. xvi+908.

The appearance of a new volume of the Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* is always a matter of congratulation. As this great work proceeds on its way the impression is increasingly deepened that in the series we have an extraordinary addition to our literature.

The present volume covers such interesting topics as dreams and sleep, dress, education,

the family, evolution, expiation and atonement, as well as such highly important topics, though of less popular interest, as eschatology, festivals, feasts, and ethics. Many of these articles are really small volumes. One cannot help being impressed with the tremendous advance which theological thinking has made in the general historical feeling which runs through the treatment of all subjects, even such as ethics. Every page is rich with material for the student of religion. While it would be, of course, impossible to say that the volume is without errors of statement, one must be sharp-eyed to find absolute errors. Differences of opinion there may fairly be over many of the points; for example, the article on eschatology seems to be a presentation of facts rather than a historical evaluation of the facts; but it may be that that is not the purpose of an encyclopedia. At any rate, we wish to extend congratulations to the theological public that it has in Dr. Hastings such a marvel of educational creation.

The Holy Bible, an Improved Edition. Philadelphia: American Baptist Education Society. \$1.00.

This is the much-discussed Baptist Bible. The fact that it is issued by a denominational house will undoubtedly prevent its general circulation, but it will be a pity, for it embodies sound independent scholarship and in type and make-up is very satisfactory. It is true that the word "baptize" is always followed by "immersed," in parenthesis, a bit of scholastic purism which, of course, supports the Baptist position. Further than this there is nothing to argue that it might not have been issued by any group of competent scholars. How painstaking and thoroughgoing the volume is may be seen from the fact that the present translation is the fruitage of studies that began in the publication of a revision of a portion of the New Testament in 1862, long before the Revised Version appeared. The volume is the outgrowth of a long history, and while there may be a fair question whether there is need of a new edition, it deserves respect rather than the sensational treatment which has been heaped upon it. It is a credit to any denomination to produce such a monument of really noble scholarship.

The Life of Dr. J. R. Miller. By John T. Faris. New York: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. x+246. \$1.00 net.

Although Dr. Miller was a successful pastor and editor, he will be remembered chiefly as a devotional author, whose pen has brought comfort to millions of readers, and whose writings have made God nearer and more real to a countless host. The career of such a man will

always have interest and value. The present *Life* will be serviceable to a large circle of readers. Dr. Miller was one of the outstanding spiritual figures in the generation which is now passing away; and he had a positive mission to the church universal. In a period when modern science was putting forth arrogant claims, when criticism appeared to many to be dissolving away the heart of the Bible, and when the older and more austere conception of God was fast losing its hold, Dr. Miller was a prince among those who emphasized the love of God and led the way back to that simple, humanitarian theology which lies at the basis of Christianity. The keynote of his life appears in a letter concerning his experience as a divinity student: "By far the most lasting influences of my seminary life were its fellowships. . . . That which has stayed with me most persistently during these years has not been the theology, the church history, the New Testament Greek, or the Old Testament Hebrew, but the memory of certain men and the impressions which they made upon my life" (p. 70).

The Making of a Nation. Twelve Studies on the Beginnings of Israel's History. By Charles Foster Kent and Jeremiah Whipple Jenks. New York: Scribner. Pp. x+101. \$1.00.

These studies have a number of objects: to present the constructive results of modern biblical scholarship in such a way that the lay reader may be in a position to judge these results for himself and to use them in Bible-study; to introduce the men and women of today to that which is most vital in the literature and thought of the Old Testament; to interpret the Old Testament into the language of modern life; and to show how closely the Old Testament helps to answer the pressing questions now confronting the nations.

These are worthy objects; and the names of the writers guarantee that the book is of service for those for whom it is prepared. It will be useful to Bible classes in churches, colleges, and Christian Associations, as well as to individual readers and students.

A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802-867). By J. B. Bury. New York: Macmillan, 1912. Pp. xv+530. \$4.00.

Professor Bury more than twenty years ago published his two well-known volumes upon *The Later Roman Empire*, which covered the history of the Byzantine Empire from Theodosius the Great's death to the fall of Irene. The present

book continues the subject, but on a larger scale, to the accession of Basil I in 867. It is interesting to observe proportions. Gibbon merely sketched this epoch. Here is a solid book of 530 pages devoted to sixty-five years of history. If Mr. Bury lives to complete this great subject in the same proportion it will fill a total of twelve volumes—from three to four times as much space as Gibbon used.

No one save the specialist has any idea of the immense progress that has been made in Byzantine research in the last thirty years. The *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, founded by Krumpholtz, has already reached its twenty-first volume. An enormous amount of manuscript material hitherto unknown or uncritically edited has been printed in recent years, and the new light thrown by archaeology, especially Bulgarian archaeology, has been very valuable. And yet Mr. Bury says in the preface that "the history of Byzantine civilization will not be written for many years to come."

Mr. Bury corrects the false disposition to regard the period before the mighty Basilian revival as relatively unimportant. The modern historian has learned the importance of transition epochs. The history of the Amorian period is a complex mingling of racial, religious, and institutional elements. Nowhere else in English will the student find so clear and full an account of the intricate and important influences exercised by the Slavonic race and the Bulgarian and Magyar peoples. The origin of Russia is here outlined by a master-hand. Over against this fierce, new pressure on the north is set the Saracen invasion from the south. Naturally ecclesiastical matters have to receive large attention. But the treatment is so refreshing that even a layman may read and not be weary. The most readable and illuminating part, however, to the reviewer has been the pages which deal with the economic and social history of the Eastern Roman Empire. The commerce of the Byzantine world, the strain of a highly organized and almost caste structure of society, the burden of a heavy and complex system of taxation, the play of powerful moral and religious forces, the influence of elusive personalities—all these make the work a fascinating history of civilization.

A most serviceable volume is the *Religious Forces of the United States*, prepared by Dr. H. K. Carroll, in charge of the division of churches, 1911 census (Scribner; \$2.00). The work is already well known but in its present shape is revised and brought down to 1910. Statistics, of course, are not altogether reliable even though gathered by the census, but error in statistics as those that deal with the religious forces probably offset each other as a basis for comparison. The statistics given in the book are exceedingly interesting, as well as the descriptions of the different bodies. Anyone who is not acquainted

with the subdivisions of Protestantism will be amazed at the list of divisions which Dr. Carroll here catalogues: e.g., 17 Methodists, 16 Lutherans, 12 Mennonites, 12 Presbyterians. The body having the largest number of communicants is, of course, the Roman Catholic, the Methodist Episcopal coming next with about one-third as many. All together Dr. Carroll catalogues 142 religious groups. There is seating capacity in the United States for 43,500,000 persons, with communicants amounting to twenty and one-half millions. The total value of church property is approximately \$679,800,000, of which the Roman Catholics have one-sixth. But there is not space to go into further discussion of this fascinating material. Anyone who wants to see what freedom of religion means in America cannot do better than to read it.

Under the title *A Cry for Justice*, Professor J. E. McFadyen presents a very inspiring expository study of the book of Amos, in "The Short Series" of handbooks, edited by Rev. John Adams, and published by Scribner. Amos can never be a dry, much less a sealed, book to any modern man who studies it with the help of this little popular commentary. The book contains only about 140 small pages. One short chapter is devoted to each of the nine chapters of Amos, and the exposition centers about the most striking sentence in the chapter. The work is critically done, though lucid, and the author by a single sentence, here and there clears up some of the knotty places in Amos. Coming to such a constructive study, so fascinatingly done, after an analytical study of the book of Amos, one finds it especially inspiring. For the lay reader who wants to gain a sympathetic understanding of the most modern book of the Old Testament, this little work is to be highly commended. The preacher who wants to make the Book of Amos real to his people will find it rich in suggestions.

The two latest volumes of Dr. James Hastings' stupendous undertaking, *The Great Texts of the Bible*, are St. John 13-21, James and

Jude (Scribner; \$3.00 net). We have to confess a certain prejudice against this sort of literature. It seems as if it were liable to produce rather a debilitating influence upon the homiletic habits of clergymen. On the other hand, it must be said that it is not, strictly speaking, composed of sermons, but is rather illustration, and expository material for sermons. None the less, the volumes are really made out of sermons and can hardly fail to serve as a crutch rather than a stimulus.

If, however, one grants the legitimacy of this sort of literature, it must be admitted that the work is well done. Selections are taken from a very wide range of material and the references are clearly from high-class literature. If the series is used for the purpose of stimulating and directing study rather than as an excuse for study, it will be of undoubted help.

Two volumes by the late Dr. J. R. Miller serve to perpetuate his influence. The one, *The Book of Comfort* (Crowell; \$1.00), is a collection of sermons, twenty-seven in number, dealing with various questions of life from the biblical standpoint. Some of its titles are: "Christ and I Are Friends"; "More than Conquerors"; "Life's Open Doors"; "Some Lessons on Spiritual Growth"; "The Indispensable Christ"; "The Christian View of Death." Those who are familiar with Dr. Miller's gentle and helpful touch will not miss it in this posthumous volume, the latest addition to the works of one of the greatest inspirational writers of the modern church.

Devotional Hours with the Bible, Readings from the Psalms (New York: Hodder Stoughton; \$1.25 net), is exactly what its title implies. It is a help to the use of the Psalms in the life of religious worship and service. It is not a commentary; nor is it a study in exegesis or biblical criticism. Its concern is with the universal religious element in the hymns of Israel—the element of trust in God, of joy in the divine guidance, and of blessedness in the divine companionship. Dr. Miller is a good shepherd in the land of green pastures and still waters; and this volume has a value which will commend it to men of good-will in all schools.

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THE CHALLENGE OF EASTER DAY

Easter brings a challenge to every thoughtful man. If Jesus were "raised from the dead," Easter is the great Evangel of days. If Jesus "be not raised from the dead," he is still with the dead, and Easter is a survival worth more to milliners than to men and women who have seen their loved ones die and who themselves read mortality in every turn of the calendar leaf.

Plunge to the heart of this challenge and you will find not anxiety as to whether Jesus after his resurrection—not mere reanimation—ate fish and bread, had flesh and bones, went through closed doors, vanished and reappeared. Such matters mightily concern our estimate of the gospel records, but important as they are, they are still but secondary.

The crucial question is this: Does anybody really know whether Jesus is still living, still man's companion, still our Redeemer?

To call him the Carpenter of Nazareth, the prophet of Galilee, the Enthusiast for Humanity may serve on other days, but Easter challenges us to say whether he *is*, not what he *was*. Learned sentences about substance and values may do for days when we turn philosophers; but at Easter we face the Dark Tower and demand a triumphant champion, not a fellow-victim.

Did Jesus conquer death or did death conquer Jesus? Does he exist still himself, or did he go back into some impersonal Whole? An answer to such questions is either a gospel or a summons to another forlorn hope.



It is with joy that the church should answer the challenge of this sacred day. Questions persist, but faith in the central evangel should blaze up anew. Jesus lives; a Redeemer as well as a Teacher; a Saviour as truly as a Prophet!

Sober criticism—not the clever guesses of the knights errant of some philosophy—brings us the irreducible faith of those early friends of his who felt him really present in neither dream nor vision nor spiritual ecstasy. It tells us of the trembling women, the doubting disciples, the five hundred who saw him at once, the indomitable Saul, all ablaze with faith that they had seen the Lord.

True, we do not know its psychology or just the nature of its cause. Our skepticism, born of everyday experience of death, bids us pause and re-examine our evidence, even as we formulate our explanations. But the gospel is glorious in its very dogmatism, inspiring in the very hesitancy of its appeal to science. Our conviction is not credulity, but neither is it agnosticism. Auto-suggestion, mob psychology, extravagant loyalty, do not suffice to explain the faith of the first disciples.

We too can believe that he appeared and is, not only because of what those ancient souls experienced, but also because we too know Him, whom to know aright is life eternal.



And to this evangel of immortality “brought to light” every Easter Day should be consecrated. It is a day for the militant exploiting of an ancient faith reinforced by modern study; a day when with the memory and the experience of a risen Christ we call on men to cease estimating themselves in terms of short-lived economic efficiency and face themselves as eternal souls.

If a man reckons this gospel as of less value than lessons drawn from a butterfly’s coming out of its chrysalis, or moral renewals or social reconstructions, there is probably no way to give him pause.

But for us a risen Christ brings more than a problem. He is an asset. Confidence in his victory brings new confidence in the unwillingness of Love to let its objects cease to be, new courage to follow the path of duty when it leads over some modern Calvary, new impetus to labor that social rights may come to immortal souls rather than to human cogs of the industrial machine; more steadiness in the midst of the unceasing hurry which we call life; more assurance as to that land from whose bourne a Traveler has returned.

DID JESUS TEACH CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM?

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Two currents are just now to be seen in the general course of discussion over the ethics of Jesus. The one finds in his words essential principles of morality practically unconditioned by the messianic expectations of his contemporaries. The other current of interpretation regards Jesus as committed to the belief in the speedy end of the world. From this point of view his ethics would be intended only for the brief age that elapsed before the great catastrophe, or, to use the technical expression, "ad interim." The bearing of the first conception upon social theory has been very generally developed in America, as for example in Professor Peabody's volume JESUS CHRIST AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION. The "ad interim" theory has never been thoroughly worked out. This article by Professor Arbuthnot is almost the first discussion of the bearing of this important change of estimate. It can hardly be expected that all of our readers will agree with its position. We expect to publish further articles in the field of the social teaching of Jesus during the course of the year. In the meantime we should be very glad to receive comments from our readers upon the general position taken in the following discussion. In order to give point to such communications we should be glad to have them answer such questions as: "Would a more thoroughgoing criticism of the gospels distinguish more precisely than has Professor Arbuthnot between the teaching of Jesus and the conceptions of the evangelists?" "If it should be admitted that Jesus expected the speedy end of the world, would the principles of an 'ad interim' ethics be applicable to an indefinitely long social evolution?" "Would an unprejudiced criticism of the Synoptic Gospels lead us to the conclusion that Jesus expected the end of the world to come in the lifetime of his generation?"

The present article has special value in that it seems to distinguish sharply between the moral attitude that should result from sympathy with Jesus and some particular economic theory as to how this attitude can best find expression.

The fundamental forces molding human history have been the religious and the economic interests of men. There is therefore nothing peculiar in an approach by way of religion to a study of the problems that have to do with the material means of life. It would be remarkable if the two could be separated by any great distance in fact, however they may seem to be at times to consciousness. There is a substantial belief that a man's reli-

gion ought "to have something to do with his private life," and the growing conviction is that economic conduct is a very considerable fraction of life.

In the difficulties of modern, complex social relationships a conscientious effort to catch the thread running through the maze has led devout men to think in terms of religion toward unraveling the entanglement in which they find themselves. There is, indeed, nothing new

in this except the increase in the tendency. The group of Christian Socialists and the departments of social service in various churches are expressions of the belief that economics and religion ought not to be put asunder.

The spiritual force behind these activities lies in the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth in their relation to modern economic problems. Men search the Scriptures because in them they think they have the key to economic life. The four gospels have been examined so often and so thoroughly with this end in view and the substance of the text stated so frequently from so many different angles that hardly an apology remains for another attempt. There may be, however, something worth while in the uncritical treatment of the gospels as documents reporting the teachings of Jesus and the study of them from the economist's point of view primarily, having in mind a restatement of the Master's economic program and its significance today.

The general discussion will be easier of apprehension if it is allowed to fall into three divisions with a question to be answered in each. Jesus spoke to the men of his time, a fact so obvious that it is not kept in mind as it should be when his words are studied. With an eye open to this neglected truth, the first query is in respect to the economic content of his teaching to his generation as reported in the gospels. To understand any teaching one ought to know what are the fundamental ideas in the teacher's mind, his presuppositions, his intellectual background. His thinking as a whole must be grasped if any part of it is to be understood aright. In the pres-

ent instance so much depends upon what Jesus meant by the expression "The kingdom of heaven is at hand" that the matter must be taken up as the second point of concern. Finally, an answer is to be attempted to the question touching the obligation laid upon modern Christians by their Master's words. What is undertaken here is to answer three inquiries:

a) What was the economic content of the teaching presented by Jesus to his generation as reported in the gospels?

b) What was the fundamental conception represented by the expression "The kingdom of heaven is at hand," upon which this teaching rested?

c) What is the obligation laid upon modern Christians by this teaching?

I. The Economic Teachings of Jesus to His Contemporaries

In attempting to answer the first question the substance of the passages bearing on the theme may be summed up under several group heads. A careful collation of the material in the four gospels that touches immediately or remotely upon the subject under discussion indicates that it may be arranged under six main titles with the addition of a series of miscellaneous passages that are to be considered more or less individually. These main divisions concern benevolence, the poor, the rich, property, the economic position of Jesus, and the economic miracles.

With the text so familiar, it is sufficient, doubtless, to cite the references in a note and point out in a few paragraphs their economic content. In such manner may be taken up the topic of:

1. Benevolence¹

When John the Baptist came, preaching the gospel of the new kingdom and demanding repentance, the people were moved and asked what they should do. "He answered and said unto them, He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath food, let him do likewise." In thus joining the objective, material demonstration of men's identity of interest with those in need with their subjective, spiritual relationship to God, John prepares the way for much of the teaching in the succeeding pages of the gospels.

When one reads through the gospels even casually, he is impressed with the emphasis laid upon benevolence; when he reads carefully, he is struck with the imperative obligation placed upon those who had wealth to share with those who had not. The abundance of the generosity demanded—not merely to give of one's superfluity—came as a hard saying to the well intentioned and thrifty. To give to those who asked; not to demand what had been borrowed; to lend without expecting to receive again; to sell what one had and give alms; to give dinners to those who needed them; to do as the widow who cast into the treasury all of her living; to do as the rich young ruler was bidden; to do what Zaccheus did; to be taught to do these things staggered the hearers of Jesus' words. If this abounding giving had been suggested in a rare passage or two, or depended on a turn of phrase or the meaning of a preposition, the provident, by mental dexterity, might have slipped off the burden of the obligation. But

the injunctions occur in all parts of the first three gospels, and are so much in the spirit of related passages respecting the treatment of the poor that the candid student can come to no other conclusion than that Jesus taught his hearers that they should share their good things with their needy neighbors with a generous hand—generous without limit other than the need that presented itself and the property available.

Obviously this extraordinary beneficence would benefit the recipients, but Jesus accented the good that would come to the giver, and the injunctions to liberality are accompanied by promises that the reward should be great; that good measure should be measured in return; that the Father should recompense them, especially in the resurrection of the just; that they should have treasure in heaven. If one were obliged to distribute the emphasis, he would be inclined to say that Jesus' words laid the stress upon the good that would be received by the donor rather than the recipient; in short, that his teaching in the gospels is expressed in his saying, quoted by Paul, when he urged the elders at Ephesus "to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts 20:35). Moreover, the blessing was to come to the secret giver from the Father who seeth in secret.

His making benevolence a test of admission to the kingdom shows impressively the trend of Jesus' ideas respecting an economic expression of sympathy.

The absolute size of the gift was not

¹Luke 3:11; 6:30-38; 12:33; 14:12-14; 10:25-37; 18:22; 19:8-9; 21:1-4; Matt. 5:42; 6:3; 10:42; 19:21; 25:31; 26:7-13; Mark 9:41; 10:21; 12:41-44; 14:3-9; John 12:1-8.

of much consequence to one who spoke as he did of the widow's mites and a cup of cold water.

The defense of Mary when the disciples complained of the "waste" of wealth in pouring the precious ointment upon his head is of interest as a suggestion that he did not think that giving to the poor was the only or the most fitting disposition of property at all times. He seems to have said something in favor of the ceremonial or aesthetic use of wealth, the objection of the practically minded to the contrary notwithstanding.

The exhortations to benevolence as a matter of course are not to be separated from the texts that have to do with the poor.

2. The Poor¹

One cannot turn from a reading of the verses having to do with the economically unfortunate without a sure sense of the tenderness for the poor and distressed that fills the pages of the gospels. One needs to refer to but a few passages to convey the feeling that pervades the writings of the first three evangelists. They represent specifically what the careful reader will find implied throughout. From the time Mary sang:

My soul doth magnify the Lord,

For he hath looked upon the low estate
of his handmaiden,

The hungry he hath filled with good
things,

there is constantly held out the hope of better things to come for those in need.

Perhaps it is this spirit that inclines one to reconcile the Beatitudes in Matthew and Luke on the basis of Luke's report. "The poor" were likely to be "the poor in spirit" and "the hungry" may well have been "they that hunger after righteousness." For them a better day is dawning is the promise. When John asked for Jesus' credentials, part of the reply was, "The poor have good tidings preached to them." The rich young ruler was asked to give all his goods, and Zaccheus was praised for offering to give half of his possessions, to the poor. The needy were to be bidden to the feasts that might be made, and their hosts were to be recompensed in the resurrection. The future blessedness of the beggar Lazarus is dramatically portrayed; and there is extended the invitation, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

The only exception to this boundless sympathy and generosity toward the poor is the one previously noticed in Jesus' defense of Mary when she was criticized for wasting wealth in anointing him; and this, obviously, does not modify the rest of the teaching.

Coupled with the expressions of sympathy with the poor are significant utterances touching

3. The Rich²

The Magnificat, in one line, sounds a note of promise to the hungry, and, in the next, bursts forth in a tone ominous to the rich. In Luke's version of the Sermon on the Mount there is another

¹Luke 1:48-53; 6:20-21; 7:22; 14:13-14; 16:19-31; 19:8; Matt. 5:3-6; 11:4, 28; 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; John 12:1-8.

²Luke 1:53; 6:24-25; 8:1-3; 10:38-42; 16:19-31; 18:24-27; 19:1-10; 23:49-52; Matt. 19:21-26; 27:55-58; Mark 15:41-43; 10:23-27; John 19:38-40.

side to the shield of the Beatitudes. The blessings for the poor and hungry are followed by woeful forebodings for the rich and well fed. The story of the rich man and Lazarus is vivid in the extreme. As far as the text goes the difference between the men was that one was well clothed and satiated while at his gate was the other wretched and desiring food. The rich man is not charged with any overt act. His, evidently, was a sin of omission. The disciples were astonished at the advice given to the rich young ruler and Jesus' comment when the young man turned away. Even the statement that "with God all things are possible" must have left them with the feeling that the rich man, if he got into the kingdom at all, would do so only by the skin of his teeth.

Over against this teaching, uncomfortable for the rich, stand some concrete cases showing Jesus' personal relation to the rich.

Zaccheus was a rich publican. Jesus enjoyed his hospitality and declared, "Today is salvation come to this house," though but half the host's wealth was to be given to the poor. Not much is said in regard to the method of paying the expenses of Jesus' mission but the text seems to indicate that the burden was carried in part by certain well-to-do women who "ministered unto them of their substance." His entertainment by Mary and Martha will be recalled. Whether Mary was the person who anointed him or not, the spikenard, worth somewhat more than fifty dollars, is a clew to the economic status of the

person who offered it. Something should be said of Jesus' dining with Simon the leper and with the Pharisees. After one surveys his relation to poor and rich it is worth some reflection that in the end, when his lifeless body hung upon the tree, two rich aristocrats were the ones who had the courage to obtain the corpse and give it burial.

Immediately related to what he said touching benevolence, the poor, and the rich, are his words concerning

4. Property¹

The weight of the teaching in regard to property is largely in one direction—namely, that they should not bother themselves about it. If a coat is taken in a lawsuit, let the cloak go with it. It is vain to store treasure where it will be stolen or perish. It is worth while to pray for daily bread, though man does not live by bread alone, but beyond that one should not be concerned. The Father will care for his children as he does for the birds. Moreover, wealth tended to prevent the word of the kingdom from bringing forth fruit. The main thing was to seek the kingdom, avoiding everything that stood in the way, knowing that if the chief end were secured, other desirable and necessary possession would come with it. A man's life, "his own self," should not be imperiled in trying to gain the world. It would be unprofitable even if he should succeed at such a cost. Renunciation of all that one had was essential to discipleship—it was impossible to serve two masters. The rebuke to those who followed him for the loaves was direct and effective.

¹ Luke 6:29-30; 8:14; 9:3, 25; 10:4; 11:3; 12:13-34; 14:33; 16:9, 11, 13-15; 19:8-9; 21:1-4; 22:35-38; Matt. 5:40; 6:11, 19-34; 10:9; 13:22; 16:26; 26:6-13; Mark 4:19; 6:8-9; 8:36-37; 12:41-44; 14:3-9; John 6:26, 27, 48, 49, 66; 12:1-8.

Jesus, in his farewell discourses, called attention to the advice he had given the Twelve and the Seventy when he sent them forth on their evangelistic tours—that they should not encumber themselves with equipment and that they should trust to the hospitality of the people—but for the events of the immediate future, he tells them to take purse and wallet and sword. Whatever may have been the significance of the weapon, the contrast in the character of the commands indicates that time and circumstance determine whether this world's goods would be a burden or a help. The relative character of the teaching in regard to property is illustrated again in the injunction to the rich young man to sell all and give to the poor, while Zaccheus is commended for offering to distribute half of his wealth. The absolute amount of wealth dwindles into insignificance in the light of the declaration that the widow's gift to the treasury was the largest of all.

Attention has been called to the alleged "waste" of property when Mary broke the box of ointment.

The "mammon of unrighteousness" was to be used to make friends and a faithful discharge of duties connected with its administration was enjoined as a preparation for the receipt of the true riches.

5. The Economic Position of Jesus¹

It is unnecessary to call attention to the humble circumstances of Jesus' birth and life, but it is worth while to note that he was a different type of man from John

the Baptist. Instead of a prophet eating locusts and wild honey and fasting at times, he was a man who was frequently a guest of the well to do; he ate and drank with his friends while the hostile and hypercritical called him a gluttonous man and a winebibber. His disciples did not fast, a fact that John's followers did not understand. He was not clad in camel's hair, but wore clothes worth dividing among the soldiers who crucified him.

While he had not where to lay his head, there is little or nothing to indicate that he suffered physical hardship through poverty. As indicated above, a number of wealthy women contributed to the support of himself and his followers. The pangs of poverty that arise from inability to ward off distress from loved dependents do not seem to have been his. His mother and brethren apparently were living at the ordinary standard of comfort of the time for the people of Nazareth. At the cross was the disciple whom he loved, to whom he could commend his mother. "And they made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death."

6. The Economic Miracles²

The miracles that had to do with the economic relationships of men were relatively few: turning water to wine at Cana, feeding the multitudes with the loaves and fishes, the draughts of fishes, and obtaining the tribute money from the fish's mouth. They indicate Jesus' care for the physical happiness and well-being of men and an attitude toward tax-

¹Luke 1:48; 2:7, 12, 16; 4:22; 7:34; 8:1-3; 9:58; 11:37; 14:1; 23:49; Matt. 8:20; 11:19; 13:55; 27:55-60; Mark 6:3; 15:41-47; John 19:23-24, 38-42.

²John 2:1-11; 6:1-15; 21:6-11; Luke 5:4-11; 9:10-17; Matt. 14:13-23; 15:32-38; 17:24-27; Mark 6:30-46; 8:1-9.

paying little characteristic of many of his modern followers.

7. Miscellaneous Passages

Many scattered references of economic significance can only be mentioned in this connection.

John's advice to the publicans to cease extortion and to the soldiers not to exact anything wrongfully and to be content with their wages will come to mind.¹ There is a reference to wages on a contract basis and to the right of private property in the parable of the employment of the workers in the vineyard who were engaged for different lengths of time, but paid the same wage.² A stinging rebuke was given the hypocrites who made pious pretenses and at the same time devoured widows' houses.³

The first three gospels suggest that the cleansing of the temple was in large part due to the fact that dishonest rascals were making it a den of robbers; John's account emphasizes the sacrilege of making it a house of merchandise.⁴

Jesus' reply, when the attempt was made to entangle him in the matter of paying tribute to Caesar, may indicate approval of their paying taxes to the emperor, or it may be one of those baffling replies by which he discomfited those who sought to ensnare him.⁵ In looking over his whole life one is inclined to conclude that he was not much, if at all, concerned with the relation of the Jews to the Romans, especially in regard to paying tribute or taxes. Here the

subject was thrust upon him; he makes no voluntary utterance touching the matter elsewhere.

The parable of the Talents lends itself so readily as a basis for exhortations to thrifty activity, and the moral of the tale is such a succinct statement of what is likely to happen in a competitive economic régime—such a concise formulation of the law of the survival of the fittest in business—that the rapid reader is in danger of getting the impression that the illustration has some economic significance. A second glance at the context will show that the whole purpose of the story is to stimulate his hearers to prepare for their lord's return in the kingdom of heaven.⁶ It would be as much beside the point to regard this parable as an illustration of the importance of business management, as to consider the immediately preceding parable of the Ten Virgins to have been spoken in the interest of good house-keeping. The parable of the Pounds was also told with a view to the coming kingdom. The illustrations and the principle served to drive home the lesson Jesus wished to teach, just as the parable of the rascally Steward served in another connection without implying anything in approval of the conduct of the characters described in the narrative.⁷

The reply⁸ to the Pharisees who condemned the disciples because they when hungry plucked ears of grain on the Sabbath and ate suggests that the satisfac-

¹ Luke 3:13-14.

² Mark 12:38-40; Luke 20:45-47.

³ Matt. 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46; John 2:16.

⁴ Matt. 22:17; Mark 12:14-17; Luke 20:22-25.

⁵ Luke 19:11-28; Matt. 25:14-30.

² Matt. 20:13.

⁷ Luke 16:1-13.

⁸ Matt. 12:1-8; Mark 2:23-28; Luke 6:1-5.

tion of real economic need is of more consequence than the punctilious observance of formal rules.²

This rapid analysis of Jesus' economic teaching brings to light some points of prime importance. In the first place, he taught his hearers that they should practice unlimited benevolence, sharing their goods in unstinted fashion with those who might need them. There is not much use in trying to explain this away as a form of oriental exaggeration and a striving after oratorical effect. Oriental rhetoric would not have worried the members of his audiences. They were stirred up because they believed Jesus meant what he said. The same thing is true in respect to his attitude toward property. His followers were not to be concerned about it. That is what he taught as his hearers understood him. Current attempts to extract maxims of thrift and industry with a view to accumulating wealth from the four gospels are fruitless. They are not there. Jesus taught that his hearers should give away their wealth to the needy and not worry about gaining more.

To the poor the glad tidings of the kingdom were addressed. They were to be great beneficiaries when the kingdom should come. Economic relief was promised them repeatedly, and the best preparation for membership in the kingdom on the part of the rich was to anticipate the new era by giving to help the poor.

On the other hand, the rich were in a

dangerous position. The presumption was against them and the burden of proof that they were fit for the kingdom rested upon themselves. The outlook for the well to do was not reassuring. Though many might enter the new kingdom, it was only because with God all things are possible; and of this Jesus' relations with a number of rich men and women are interesting illustrations. Possession of wealth was of no advantage: it might easily be and was regarded as a disadvantage, a risk of something in addition to disgrace to die rich when others in need were unrelieved.

The economic program of Jesus was radical and brief, and without constructive features so far as the creation of wealth or the methods of production were concerned. There was nothing in it of the organization of industry individually or socially. This was the nature of his economic teaching to his generation—the answer to the first of the three questions to which a reply is to be made.

II. The Kingdom of Heaven Is at Hand

The second inquiry of present concern is in regard to the fundamental conception represented by the expression "the kingdom of heaven is at hand" upon which Jesus' economic teaching rested.

It requires but a superficial knowledge of Jewish feeling at the opening of the Christian era to know that anticipation of an impending change was in the air. Many of the devout were looking for "the consolation of Israel" and "the redemption of Jerusalem." The heavy

² Much has been said concerning the fact that Judas carried the bag and acted as the treasurer of the company. Attempts have been made to see in this a communistic organization of Master and disciples. The statement is neglected here because it appears to have been dictated by sheer convenience.

hand of the foreigner was to be lifted and the glory of the ancient kingdom would be revived.

Into an atmosphere surcharged with expectancy came John and Jesus, preaching the gospel, the good news that the kingdom was at hand.

In contrast with this early expectation is a modern, popular notion in regard to the character of the kingdom that was announced. The idea is widespread that there is justification in the text for looking upon the kingdom of God, one aspect of it at least, as a subjective state, as a condition of the inner man, a spiritual attitude, a matter of the heart and mind. The text does say, "The kingdom of God is within you," but the marginal rendering would change "within" to "in the midst of you." The remark was addressed to the Pharisees.¹ No one is likely to believe, on second thought, that the kingdom was within them in any sense. Moreover, the context following clearly refers to the coming kingdom as a real and objective phenomenon. There is no other passage in the gospels of similar apparent teaching. The strength of the idea rests on a translation of a preposition that results in an impossible assertion, when another equally probable rendering would make a consistent statement. With an erroneous choice of words in its favor and everything else against it, the notion ought to be abandoned. Jesus believed the heralds of the new kingdom were in the midst of them already.

The popular feeling in regard to the

approach of the kingdom was shown by the attempt to force Jesus to become king, by the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the inscription over the cross.

A changed heart was an essential to entrance to the new kingdom, where the righteous were to be, those who were as little children, the poor in purse and spirit, those who do the will of the Father. It is of great significance in this connection that a test for admission to the kingdom was concrete benevolence, and exclusion was due to failure to help fellow-men.² A discussion of the disqualifications, however, would contribute little to the present purpose.

It is of consequence to note that the rule of the kingdom to be was service of others.³ The chief was to be the servant of all. Matters of right and rank were absorbed in matters of duty.

A grasp of the significance of the passages in which it was declared that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand" as a means of understanding Jesus' economic teaching is of prime importance.⁴

John came first with the stirring announcement that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand." When Jesus began to preach, the same reason was assigned for repentance. The wonders that he did were declared to be signs of the kingdom's nearness. It was anticipated before the disciples should have gone through the cities of Israel. That generation was to have seen the change, that is, "There are some of them that stand here, who shall in no wise taste death, till they see the Son of man

¹ Luke 17:20-37.

² Matt. 25:31-46.

³ Luke 22:26.

⁴ Matt. 3:2; 4:17; Mark 1:15; Luke 11:20; Matt. 12:28; 10:7; 10:23; 16:27; Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26; 10:8-11; John 14:2, 3, 18, 19, 28; 16:16-22; Luke 12:31-40, 56; Matt. 24:37-44; Mark 13:33-37; Luke 21:34-36; Matt. 24:45; 25:1-28.

coming in his kingdom." Constantly, directly and indirectly in parables, his hearers are warned to be ready. The multitudes were charged with lack of ability to interpret the times. The marginal translation that would substitute "the consummation of the age" for the expression "the end of the world" would enable the reader more easily to avoid the error of injecting into the text a meaning based upon modern ideas in respect to the duration of the world. We expect the general conditions of the present to prevail indefinitely into the future. On the contrary, Jesus taught the people of his day that their time was coming to an end, and upon their asking him, "When shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and 'of the consummation of the age'?" he describes a number of events that were to take place before the close of the era, and then said, "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished." He was to go away from them "a little while" but he would return again.

This doctrine, that the change to the new kingdom would soon come, which was preached by John and Jesus and believed by their followers, was the idea upon which certain features of their teachings in regard to property and methods of benevolence were based. With their outlook the material things of the world were lightly held, and the relief of the needy was urged along the lines of temporary measures to tide them over the expected brief interval.

The kingdom was in no sense a development from the existing economic order. It was to be brought in by divine

power. Jesus' servants did not fight to prevent the Jews from taking him because his kingdom was "not of this world," but from a heavenly source.

Two limitations on Jesus' power and knowledge in regard to the kingdom stand out with great significance in the text.

When the mother of the sons of Zebedee sought preferment for her children and asked Jesus if they might occupy places of honor in the kingdom, Jesus replied, "To sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give, but it is for them for whom it hath been prepared of my Father."¹

The second limitation is of more importance in the present connection. After Jesus had pointed out the signs that were to indicate the approach of "the consummation of the age," he declared, "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only."² The words "neither the Son" are omitted by some ancient authorities from Matthew but there is no question about them as they appear in Mark. This declaration by Jesus that he did not know when the kingdom was to come is one that may be differently interpreted by students with different outlooks. Those who believe Jesus divine in the fullest sense may regard it simply as an evidence of how fully he took upon himself the most significant characteristic of human nature, the inability to forecast the future, and shared thus in humanity's

¹ Matt. 20:20-23; Mark 10:35-45.

² Matt. 24:36; Mark 13:32.

greatest weakness. To those who emphasize the humanity of Jesus, the saying is not a hard one. In this discussion the simple fact that he did not know when the kingdom was to come is all that is of concern. The declaration from his own lips is conclusive. This absence of exact knowledge of when the kingdom was to come taken in connection with his expectation that it would come before the existing generation should pass away—the two points that Jesus did not know exactly when the new order would be ushered in but that he expected it in the immediate future—constitute an important element of the fundamental basis upon which his economic teaching rested and furnish the key to its interpretation. They throw light upon what he omits as well as upon the peculiar character of what he has to say. His economic program was concerned with merely transient conditions that he believed were to pass away never to return, due to a change that was to be the result of divine intervention, not of economic development nor due to economic reform.

III. Modern Christianity and Economic Reform

1. The Nature of the Economic Program Presented in the Four Gospels

It may well be said at the outset that Jesus of Nazareth was not the founder of a new school of economic thought nor the author of a program of specific economic reform. It ought also to be said immediately that the religious ideas he preached to the people of his time carry with them certain unmistakable implications that must necessarily affect the economic conduct of his followers. His religion had something to do with a man's private life, economic and other-

wise. The second of the great commandments, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Mark 20:32), upon which stress was laid, covers the whole of human relationships and bears with peculiar force upon economic activity in which, obviously, the bond between men is subjected to great strain. This imperative declaration indicates the spirit demanded in economic life.

The method of application of any great principle to the solution of concrete economic problems necessarily depends upon the conditions under which men are living at the time in question, or the conditions under which they think they are living. Upon this point there is no need to remain in doubt in the case of Jesus and his disciples. They believed that theirs was a peculiar time in the world's history. They were face to face with a cosmic crisis. The kingdom of heaven was at hand.

Upon these two principles, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand," was based the injunctions in respect to economic conduct whose nature is under consideration. The end in view was social solidarity in a temporary state of affairs. This being true, one need not expect to find any elaborate scheme to revolutionize current methods of production; nor is there any more to be said in respect to consumption of wealth. The field of distribution, i.e., the division of the results of production among those who contribute to the outcome, is untouched in a constructive way. In fact, the matter that makes up the bulk of a treatise on economics is not discussed in the four gospels. The existing economic order was doomed to pass away for

reasons other than economic before some of those who heard Jesus' words should taste death. If the obtaining scheme of things was so lacking in permanence, it would be fruitless to seek reforms through alterations in the social organization. The new order was not to be the result of an evolution out of the existing one, but to be brought about by a beneficent, cataclysmic change, divinely ordained and executed. The anticipated intervention of God renders superfluous human attempts at social reconstruction. One will look in vain in writings of the evangelists for the characteristic features of much of the literature of modern economic reform. Brotherliness in a temporary condition to be speedily relieved by divine power—this is the essence of the economic teaching of the four gospels.

There is nothing incongruous in Jesus' teaching in regard to benevolence^{*} when the situation as it presented itself to him is taken into consideration. The almost reckless sort of giving there enjoined—giving that would disturb the spirit of the present-day charity expert—is in accord with his outlook on his future. All cases to him were emergency cases—all were cases for temporary relief. There was nothing permanent about the whole situation. There was no danger of destroying self-respect and bringing on succeeding generations of paupers. The existing generation was the final one under the old régime. The obvious thing to do was to make life more endurable for the distressed while it lasted. It would not last long.

The good tidings that were preached to the poor conveyed the message that the coming kingdom would make an end of the wretchedness that was filling their lives. Those who gave aid and comfort to the unfortunate would find reward in the better time that was coming and coming soon.

When one balances the teaching in regard to the rich over against the significance of Jesus' personal relations with the wealthy, the conclusion is inevitable that he felt the rich were subjected to extraordinary temptations, but that the character of the man, not his material possessions, was decisive. Obedience to the second great commandment was the test. The selfish rich (and the rich were likely to be selfish) were doomed; but the cases like Zaccheus and Joseph of Arimathea are perfectly clear.

In no other part of his teaching did Jesus show his attitude toward the existing state of affairs so clearly as in his discussions in regard to property. The pursuit of wealth is a game not worth the candle. Repeatedly his followers are warned against the deceitfulness of riches and the peril of losing themselves in their search. In view of the speedy passing of the things of this world it would be sheer folly to put energy and life into the accumulation of goods and the building of barns. Worry and fret over the wherewithal of food and clothing had no place in a program based upon the assumption that divine intervention was imminent. His hearers were advised, not merely to refrain from the pursuit of material things, but to sell

^{*} Almsgiving was commonly regarded as a virtue in Jesus' time. He differed from others in degree and, perhaps, in spirit in his teachings on this point.

what they had and give alms; to seek treasures in heaven that the heart might be there also.¹

Jesus' neglect of, and warning against the dangers of, property have nothing to do with the question of the right of private property. The latter is referred to but the point as discussed by modern writers is not taken up.

One need not expect to find in the gospels a discussion of usury, the mediaeval churchmen's bone of contention. Jesus advised his followers to lend without expecting to get the principal back, not to mention interest.

In this brief statement is to be found the essence of the economic program presented by Jesus to his followers. The stronger were to act as brothers to their fellow-men; helping the weaker economically by sharing with them whatever of the good things of life that were available; avoiding absorption in the material interests of the present lest they should interfere with the attainment of the kingdom; and all this with a view to an early change of social conditions by divine intervention. In this new kingdom service of others was to have been the characteristic feature.

2. The Early Christian Program and That of Christian Socialism

When one compares the economic program of Jesus with that of the modern Christian Socialists, there are some points of likeness and difference that are worth noting.

The Christian Socialist propaganda is primarily a humanitarian movement, in-

spired by a sense of the brotherhood of men and sympathy for those who secure the least advantageous places in the competitive race. In the complexity of modern economic conditions distress comes upon great numbers of persons without, or with, apparent fault of their own. Men, imbued with the spirit of the second great commandment, are touched with the suffering of their fellows, and hope for and are willing to work for deliverance. In this they are reproducing the spirit of Jesus' teaching to his contemporaries.

The likeness between the Christian Socialists and Jesus ceases when departure is made from the state of feeling to practical measures to relieve the situation. Jesus believed that speedy, divine intervention would end the unhappy condition of the unfortunate. The Socialists ordinarily do not expect immediate relief, and look to a scheme of social control and management of the instruments of production and of the processes of distribution of wealth as a means of ameliorating the evils of society. It is perfectly plain, therefore, that while the spirit of Christian socialism is that of Jesus, it cannot in any sense rest its case for its constructive program on the authority of his name. He has nothing to say about social control of production. The distribution of the product of labor among the producers is a problem with which he never was concerned. The positive program of the Socialists has no religious sanction behind it. Its validity depends entirely upon economic considerations.

¹ Doubtless with any other anticipation for the future Jesus would have made property secondary to spiritual relationships. His expectations, being as they were, resulted in his excessive discounting of wealth.

It is essential to clear thinking that this distinction be sharply made. That the brotherhood of men should be acknowledged and made real is to assert one thing. To say that direct social control of the production and distribution of wealth would secure this end, or is the best way through which to secure it, is to make a very different declaration. The first may well be called Christian. Jesus knew nothing about the second so far as his sayings have been reported to us.

The outlook of all modern reformers is so different from that of Jesus that it is not to be expected that their programs can be discovered in embryo in his teachings. To most of them the kingdom of heaven has been pushed forward into the eternity of the future or has become a figure of speech. Better conditions are expected to result from human action and that largely through a process of development. His spirit presses men forward to the relief of their distressed neighbors, but the method of securing this betterment through a reorganization of economic institutions must be determined by the men of today confronted with the existing economic situation. The Master's words contain no concrete suggestions. The proposals of Christian Socialists must be submitted to the simple question: Taking known conditions into consideration, is it probable that the schemes suggested are the best means of securing the desired end? Sympathy and a feeling of brotherhood will not help answer such a question.

This is no place to discuss the relative merits of the claims of socialism. It is desired merely to indicate that the Christian Socialists are in the same situation

as other Socialists in respect to the strength of their position. Their religious affiliations add nothing to the force of their arguments. Anyone who loves mankind and is willing to put his feeling into deeds, and at the same time regards a minimum amount of governmental activity as essential to social progress, might well call himself a Christian individualist. But he would not strengthen the individualistic philosophy thereby. It would still have to stand on its own feet. Economically, the term Christian implies a devotion to the well-being of society and a willingness to put forth effort to secure it. The instrument used, the policy adopted, is no more or less Christian than a tool or a mechanism, such as an ax or a locomotive, used for the benefit of men. Any person who has an affection for his kind sufficiently robust to make him help them has as good a claim as any other to the title of Christian, from the economic point of view, whether he is an individualist or a Socialist or declines to support unqualifiedly either set of dogmas.

3. The Modern Christian and Economic Reform

It is apparent that it is not possible for one to be a follower of Jesus without having an interest in the economic well-being of his fellow-men. Jesus was not only concerned with the distress of the people around him, but took active measures to relieve the unfortunate. The bulk of his teachings looking toward the amelioration of harsh conditions is so great that there can be no mistake about its significance. The Christian is not at liberty to sit down in resignation and endure the current evils while he dreams of a glorious city where there is

to be no hunger and thirst, and where the tears are to be wiped from all eyes. Pious *laissez faire* is out of the question.

If active interest is imperative, what is the nature of the activity demanded? To this question religion can give no concrete reply. Its function is to supply the motive force that impels to action; the method of applying this force is to be discovered by effort. The careful study of economic and sociological problems in the light of human knowledge respecting man and his environment may be expected to bring forth effective schemes for social betterment. There should be no balking at the difficulties of the situation, or waiting until one can find the panacea for all the prevalent social ills.

One need not see the end from the beginning. Diligent study of what others have tried to do will enable one to avoid many a mistake, and mistakes made in spite of the best efforts of intelligence will enable one to warn others against wrong methods. Well-exercised brains and hearts turn out products of value whether they are positive or negative. Society will not be revolutionized in a hurry. It will take time for the leaven to spread through the whole lump. There is available now enough knowledge to enable the earnest Christian to make a beginning, but it is not in the gospels. He must turn to men and women who have worked and thought and written for the betterment of men under modern conditions.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

III

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF SCHOLASTICISM

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There were no Dark Ages in the old acceptance of the term. The culture of the few was in the Middle Ages finding acceptance by the many. And from Augustine to Luther the imperial ecclesiastical power was the bearer of that culture to the masses. From the time of Charlemagne onward, the school and university were important centers of growing enlightenment. The authority was so sure of itself and was so linked with the learning of the past that speculation was free and daring to an

extraordinary degree. Nevertheless the basis of life was an external authority. The thought of the period was free only within the bounds of a closed system. Nor was the limitation felt, because the closed system and the external authority were accepted by all, or nearly all, much as obedient children accept the authority of father and mother. Even when the authority of the moment was disputed it was always in the name of the imperial ecclesiastical tradition against which none thought of

rebellng. The Holy Roman Empire was a momentous reality, and even the most outrageous arrogation of unrighteous rule sought shelter under its tradition. The rise of scholasticism was no sudden movement. It had its roots in the culture of North Africa and Spain, and in the schools that sprang up as Paris became the center of a new life, and Cologne and Oxford slowly became the organizing centers of ecclesiastical scholarship.

The Christianizing of the Middle Ages

It may seem strange to some to trace the social ideals of scholasticism to the forged dreamings of Dionysius the Areopagite. Yet to those pages we must go for some of the most insistent conceptions of the scholastic period. The hierarchy with its ordered ranks, its fixed castes, its semi-ecclesiastical, semi-military ideals, its warrior priests, and priestly warriors, its sacramental tinge to all secular life, its glow of oriental color, its static world, and its central authority are reflected not only to the culture and religion but in the social and political ideals of the whole scholastic period.

In a world so full of change and movement it is strange to see how invariably it is treated by the thinkers of the Middle Ages as a fixed and constant quantity. The thought harks back continually to the political and social ideals of a world irrecoverably past and gone. Yet some reflection will explain this phenomenon. The Middle Age was the child of Hellenistic culture, and the teacher was clothed with the infallibility the docile pupil always at first attributes to the teacher. For Dante, Aristotle is as inspired as the

Bible, and Virgil as much a leader and teacher as Augustine or John. The political conditions grew up, and as they grew were identified with, and defended from, the political teachings of the past. Our own republic did the same thing. The pioneers of a new civilization in a tractless wilderness sought help—and found it—from the misunderstood traditions of Greece and Rome. They found, like the leaders of the Middle Ages, much confusion also, but as the Middle Age grew in reflection and maturity the age of adaptation rapidly set in.

In the midst of all social idealism stood the concrete church. Not that the state was not equally divine. The empire was not only to be Roman, but was holy. It was the pope who crowned Charlemagne, and as long as the spiritual supremacy left the temporal ruler to work out his destiny in his own way, there was little reason for quarreling. Brutality, violence, open injustice, impurity, and intemperance the church was set to rebuke in high and low. But it was always assumed that everybody knew what these things really were. War was not brutality, dueling was not violence, serfdom was not open injustice. Royal concubinage was not impurity, and occasional drunkenness could not be too rudely condemned as intemperance. The maintenance of the existent accepted social order or disorder was regarded by all as the duty of both church and state.

The lower classes were politically quite helpless. Their natural leaders were constantly drained off into the service of the ruling class, because all education was in the hands of the hierarchy, and for the poor man the church gave an opening to the highest power. At the same time the hierarchy

was in distinct confederacy with the military ruling class. It had lost all the old revolutionary hope. The power-possessing class was in a hundred ways identified with the ecclesiastical imperialism. The sons of nobles and the daughters of kings were the honored heads of monastic orders. The priesthood was constantly recruited from the younger sons of noble houses. The clever boy of the people was made in the ecclesiastical process even more a maintainer of the possessing classes' interest than the noble's son himself. Not even a man like Luther could conserve the tradition of his class amid his ecclesiastical and academic surroundings. And one like Thomas Aquinas was by both birth and education limited to the outlook of the feudal nobility whose vision he shared.

On the face of Aquinas' political and social teaching feudalism is written in large letters. The phrases are taken from Aristotle, as Aristotle was then understood. But behind the phrase, and in this interpretation, one sees the priest take the place of the philosopher, and Plato's Republic, with modifications from the Areopagite, is made the content of the ideal which is defended by arguments from Aristotle.

The Mission of Scholasticism

Scholasticism is the evidence of approaching intellectual maturity. It was the reflective aspect of the feudal period. The assumption on all fields, including politics and the social order, was that the existent faith and obtaining government were in full accord with reason, and had the highest divine sanction. At the same time there was a growing uneasiness about the actual

relationship of the two swords. In point of fact a quiet struggle for the real supremacy between the state and the hierarchy had gone on steadily with various issues since Nicea. The ecclesiastical bond could not keep the Eastern and Western empires from at last parting. Nor in Europe was it possible for the church to really more than outwardly unify the Teutonic and the Romance drifts. Powerful local leaders made central supremacy increasingly difficult and growingly ineffective. A new class alignment was even as early as the tenth century already on the horizon. The free city rose out of feudalism, and can only be understood in its feudal setting. It was itself a feudal authority, and it depended upon the feudal castle along the trade routes for protection for its traffic. That this protection was often expensive and that soon the protector was to become the antagonist has too often blinded historians in recent days to the great social service rendered even in the wildest days by the "robber barons" of the early Middle Ages.

The Roman military roads had not been built primarily for trade, but they had become trade roads, and with the gradual disappearance of the Roman military oligarchy the roads had become too dangerous for trade. Feudalism built its castles and established its sway along the trade routes and rivers, and at a heavy cost, no doubt, yet with marked efficiency opened again these routes for commerce.

The Rise of Classes

No one, so far as the writer is aware, has traced the connection that suggests

itself as existing between the rise of the free city and the organization of the freedman class, artisan and commercial in its character, and enjoying long before the formal organization of the mediaeval gilds, so well traced by Gross, a gild character. It was in this class, we have seen, that Christianity made such headway, and the political and social ideals of the rising city from the Milan of Ambrose to great Hansa cities of the North Sea are full of the religious spirit in its mediaeval form.

Early in mediaeval history we find clashing ideals. On the one hand there is the agrarian military interest. The possession and the exploitation of the land is the basis of its strength and the reality of its service. On the other there is a rising artisan class, whose interest and strength is the production of things. These craftsmen must live together, and beside them grows up a still further class of adventurous traders, who are neither tillers of the soil nor yet craftsmen. At the same time any sharp class differentiation was not possible. Every castle had to have its craftsman. Every knight had his "smith"; the landed aristocracy bought of the craftsman, and robbed or protected the trades as suited him. And all bowed to the central authority of priest and king. Kropotkin has drawn an admirable picture in his *Mutual Aid* of the interlocking interests, and has abundantly emphasized the narrow and selfish character of the free city in its feudal setting. The separation of society into castes and classes is reflected in Dante and the popular religion of the day. These classes rise out of the economic conditions governing life, and were accepted by church and state as

the permanent will of God and the arrangements inherent in a Christian state. Divine right was not of the king only, but all sorts and conditions of men were in their places by divine disposal. Individuals might rise through extraordinary ability or by special circumstance from one class to another, but the divisions were fixed for all time.

The Struggle between Church and State

In this feudalism the points of strain were many, and unsettled questions of all kinds were constantly arising with their opportunities for conflict. The city clashed with the feudal territorial lord; the claims of church were increasingly heavy, and a strong ruler of the state made the church subordinate to his purpose, while on the other hand a strong pope or archbishop made the state his instrument.

The struggle for supremacy was at times an open one as under Leo I and Gregory the Great; at times it was insidious. Dishonorable means disgraced both contending parties. The forged decretals (ninth century) are only a glaring instance of the evil measures adopted by the hierarchy; and violence, perjury, and ignoble intrigue marked the contending forces on both sides.

At length Marsiglio of Padua challenged the accepted status (1324-26) in his attack upon the usurpation of the Roman Pontiff, and the protest was taken up and voiced with more effective energy by the great Wiclif, one of the really great men of all time. And in this age (Wiclif died 1384) we find at last the question raised of such fundamental political and social import to the world: What is the function of the

church within the political organization? The answer Wiclif gave has never received the attention it deserves, and yet he was modern as few men of any generation can be called modern in the spirit in which he took up the question. The state was, he said, as divine an institution for its purpose as the church was for its end. And temporal possessions were not the end of any ecclesiastical machinery. The church should, as a church, possess nothing. Her dependence should be from day to day on the free-will offerings of the people. Her ministry should live indeed from the congregations they served, but as the primitive apostles lived, without temporal possessions behind them. The governance of all temporalities should be in the hand of the state, but the state should then leave the spiritual church alone, and also defend the local church from the insolent interference of any foreign hierarchy. Thus at last was sounded the demand for a national as over against an imperial church; or rather a spiritual imperialism was substituted as an ideal over against the temporal power of an ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Such an attitude was popular in England, and had Wiclif confined himself to political innovation there is no saying whether he might not have founded an Anglo-Catholic church more really autonomous than the Gallic church ever became, but on similar lines. Wiclif, however, attacked far more than the political church, and he was two hundred years too soon.

Nevertheless the protest was not made in vain. The spasmodic resistance to the intrusions of the hierarchy which

marks not only the history of England from this time on, but also the political world of the continent found in the arguments of Wiclif, and Huss who revivified them, constant strength. Men were forced to take sides by the growing claims of both parties, and by the evidences of an increasing conflict of interest. The papacy was weakened by the absence of the hereditary principle, which was enthroned in the feudal thought of the day. On the other hand, it offered a chance to ability which the hereditary succession so often must discourage. The Vatican began to become too local in its interests, and to misunderstand the national lives it had done so much to form and educate. It had no place in its social thinking for any measure of political maturity. Its thought and policy were in the last analysis always based upon an external authority. It began to make the serious mistake of confusing the shadow and the substance of authority. It lost its bearings amid the moral and political confusions that now began to be evident as feudalism made way for tyranny on the one hand, or the rule of a rising middle class on the other.

The Decline of the Mediaeval Papacy

The reforming orders failed to reach the seat of the trouble, although they nobly strove in their best estate to continue the work of the church as the moral leader and educator of the people. This failure was, however, inevitable. New social conditions were giving rise to new standards of morality and new ideals of life. The free cities were more especially estranged from the outlook upon life of a church whose

sincerest ministers taught that married life was an evil, property an individual snare, trade and interest but concessions to an evil time. The demand for political freedom could have no warm support from men who considered a vow of abject obedience a passport to heaven. The confusion and anarchy in northern Italy was, in part at least, because the church had no sympathy with any rule but a family feudal form, and the merchant cities were rapidly outgrowing this ideal.

The reflections of scholasticism were intended to show the rational character of the faith, but really only succeeded in revealing the conglomerate character of the system of thought and government which passed for orthodox and established. The underlying divergence of interest between the hierarchy and the national social ideal now well on the horizon of men's imaginations was laid bare in the inevitable discussions to which scholasticism led. The old faith in, and reverence for, the transmitter of Hellenistic culture were often sadly shaken, and such episodes as the exile in Avignon and the rival claims of two popes did not tend to strengthen them. Men began, not in academic circles only, but on the street and in the marketplace to ask questions about the political and social status of the nation, and to form new theories as to the relation of church and state. The old confident acceptance of the theory of two swords, both divine and both supreme in their respective provinces, began to waver. It was seen clearly that readjustment was necessary. One like Dante still supposed that usurpation on one side or the other could be checked and the

old ideal re-established. More worldly minded men like Machiavelli swung to the conception of an autocracy in the interests of the state as over against the internal quarrels and antagonistic ambitions of the feudal nobles.

With Gregory the Great (1076) began the struggle over investiture which lasted on to the Reformation, or indeed in a sense to our own day. Hildebrand was moved by a firm faith in a social and political construction the state was utterly unprepared to accept. On this theory kings and princes were the vassals of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and held their places subject to the papal opinion of their fitness. The crowning of the emperor was not, therefore, according to this view, an act of spiritual sanction of the accomplished fact—the light in which Charlemagne, Otho I, and Henry I undoubtedly saw it—but the witness to the supreme power of the pope as the head of a feudal society, which society was fundamentally spiritual, but whose temporal possessions were intrusted to the keeping of a subject state. The acceptance of such a claim was impossible on the part of the rising nations, whose social ideals must be traced later. Moreover, the claim of Gregory the Great and of contemporary Rome is a real surrender of the old dualism of the two divine swords. For the temporal power of the pope not only subordinates the state to the spiritual sword, but the pope alone as feudal lord with large temporal possessions has no responsibility to any authority besides himself. The balance is destroyed upon which political theory laid such emphasis. The end of the claim was the political bankruptcy of the Papacy.

THE DOCTRINE OF SATAN

III IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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In the Old Testament we have seen that the figure of Satan is vague. In the apocalyptic literature it is manifold and confused. In reaching the New Testament we are struck by the unitariness, clearness, and definiteness of the outline of Satan. A bold, brazen personality confronts us almost on the first page. Indeed, he appears immediately on the inauguration of Jesus into the messianic office, and the New Testament writers give a unanimous testimony as to his character, yet their testimony is not without variety as to his functions. Though his office is one, his names are many. As the manifold benevolence of Jesus finds expression in many names, so the manifold malevolence of Satan. He is called "the prince of demons" (Mark 3:22); "the prince of this world" (John 12:31); "the prince of the powers of the air" (Eph. 2:2); "the god of this world" (II Cor. 4:4); "the tempter" (Matt. 4:3; I Thess. 3:5); "devil" (*diabolos*, the "accuser," in many passages); "satan" ("adversary," in many passages); "Beelzebub" (Luke 11:18; cf. Matt. 12:26); "the enemy" (Matt. 13:39); "the evil one" (Matt. 13:19; Eph. 6:16); "Belial" (II Cor. 6:15); "the serpent" (II Cor. 11:3); "the old serpent" (Rev. 12:9); "the dragon" (Rev. 12:9). We shall in the following pages consider the origin, function, and fate of Satan, discussing also questions of objectivity and value.

I. The Origin of Satan

We cannot say offhand that he is of Persian origin. The name is not Persian but pure Hebrew. The character is not the same as Ahriman who is an independent being with creative power. In the Old Testament Satan is dependent on Jehovah. Indeed, he appears as a distinct personality only in three late passages (Zech., chap. 3; Job, chaps. 1, 2; I Chron., chap. 21).

It is not denied that Persian influence may have been felt in the development of the idea, but the roots of the idea are in the Hebrew soil, and the development is under the dominance of Hebrew thought. The "sons of God," afterward called angels, are not imported into the Semitic religions. And Satan appears first among the angels. The angels are known by their functions. In the story of Balaam (Num. 22:22 f.) the angel of Jehovah stands in the way for a Satan (adversary) to him. The function of Satan in the Book of Job is that of prosecuting attorney with added powers of the "third degree" methods of the police. The task is invidious. If Satan had a fall, it must have been through fondness for his vocation. The desire to convict may make the criminal lawyer criminal. Indeed, here in Job the distinctness of Satan differs widely from that of the angel of the Lord in the Balaam passage. His distinctness is more than functional;

it is organic and moral. But there is in the Old Testament no account of the fall of Satan. This doctrine appears first in the Book of Enoch. It is there connected with the improper conduct of the angels mentioned in Gen. 6:2-4. But, again, in the Old Testament angels of evil do not attend Satan. The angels who bring evil or punishment are direct messengers of God, and, on the other hand, Satan is not a leader but thoroughly subordinate. In Zech., chap. 3, he is rebuked and disregarded. In Job, Satan is clearly subordinate and can do nothing without divine permission. And yet he has a bad eminence among the angels: "the Satan came also in the midst of them." Angels are sent, he has the freedom of a scout (Job 1:7; Zech. 1:10), but as yet no such freedom as is affirmed of him in I Pet. 5:8. In II Sam. 24:1 God moves David to do the act that brings punishment. In Job, Satan instigates God against Job. In I Chron. 21:1 Satan moves David to do the same act as in I Sam. 24:1. In this passage Satan's independence of God is as complete as it ever becomes in the Old Testament. In the apocryphal Book of Wisdom (2:24) God and the devil are in complete opposition. This is the pedigree of Satan with which we open the New Testament, a pedigree that lay open to the writers of the New Testament.

As to a fall of Satan before the creation of man the Scriptures are silent. Popular views are an inference from Gen., chap. 3, under the guidance of later interpretation which identified Satan and the serpent. A primeval fall of Satan with angels has its foundation in the Book of Enoch, which builds in turn upon the passage in Gen. 6:2-4, or upon

the sources of that fragment. Milton has popularized this element of the Enoch literature, so that many of our traditional notions rest on no surer foundation than Milton's poetizing on pseudonymous mythology. Luke 10:18, "I saw Satan fall as lightning from heaven," is a poetic expression like that of Isa. 14:12, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O day-star, son of the morning!" and concerns itself with the coming fall of Satan, seen by faith as already completed. Rev. 12:7 f. also furnishes Milton with material which he misuses. The fall of Satan and angels here is something achieved through the incarnation. This passage is probably founded on Luke 10:18 and bears a similar meaning. The fall is a fall from power, the war in heaven is a war in the heavenlies on earth, something happening in setting up the kingdom of heaven on the earth. Our conclusion is that the origin of Satan is left unexplained.

II. The Function of Satan

In early times Satan is not opposed to God, nor is he a tempter of men. In Num. 22:22, 32 the angel of the Lord becomes a Satan or adversary to obstruct Balaam's evil intentions—a good Satan. In primitive thought God tempted Abraham; it was not so later. We have shown the gradual change of theology in the passages II Sam. 24:1; Job, chaps. 1, 2; and I Chron. 21:1. There remains the passage in Jas. 1:13 where all temptation on the part of God is denied. Satan's function in the Old Testament is chiefly as an accuser. Hence in Gen., chap. 3, the sacred writer does not introduce Satan but the Serpent who plays the part of tempter, a rôle assigned Satan

in Wisd. 2:24 and in the New Testament. In the temptation of Jesus, Satan does not bring a surprise into the divine plan. Matthew tells us Jesus was led by the Spirit to be tempted. The temptation was part of the divine plan. If Jesus was tempted as we, Satan must have been a spiritual presence, not a bodily form. The case can be stated best in Sanday's words:

In this our Lord goes to what may seem great lengths in the use that he makes of the traditional machinery of Judaism. . . . The Power of Evil is represented in a personal bodily form and the machinery or setting of the story is full of the marvelous. . . . Realism could hardly go further, and yet the meaning and essence of the temptation is wholly spiritual; it is the problem what is to be done with supernatural powers: shall the possessor use them for his own sustenance, or for his own aggrandisement?

Satan is used also by God for inflicting suffering or punishment, less often in the New Testament, in a manner reminding us of Job. In I Cor. 5:5 Paul gives orders to turn over an outrageously sinful man "unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

Satan is also a hinderer. Paul writes the Thessalonian brethren of his great desire to return to them and assures them that his failure to come was no fault of his. The blame rested on another: "Satan hindered us" (I Thess. 2:18).

Again, Satan is an accuser. "Now is come . . . the kingdom of God and the authority of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, who accuseth them before God day and night" (Rev. 12:10). Satan is already hinderer, accuser, and tempter in the Old

Testament; he is tempter, accuser, and punisher in the apocalyptic literature. But in the New Testament there is a different emphasis and atmosphere.

We may sum up by saying that Satan's chief function in general is the origination and perpetuation of sin. He is no fighter; resist him and he flees (Jas. 4:7). He may assume the form of an angel of light to the cultivated Greeks (II Cor. 11:14), or the form of a wise serpent to the inexperienced woman (Gen., chap. 3; cf. II Cor. 11:3). These forms are very far from reality, but this is not surprising, since he was a liar and murderer from the beginning, that is, the beginning of human history, when he brought death to the race (John 8:44; I John 3:8). He is the enemy of righteousness; sows tares and snatches away good seed. He goes about like a roaring lion (I Pet. 5:8); he hurls fiery darts like the most uncivilized warriors (Eph. 6:16); he sifts men like wheat, with the purpose of mangling them and pressing them through the sieve (Luke 22:31); his wrath is great because his time is limited (Rev. 12:12).

III. The Fate of Satan

Satan's relation to God is similar to that of man. His independence is relative. If he is opposed to God, the end is certain. His power is superhuman, but limited. He is strong, but Jesus is stronger (Matt. 12:29) and can spoil Satan's goods (Mark 3:27). Jesus came to destroy the works of the devil (I John 3:8). He will bring to naught the devil himself (Heb. 2:14), and liberate those "who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage" of Satan (Heb. 2:15). Ideally

and to the eye of faith Satan has long ago been overthrown (Luke 10:18), and individuals are already delivered out of the power of darkness (Col. 1:13). Jesus says with perfect confidence, "the prince of this world hath been judged" (John 16:11), and "now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (John 12:31).

But really in the present evil time Satan still reigns. He will not be completely overthrown till the consummation of the kingdom. Eventually Satan and his angels go into everlasting punishment prepared for them (Matt. 25:41), to be tormented day and night forever, along with the "beast" and the "false prophet" (Rev. 20:10). Paul promises: "The God of peace shall bruise [Gen., chap. 3 Satan under your feet shortly" (Rom. 16:20), and in the glorious consummation, "God will put all enemies under his feet" (I Cor. 15:26).

IV. The Objective Reality of the Kingdom of Satan

We must distinguish between a form of reality and reality itself—between form and fact. The fact of man's struggle cannot be gainsaid, the form of this struggle may not be known. But faith cannot tolerate the thought that this struggle is wholly subjective. Such an insult and injury to faith becomes blasphemy when applied to the holy Jesus. Whatever else was intended by the sacred writer of Gen., chap. 3, this at least is clear: God is not the author of sin, and sin is not native to man. Sin indeed is man's sin but the occasion of it lies without. But granted the impact of the evil world upon the spirit of man, the question still remains: Is the kingdom of

Satan as it appears in the New Testament to be taken as ultimate and literal reality or is it a temporal and figurative statement of reality? It is worth while to note that there is certainly no such fully developed kingdom of Satan in the Old Testament. There Satan rarely appears, perhaps only once as a prosaic personality, and he is never attended with angels. Elsewhere than in I Chron., chap. 21, there is a suggestion of poetry and dramatic personification. This machinery of the evil world came into existence after the close of the canon. It is the machinery of the apocalyptic literature. It was carried over into the New Testament. The New Testament writers are not held responsible for the Greek idioms they use; shall they be held responsible for the forms of thought which they likewise adopt from the social order that nourished them? But the crucial question is: Did Jesus accept the popular demonology and satanology reflected in the New Testament? Some have been willing to stake his authority upon an affirmative answer to this question. They would put the matter in the form of the deadly dilemma: If Satan and the demons are not real existences as they appear to the simple reader of the New Testament, then Jesus was wanting in either knowledge or candor. This is the old dilemma of Simon the Pharisee (Luke 7:36 f.): either Jesus did not know or he was not good. But Jesus' disciples who knew him and loved him cared nothing for Simon's dilemma. And strangely enough, the dilemma as a form of argumentation does not frighten us as it used to do. Christ is more than an argument, he is a moral personality. It was not inferiority but superiority that

made him unintelligible to Simon. It was not omniscience or complete revelation that made him indispensable to the disciples, but the words of eternal life (John 6:68). Three things may be said as to Jesus' knowledge and candor.

First, it is very difficult to determine his range of knowledge, to reconstruct his thought-world. He did not discourse on philosophy, science, or literary criticism. He liked flowers, but said nothing of botany; he spoke of the stars, but said nothing of astronomy. Did he know the laws of plant variation? Would he have said the laws of evolution are God's way of working? Does it not seem irrelevant, if not irreverent, to ask such questions? He had a better mission than that of the scientist who concerns himself with the details of causation. It was Jesus' mission to reveal the inner meaning of the world as a whole, and to lay bare the heart of the Old Testament revelation, that men might know the Father. Seeking the kingdom was better than psychologizing experience. So we may not have sufficient data for determining just what Jesus thought of Satan.

Second, it seems very extreme to say there is just as much evidence that Jesus believed in the real existence of Satan as that he believed in the real existence of God. In the temptation, presumably narrated by Jesus himself, there is a suggestion of dramatic description in terms of religious imagination; and the substance of the temptation is the demand of popular Jewish expectation. If Satan were replaced by the subtle suggestions of the spirit of messianism of the time, the effect would be the same. When Jesus calls Peter Satan he refers

to the same old contest between God's way and the way outlined by Jewish messianism, or the worldly spirit.

Third, Jesus is not bound to know all things, and he is not morally bound to tell all that he knew. The mission of Jesus does not require that he should be omniscient, and the Scriptures do not so represent him. We cannot define the limits of his knowledge, but our faith in him is not conditioned on what he knew of the ultimate explanation of the powers of darkness. He certainly experienced the onslaught of evil as it broke against the kingdom he came to set up, and he certainly broke the reigning power of evil for every man who is willing to walk with him in white. To quote "if it had not been so I would have told you," out of its context, is to juggle with words. He also said that he had many things to say that could not be borne. Jesus is under no obligation to reveal matters only incidental, touching simply the outward form of his message. To have drawn on his vast resources in order to anticipate science, and thus establish the divinity of his mission, would have been to yield to Satan's temptation; and it would have been contrary to his method. He said if a man wished to know the truth of his mission he could do so by being willing to do the Father's will.

V. The Value of the Doctrine of Satan for Evangelical Piety

It is worthy of note that the doctrine of Satan came to its greatest definiteness of statement in the greatest revival of religion known to us in our history, viz., the great uprising of the human spirit at the coming of our Lord. Never did the kingdom of God become so real on

earth, and never did the kingdom of Satan become so real.

It is worthy of note also that in great emotional revivals in modern times the kingdom of Satan appears to men of faith to be set in battle array just over against the kingdom of God. Bernard Weiss is quoted as saying: "The deeper the sense of sin is the more confidently is the supernatural power of sin, by which man is deceived and dominated, ascribed to a superhuman adversary of God, for sin cannot be traced back to God. The Scriptures and Jesus take this fact for granted and give it the weight of their authority."

The more recent theologies find small place for Satan. In the theologizing of

Clarke and Brown, for example, Satan seems for the most part to have faded into psychology. In Kaftan's *Dogmatik* more generous space is accorded Satan. In his brilliant chapter on the origin of evil, speaking of Satan, Kaftan says in substance that dogmatics has nothing to say on this subject, since Satan is not an object of faith, but that the thought of Satan will not disappear from the ideational world of the pious, on account of the Scriptures, and it would be presumption to wish to set it aside. But each one should keep in mind that Satan is under the dominion of almighty God and that no one should dare think that he can escape his own guilt by referring his sin to a temptation proceeding from Satan.

HOW PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS GREW OUT OF LETTERS TO THE GALATIANS

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To appreciate the argument of Dr. Dickinson's highly original discussion, the reader should particularly observe its opening paragraphs. The question raised is not one of authorship for that is unquestionably Pauline. It rather concerns the possibility of the growth of an Epistle from a less formal correspondence.

That the apostle Paul at some time, we do not know when, at some place, we do not know where, wrote this epistle, we do not know how, to some churches of Galatia, we do not know which, has been the most widely current theory of the genesis of the Epistle to the Galatians. For some purposes this threadbare opinion may suffice; but

in this age of hunger for accurate and full knowledge it can hardly satisfy an inquiring and scientific mind. So we are compelled to re-examine all the facts pertinent to these matters, with a view to a more adequate understanding of all that is involved. Is this epistle a single writing, penned at one sitting and without further genetic history;

or is it composite, the resultant of a correspondence extending over an appreciable period of time and involving a history in its genesis? It is the purpose of this study to examine the facts as derived from the epistle itself in the light of this last suggestion with a view to discovering, if we may, the literary processes through which the epistle has passed.

Deissmann in his *Light from the Ancient East* has made a distinction between the letter and the epistle, which is of great worth in literary studies of this kind. The letter is a bit of life responding to life; and cannot be fully apprehended apart from the author and his immediately intended readers. It is best understood within the horizon of the writer and the addressees; for it is the action and reaction of the particular persons therein involved. It is concrete and a part of a single passing situation. The epistle, on the other hand, is a work of art, idealized and raised above the here and now; and is intended for the public generally, so that the author, and much less any definite set of readers, need not be in mind for its adequate understanding. In applying this literary distinction to the epistles of the New Testament, he finds that they were primarily letters subsequently raised to the dignity of epistles by the church. What was the process involved in this raising of the letters to the dignity of epistles he does not say, and yet it is necessary to the theory he projects. I am of the opinion that his observations are correct, as far as he goes; but the agent in raising the letters to the dignity of epistles was not the church. In

most cases the apostle himself performed this service for the several churches with which he corresponded.

Let us examine this matter as it may be involved in the genesis of the Epistle to the Galatians.

"Seams"

If the Epistle to the Galatians is the resultant of epistolized letters, we may look for some indication of the several letters used as its sources in the writing as we have it. In compiling sources into a literary product it is exceedingly difficult for the author to eliminate all the evidences of the fact that he is drawing his material from separate and distinct previous writings. However skilled he may be in such work, seams will appear here and there in his product where the sources are put together, whether he be simply compiling or rewriting his sources. These seams will be indicated by a break in the context, a shift in the perspective, and more or less confusion of the sentence structure.

The American Revisers have observed breaks in the context, and indicated the fact by breaks in their text at the end of 1:5; 2:21; 4:31; and 6:10. But an examination of the situation at 4:31 will show it to be of more than doubtful validity; and the case is much stronger for a break at 4:20. An examination of the passage 1:6-10 from this same viewpoint shows evidences of its being composite; for we observe a distinct change of perspective in chaps. 6-7, 8, 9-10, indicating that they were not originally of a piece. In chaps. 6-7 the author is "I," who is further described as "him that called you in

the grace of Christ"; the readers are represented as "quickly removing from him to different gospel; which is not another"; and his complaint is that "there are some who trouble you and would pervert the gospel of Christ." In chap. 8 the author is "we," who are further defined as those who had preached unto them and are compared in that function to "an angel from heaven"; the "different gospel, which is not another" has now become a "gospel other than that which we preached unto you" and the situation is become so acute that the hitherto troublers and perverters deserve the anathema of the churches and solicitude has passed into alarm. In chaps. 9-10 the author is "I," who has been charged with "seeking the favor of men, striving to please men," but claims to be "a slave of Christ"; the perverted gospel which was "other than that which was preached" is now also "other than that which ye received"; the situation is such that even the anathema of their primitive preachers has not sufficed to relieve, and there is now need that it be reissued on apostolic authority; the anathema thus reissued is made also to serve for a refutation of a false charge against the apostle's motives in issuing the first in the name of others as well as himself.

It would seem that in these three passages we have three distinct steps in a very rapidly developing situation, beginning with a defection and growing into an alarming apostasy; and the degree to which it has developed in each case shows that they could not have been written at one sitting, but must have been separated by some

appreciable interval of time. This conclusion is further evidenced by the language in chap. 9, "as we have said before so say I now again," implying a *then* and a *now*; and the use of the repetition of the anathema to refute a charge against the apostle growing out of its first pronouncement implies that it had been conveyed to the readers and excited in them this charge and news to that effect had been brought back to the apostle. So we infer that we have in these three passages three distinct introductions to three separate letters written in the course of a more or less extended correspondence. Can we in the body of the epistle find the remainder of these three letters?

The Three Letters

The "seams" above indicated divide the body of the epistle into three sections, 1:11-2:21; 3:1-4:20; 4:21-6:10. A study of the literary and other features of each of these passages will show that 1:11-2:21 shows a striking kinship with 1:6-7; that 3:1-4:20 is of a piece with 1:8; that 4:21-6:10 answers well to 1:9-10. We may therefore infer that the three letters used in compiling and epistolizing Galatians were (1) 1:6-7; 1:11-2:21; (2) 1:8; 3:1-4:20; (3) 1:9-10; 4:21-6:10, and that they were originally written in the order given.

The First Letter

In the first letter the author is everywhere "I who called you in the grace of Christ with a genuine gospel," the readers are not considered as apostates, but only as being in trouble from advocates of a perverted gospel already tested out in the controversy at Antioch

with Peter and repudiated by formal statement, 2:15-16. On the other hand, the gospel which Paul preached is validated by the way in which he received it and by express approval of Peter and later of the "Pillars" when laid before them. The gospel had in mind is clearly that of justification by faith in Messiah Jesus; and the keeping of the law as a part of messianic life is a dangerous perversion of it. The treatment is historical, and traces the history of that gospel up to the time when it was preached to the Galatians in its struggles with the Jerusalem authorities. If the crucifixion be put in 29, the stoning of Stephen in 30, the conversion of Saul some months later in the same year, the visit to Peter in 33, that to the "Pillars" in 43, the visit of Peter to Antioch in 44 and his defection a little later in 45, the mission to the Galatians in 46-47, the news of the Galatian defection and writing of this letter in 48, the Jerusalem Council early in 49, all the chronological difficulties will be met. It will also explain why the deliverance of the Jerusalem Council is not mentioned when it would have been so convincingly pertinent.

The Second Letter

In the second letter, 1:8; 3:1-4:20, while the apostle is himself doing the writing, 3:2, 15, 17; 4:11, 12-20, he has associates in his authorship, who are like himself Jewish Christians redeemed from the law and ready to make common cause with gentile Christians, 3:13, 14, 23-25; 4:3, 5. It will be illuminating to note how this "we" is correlated with "ye," the gentile Christians of Galatia. They are probably

the same as "all the brethren that are with me" in 1:2; see below. The "works of the law" are represented in this letter as something "other than" the gospel of the righteousness by faith. The law and its appointments are not a gospel at all, can give no spiritual blessings or life or power, is not the messianic gospel preached to Abraham; but is rather the sentence of a curse from which Messiah is to redeem, and coming later in the testament of God, cannot annul the gospel of justification promised to Abraham and to his seed, but can only be a tutor to bring those under it to Messiah. But faith is vindicated in that it bestows the Spirit of sonship in all hearts; so that the Aramaean mingles his "Abba" with the Greek's "Pater," as children of a common Father. The propaganda here complained of is more than a perverted gospel that troubles; it is a gospel other than that Paul and his associates preached, and answers well to the situation in 1:8. His personal pleas in 4:12-20 reflect also the alarm in 1:8; and he begs them to come back from their apostasy to him, and renew their old-time fellowship. The discussion of his gospel here is from the viewpoint of the messianic Scriptures as interpreted in the light of messianic experience.

The Third Letter

In the third letter, 1:9-10; 4:21-6:10, the author is "I, Paul," with a peculiar emphasis everywhere on his own personal authority (1:9-10; 4:21; 5:2-12, 16, 21); and when using the first person plural he includes his readers with himself (4:28; 5:1, 5, 25; 6:9-10),

and when using the second person plural he has reference to the Judaizing viewpoint, more or less remote (4:21; 5:2-4, 16, etc.). The leader of the troublers has now been brought to trial, and must bear his punishment, the anathema, in spite of his pretensions (5:10); and the case has been fought out to a confident conclusion (5:10-12), and it remains to adjust life accordingly. The messianic freedom is given peculiar prominence, and its collateral responsibility of loving service is enjoined. The messianic life is to be lived under the leadership of the messianic Spirit to be fruitful and helpful in service.

The Date of the Letters

To date these two letters is difficult. After the return from the Jerusalem Council, Paul and Silas went through Galatia, where they picked up Timothy, confirming the churches and delivering the decrees of the Jerusalem Council to be kept; and the churches were strengthened and increased in number daily (Acts 16:1-5). This ministry in Galatia may be dated in the earlier half of 49. During the autumn and winter following, Paul performed the ministry in Macedonia as found in Acts 16:6-17:34; and he came to Corinth early in 50. There he spent more than a year and a half, leaving Corinth after the coming of Gallio, which Deissmann has fixed in the summer of 51. We may date the letter in 1:8; 3:1-5:20, in the early summer of 50; and that in 1:9-10, 4:21-6:10 in the summer of 51. The first letter to the Thessalonians must be dated just about the same time he wrote the last to the Galatians; and if so, the reference to reports, not only from Macedonia and Achaia, but from

"every place" (I Thess. 1:8-9), is to the messengers from Galatia who took back the last letter to Galatia. Since at the time there were no gentile churches outside of Macedonia and Achaia except in the section about Galatia, it would not be too general to designate the last section by this language. Paul staid in Corinth "yet many days" after the trial in Gallio's court, which may be put in the early autumn of 51; then in the following spring of 52 he went to Ephesus and on to Jerusalem and to Antioch in Syria, and came in the summer of 52 again to Galatia.

He found the churches of Galatia valuing his letters highly, though the situation that had called them forth had passed away. Each of the churches would wish a copy; and so it became advisable to publish them. To put them in shape for this he would epistolize the letters, raising them now to the dignity of literature. In this he would conflate the introductions into one for the epistle, and add an authenticating conclusion. That 1:1-5 is the resultant of conflation, it is not difficult to see; though we may not be able to analyze it into its components. That 6:11-18 is an authenticating conclusion added to the now epistolized letters transcribed by the hand of a book-scribe is evident on its face. It is written in the apostle's own handwriting to authenticate his approval of what the professional scribe had written, and testify that the autographs of the component letters had been not only his own but also written in his own hand (6:11). From this point of view that most difficult verse becomes perfectly plain and intelligible.

The Concluding Summary

As far as I have been able to read it has been the despair of exegetes to interpret the words "how large," "letters," and "wrote." The best interpretation is that of Lightfoot and others which makes "large" refer to the big characters penned by the apostle by assuming that he was unable to write a good hand; the word "letters" is made to mean letters of the alphabet, which it nowhere else does in the New Testament; the aorist tense of "wrote" is construed as a Latinism, an epistolary aorist, which is good Latin but poor Greek. So the passage is interpreted and given meaning by assuming that the apostle was deficient in handwriting, in knowledge of words and their uses, and in correct grammar. This surely is a desperate assumption in the light of what we know of his writing elsewhere. The word translated "large" is used only once again in the New Testament in Heb. 7:4, where Melchizedek is said to have been "what a large man." Surely that author did not intend to say that he was a giant in body! The word must have the meaning of important, or great in the sense of high esteem; and from the point of view above suggested it must have that meaning here. The word "letters" everywhere else means written documents; and must have that content of meaning and that reference here, if we accept the above theory of the origin of the passage. The tense of "wrote" must be the good ordinary aorist also, if the passage be read in the light of the above. So we may read in the light of the above theory of the origin and purpose of the passage, "See how important letters I wrote

unto you with my own hand." The authenticating effect of this conclusion in his own hand to the manuscript of the scribe is made the more effective by being composed of a brief summary of the purport of the original letters. It would be difficult to imagine how he could have accomplished this purpose more effectively than is done in this conclusion in his own handwriting.

The epistle being thus put into literary form and published, would go into the service of the churches of Galatia with canonical functioning; and soon find its place as an instrument in public worship and education in standards of messianic living. The problem in the genesis of the New Testament Canon is not so much when and how did these books get collected into a Canon, but when and how did each of them get their canonical competency and form; it is not so much when were the canonical books collected and formally approved, as when did we get canonical books to collect and approve. The Epistle to the Galatians got its final competency for canonicity when the apostle epistolized it from the letter-sources; although it took the Christian world outside of Galatia a long time to appreciate its canonical competency, so that they might put it to service in that sphere. Not by ecclesiastical fiat of the second and third centuries, but at ecclesiastical request in the first, the writings in the New Testament received from competent men their canonical potency and capacity; and it only remained for that fact to be recognized for them to be collected into a special class of writings and dignified by the Christian world as Scripture.

“THAT THE WORLD MAY KNOW THAT THOU DIDST SEND ME”

GOOD FRIDAY—DEFEAT

“That the world may know that thou didst send me.”

So prayed Jesus on the night in which he was betrayed. It was the prayer of a soul outwardly defeated, inwardly invincible. In a few hours he was to suffer a shameful, fearful death, not because he had done wrong or denied the existence of God, or endeavored to raise a revolution; but because he had believed in the supremacy of justice and mercy and truth, and had taught that God is love, and that forgiveness rather than punishment brought Him joy.

He had lived and served in the world, and therefore the world had hated him, buffeted him, outlawed him, and was about to kill him.

Thus Jesus shared the depths of human bitterness.

For the world will always crush the man who lifts the cross rather than the sword.

To the world a call to give justice is dangerous radicalism; to increase one's privilege is sanity and benefaction.

Prophets sawn asunder, martyrs dying for the cause that could not save them, honest men who have preferred bankruptcy to dishonesty, men and women resisting to the blood temptations others have called pleasures; all these know the agony of a defeated Christ.

And like them Jesus could not rest in defeat. He sought vindication. The world would yet know that God had sent him; that he and his ideals were mighty because they were from God!

With that faith he went to meet Judas in the moonlight under the olive trees.

“THAT THE WORLD MAY KNOW THAT THOU DIDST SEND ME”

EASTER DAY—VINDICATION

“What is the world?” Civilization soggy with materialism, brutal with the efforts to get creature comforts, cheapening ideals, repressing moral earnestness, preferring pleasure to justice, laughing at those who serve.

But civilization is not the end of life. It never is as good as the prophets it despises and suppresses. Without the ideals it ridicules it is only a scramble for enjoyment of the economic surplus.

It is the prophet and the idealist to whom victory finally comes. Roman and Jewish civilization put Jesus to death, but it is He who lives today.

This is the paradox of Christianity—the vindication of defeated men whose faith has overcome the world.

The little band of frightened disciples has grown into millions of souls who call Jesus Lord. He who had no place to lay his head is worshiped in a multitude of churches. The Roman Empire that crucified him has disappeared except as its institutions and laws have been preserved by his followers. The Temple whose guardians he condemned has disappeared forever and the nation which killed him is now trying to prove that it produced him.

Tomorrow will repeat this vindication of Jesus and his trust in the Father.

Greed and animalism and force masquerading as civilization may triumph in Gethsemane, but sacrifice and love are bright with the sunlight of Easter.

THE CHURCH AND CHILD PROTECTION

ALLAN HOBEN

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"The Minister and the Boy"

The opening of the Juvenile Court in Chicago, July 1, 1899, marked an epoch in the treatment of delinquent, dependent, and neglected children. However, the Illinois Juvenile Court law, which went into effect at that time, failed to provide for the salaries of probation officers and for the expenses of a separate detention home where the boys under seventeen and the girls under eighteen who came within the jurisdiction of the court might be kept awaiting hearing.

As is so often the case, a volunteer organization had to step into the breach in order to make effective the progress which had been registered in legislation. This organization was known as the Juvenile Court Committee and during the following eight years it expended a hundred thousand dollars of private funds in providing suitable probation service and detention quarters for the unfortunate children brought to court. At the end of that period both of these vital functions of the Juvenile Court—separate detention before hearing and probation afterward when ordered—had been entirely taken over by the city and county acting jointly, and the system seemed fairly on the road to permanent success.

But an improvement, however marked, in handling the precious waste product of the city could hardly satisfy those who beheld this annual procession of some five thousand children expiating

in their own bodies and souls the ignorance, carelessness, greed, and lust of Chicago. Having accomplished something by way of improved treatment, it became clearly necessary to undertake much more by way of prevention. Accordingly the organization, changing its name to that of the Juvenile Protective Association, addressed itself primarily to the task of eliminating the causes of juvenile delinquency.

In order to carry out this plan the city was districted and protective officers were assigned to the various districts. Furthermore, in most of the districts local organizations, known as juvenile protective leagues, affiliated with the central body, were brought into existence. The central association now has thirty-two employees and an annual expense budget of \$32,436.84 contributed by about four hundred and fifty individuals, firms, and clubs. It handled 4,618 cases during the past year, the officers making 28,321 visits in the interests of child protection. The local leagues have 1,528 members and a budget of \$6,155.55 for constructive work. The court cases are handled entirely by the central organization with its expert staff, and have to do chiefly with the prosecution of adults for contributing to the delinquency of children.

For the purpose of suppressing evil conditions which contribute to juvenile

delinquency, numerous investigations have been made. All the nickel shows of the city have been carefully studied and a police censorship bureau established, which, in the course of the past two years, has inspected 7,695,000 feet of films and has prevented 117 miles of objectionable pictures from coming before the eyes of Chicago's children. Or, to come nearer the whole truth, the bureau has kept from circulation, not this amount of evil suggestion, but this amount multiplied by the number of films—probably from 15 to 20—identical with the sample inspected and awaiting release and circulation if approved. Penny gambling machines in great numbers have been removed from the small stores adjacent to the public schools. Saloonkeepers have been prosecuted in 732 cases for selling liquor to minors, while there have been 209 prosecutions of those who were selling tobacco to minors. A study is now being made of the 1,535 poolrooms of the city which are very loosely conducted, encourage petty gambling, and constitute a menace to boys under eighteen years of age, who are constantly admitted contrary to law.

Two and a half million obscene postal cards have been destroyed and 178 persons prosecuted for selling them. Immorality on the excursion boats has been suppressed, the public amusement parks have been given vigilant supervision and many of their evils removed, an ordinance regulating street trading by children has been secured, public schools have been opened as recreation centers, the Court of Domestic Relations has been established, bathing beaches have been opened, new social centers

organized, outings conducted, and many other similar achievements made.

Of course, in such an effort Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews work shoulder to shoulder. Their common cause is the welfare of Chicago's 882,000 children. But, strange to say, the response of the churches as such has always been disappointing. Five hundred letters embodying the above facts and asking for the appointment of delegates to meet with the association to plan for safeguarding the moral welfare of the children brought only twenty-six replies from the pastors, although stamped and addressed cards were prepared and inclosed for use.

Now it must be apparent to any city minister who has studied his field that, if he will save the children, something more is needed than the immediate service which the church can render under its own roof. Of these 882,000 over 600,000 are foreign born or the children of foreign-born parents. The Sunday school cannot reach many of them, but the city herself, in all the evil which she permits and the injustice which she condones, does reach them, and that all the time. And the religious organizations are in duty bound to make the impress of the city upon this new life an impress for righteousness and spiritual opportunity rather than an impetus to evil and a cruel bondage to sin.

If all ministers would take the pains of becoming informed as to what the real battle is, as to what the specialized agencies of redemption outside the church are, there would be few indeed who would fail to see that co-operation in effort of this sort is as vital and necessary as are those activities which are

carried on within the church herself. In fact, nothing will more please and favor the forces of evil which prey upon every normal and every perverted desire of youth, than for the religious people to keep themselves strictly confined to hymns, prayers, sermons, and testimonies. If, in this sense, we will "mind our own business" they will take care of all else.

In fact, unless the religious impulse can burst its sanctified casings and remake the neighborhood or living conditions, its teachings remain relatively null and void. It is true of Juvenile Court children as well as of those who are detained in the lock-ups and the county jail that practically all profess adherence to some religious faith. The county jail figures for 1911 show that out of 7,335 prisoners only 70 profess no religion, while out of 1,208 boys between the ages of 17 and 21 only 6 think of themselves as without religious connection. Although it must be granted that such figures cannot be taken at face value, nevertheless in the minds of these unfortunates there was some attachment, some sense of belonging, possibly some hope of shelter and help which they did not receive.

An intensive study of one hundred cases of boys held in the jail revealed the fact that in no case was the help of the clergy or church extended to these boys in the critical hour of their trouble; and the testimony of the probation officers of the Juvenile Court shows also that the church is not active in behalf of those stricken families whose children, through some misdemeanor, become public wards; which means that at the very time of keen sorrow and bitter humiliation the agency most noted for

comfort, wise counsel, and divine love is not in touch with the very homes where its ministry is most acutely needed.

The fault lies partly with probation officers and police officials who do not refer these matters to the ministers promptly and insistently as their pressing and legitimate concern, and partly with the ministers as a whole who know little of such matters and who usually give courts, jails, and arrested persons a wide berth.

When the fire alarm sounds, the company rushes down the street, every man in his place, all the paraphernalia of fire fighting unlimbered, and the engine under steam. It is a thrilling sight, and very often the cause is but a small blaze or false alarm. But here we have in one city 86,000 young people taking their chances every night in the public dance halls—most of the girls fourteen to sixteen years of age, most of the boys sixteen to eighteen, most of the halls run for and by the liquor interests, and many of them infested with procurers. The evil can be remedied only by the concerted action of right-minded people in securing an amusement or morals commission and by providing wholesome social recreation for those whose home and labor conditions deprive them of all proper facilities for the primary satisfactions of recreation and joy.

Jesus explicitly set the child in our midst as the norm of discipleship and the unrivaled claimant for the attention and care of his followers. With the passing of the simple conditions in which he lived and the advent of more complex and strenuous times, the obligation resting upon the church is increased

rather than diminished. The ascendancy of economic and industrial interests has imperiled those untold values which, with every generation, we have fresh from the hand of God.

Whatever agencies are at work to make the crooked places straight and the rough places plain, they indeed are co-laborers together with him. The fact that in this one city alone there are 188,000 babies under four years of age asking by their very innocence and helplessness for a fair chance at life, and the fact that the chance we give them is the true measure of our civilization and also our self-imposed verdict must move us to action. The fact that in a city laying claim to Christian civilization 1,000 children of unmarried mothers utterly disappear from view in the course of a year, leaving no trace of their existence or of their decease, ought to mean something to the United Church of Chicago.

The fact that when one of these lambs is caught in the cruel impenetrable thicket of city life and is brought trembling as a culprit before the court there is no delegated representative of the Protestant church to give counsel and help, while both of the older churches—Catholic and Jewish—have a shepherd and friend ever at hand, ought to bring shame to our disjointed Protestantism.

Furthermore, although public provision is made for protecting the interests of girl offenders under eighteen

and of boy offenders under seventeen, the whole process of law, as at present administered, is a conspiracy for the conviction of arrested persons over that age if they are poor and friendless. The policeman must "make good" and have the prisoner held to the grand jury; the word of the prisoner is not taken as against that of the officer; the officer uses force and intimidation to secure confessions. If, after preliminary examination, no bail is immediately forthcoming, the prisoner is "mugged" and his photograph put in the rogues' gallery. The grand jury hears only the evidence for prosecution and meanwhile the prisoner may have lain in jail for weeks. Finally, of 81,649 persons arrested and detained in Chicago lock-ups during 1911, 49,034 were discharged by the municipal judges when their cases ultimately came up for trial—but all these had endured the disgrace of "being run in"; had spent some time in the foul lock-ups; and in most cases, although decreed innocent, came away leaving their photographs in the possession of the identification bureau.

It must be that when the church people see the injustice of "justice" they will provide a public defender to stand beside the friendless and unfortunate who fall into the hands of the law and to meet, humanize, and render just the present roughshod methods of prosecution.² "I was in prison and ye came unto me."

² Religious leaders who desire to secure further information relative to the Juvenile Protective Association may order the following reports of investigations from the central office at 816 South Halsted Street, Chicago (those marked with an asterisk are free; all others are 5 cents each): *Synopsis of J.P.A. Work for 1912*; *Annual Report, 1912**; *The Dance Hall*; *The Five-Cent Theater*; *Girls Employed in Hotels and Restaurants*; *Some Legislative Needs in Illinois*; *On the Trail of the Juvenile-Adult Offender*; *The Care of Illegitimate Children in Chicago*.

The situation in Chicago is but typical of that which prevails in all our large cities; while the conditions in smaller places are often more unjust because no organized effort is made to prevent delinquency or to befriend the delinquent. Consequently a great duty, which is at the same time a great opportunity, confronts the minister. He must make such a survey as will bring clearly before him the number, location, character, and strength of the destructive agencies of his parish. For it is with these that he must contend for the integrity and rights of the children.

In addition to the social survey, whether jointly or independently made, he should become acquainted with those who deal officially with children in school, street, factory, and court, and he should get into close touch with the welfare agencies which have been specialized to make effective the religious impulse which is ever quickened and stimulated in the church. Delegates to these various bodies should be appointed and should bring back to the church an account of what is being done and of what, in the opinion of the experts, needs to be done.

Representatives of welfare organizations should have opportunity to present their cause before some regular gathering of the church. Union meetings of all the churches of a given district should be arranged for the discussion of those pressing problems which affect child morality and which demand common or civic treatment. The regular budget for benevolence should include an appropriation for the support of the standard and accredited societies laboring for juvenile protection. Volunteers should be forthcoming for friendly visiting and for inspection of neighborhood conditions.

A committee, representing the federated Protestant churches, should be empowered to employ a minister of the right sort to be in constant attendance at the sessions of the Juvenile Court. Above all, it should be made very clear that unless the church, operating in the wide field of civics, legislation, and philanthropy, can succeed in christianizing the city, the city will certainly smother the church; and, what is more important, will blight and ruin an incalculable number of young lives.

THE TOWER OF BABEL: HISTORY IN PICTURE

DANIEL GURDEN STEVENS, PH.D.

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For several months during the present year, thousands of Sunday schools will be studying the wonderful book of Genesis. To some the book will bring many difficult questions, but to all it can bring stirring and inspiring teaching as to God's dealings with humanity. Through it all run deep moral purpose, profound religious faith, a sense of the divine presence. However varied may be the interpretations given its record of early heroes and nations, these fundamental characteristics should never escape notice. This article by Dr. Stevens is an interesting attempt to show the historical significance of a portion of Genesis that hitherto has received chiefly critical treatment.

Vivisection by specialists in literary criticism has laid the book of Genesis apart in numerous fragments. It is alleged that the man responsible for the book, as it appears in the Bible, took these fragments in many cases from living creations of literature in his day and assembled them to suit himself. There was method in the compiler's operation, and the resulting literary whole is not a pile of unrelated members of various bodies. Critics have remarked the living unity of the form upon which they have worked. The book has an aim, and all the parts have their places to suit it. Says Driver: "The narrative of Genesis, though composite, is constructed upon a definite plan, and to the development of this plan the details that are incorporated from the different sources employed are throughout subservient."

Illustration of this fact may be found, I think, in the well-known story of the Tower of Babel.

It is not my purpose to detail what

has been thought of this story, and to repeat the generally accepted interpretation; such work would be superfluous here. I have rather to present an explanation which has at least one claim for a hearing: it is new, and itself seeks criticism.

I

Every student will acknowledge that the Book of Genesis was written at a time when history, in the scientific sense of the term, had not yet come to be. Modern writers, who claim to be guided by the canons of scientific method, look back to the Greek Thucydides as the first real road-breaker in their branch of science. Herodotus, the so-called "father of history," was only a narrative writer, with a literary charm in story-telling that makes his work live; he studied to write no dull page, but the most lively lines may be misleading; he knew what interested him, and how to make the account interesting to others, but he did not know how to measure and to weigh so

as to present facts with exactness; he heard and wrote with enthusiasm rather than with discrimination. But Thucydides was the father of the scientific method. He learned to consider and criticize facts, with calm, cool search for the truth. "He did not take up his pen to celebrate; his aim was to understand, to observe critically," not to provide mere "good reading," "but to construct a record which shall be permanently valuable because it is true." This severely critical method it is the effort of our modern historians to apply, though at the same time they do not disdain to make their writings readable; they would combine accuracy with style, "fame's great antiseptic." How far they have succeeded there still is no small room to question; not so much in regard to literary charm, for in that many have beyond doubt achieved large success; but in regard to scientific exactness, for estimates of that differ widely. But millenniums before the birth of our modern historical method came the dawn of history. Facts began to be put down in a shape that would secure their transmission. Venerable pyramids, hoary monuments on which the age-long play of the chisels of wind and weather has cut away many of the marks of men's tools, ancient inscriptions in strange characters made more grotesque by the steady licking of the tongue of time, testify to the desire of men that their memorials should stand when they themselves no longer stood among men.

But the idea of exact statement, as literally true in every line and word as a modern scientist's description of the development of a frog from the cleavage of the single protoplasmic

cell to the multicellular organisms of the full-grown creature with its highly specialized parts, was not born a twin with the idea of celebrating the fame of doers and deeds. The oldest written means of expression of which we have knowledge were pictorial, the hieroglyphs of Egypt and the ideographs of Babylonia. In reducing ideas to written language, men put them in the form of pictures. Men thought in pictures; their conception of things was in the shape of the appeal things made to their imagination. Nature and the doings of men unfolded before them like a great drama; and they sat before the stage, taking down their impressions, their pictures of what they saw. What was more natural than that their earlier compositions should have the pictorial, rather than the baldly, exactly literal, as their characteristic? So among the earliest records of the past are myths and legends, the narratives of folk-lore, celebrations in verse of popular themes, rising from the grade of the ballads and tales recited by a wandering minstrel mid applause of laughter and tears from some village group, to the lofty degree of an epic that has conquered the admiration of the world. To be sure, these are not records sifted and refined by the critical processes of modern historiography. They are records of the past, not in black and white prose literalness, but in poetic figure and color. If we can only succeed in dissolving out the poetic colors, we may arrive at the underlying basis of fact, though it is not always easy to do this. Pictures are the myth and legend, but not wholly woven out of stuff more tenuous than the gauzy web of a comet's tail; pictures having meaning and illustrating historical fact.

So it is with this Bible story of Babel. It may not be history written according to strict modern methods, but it is a picture of historical facts, such as ancient writers, and especially some Old Testament writers, knew how to make. Readers of the Bible cannot fail to be impressed with the fondness shown for pictorial statements, and great dexterity in composition and use of them. "Poetry," says a writer in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, "is the mother-tongue of the human race." Forms and vocabulary of that language men who gave us the Bible knew well, not as an acquisition from foreigners, but as something native to the soil from which they themselves had sprung. Naturally, when they would narrate the story of the past or teach lessons to the present, they used poetry as the supreme vehicle. Vividly they had seen the historical occurrence, deeply they had thrilled to the touch of the moral, spiritual truth, and no mere colorless prose, however exact in its terms, could convey for them expression of the thrill and the burst of light. Therefore it is that the prose narrative of the Book of Judges is interrupted to give space for that majestic lyric, the Song of Deborah; and into the narrative of the Exodus is inserted the ode of triumph over the Egyptian host which the hand of Jehovah had discomfited. In these two cases, the story already told in prose is retold in poetry. In like manner, here in the case of the story of Babel, the poetical picture of facts is preceded, as we shall see, by a simple prose statement that covers partially the same ground. We may not call it a poem, but it is poetic in conception and phraseology; it is history seen through a poet's eyes.

II

My question is of the meaning of this story in its present shape and setting. Scholars have thought that here is a blending of two folk-tales, or of two forms of the same tradition. With that I have nothing to do. In studying Shakespeare, I care not so much to know what was the source of his material and what significance the material had in its original matrix, as to know the meaning the material holds in the shape and place the hands of Shakespeare have given it. So I am occupied with the meaning of this story in its connections in Genesis.

Of what is it a description? Look at the familiar sentences.

The story tells us that the whole earth, or land, or country, was of one language, of one vocabulary. And it came to pass that men in their wanderings came from the east into the plain of Shinar, and there settled down. They took the best material for building the neighborhood afforded, clay molded into bricks, hardened in the kiln, and bitumen which served as cement. Their purpose is defined: "Let us build a city and a tower, whose top shall be to heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."

The idea, then, is that of construction and development on the plain of Shinar, or, as we call it, Babylonia; the erection of a great center of population and power, the establishment of security, greatness, and glory through the unifying of mankind; men are to be made and held a unit through the construction there in Babylonia. The lofty tower, reaching up till it would seem to touch the very heavens, would

symbolize impressively the dwelling-place of might, the city which has entrance to the very things of God, and is the appropriate center of men. It is a scheme of greatness and glory depending for its fulfilment upon the ability of the schemers to mold men into a unit according to their mind.

The plan failed. Why? Because of the confusion of tongues.

God, so the story tells us, came down and looked upon the work and recognized that there were possibilities of the fulfilment of the plan, if men had all one language, and so he confounded their speech. The result was the scattering of men and the collapse of the scheme; "they left off building the city." Therefore, the city got a name, Babel, from the confusion of tongues, and instead of being a center of a unit, it was marked as the center of separation.

The dress of the narrative is pictorial, poetic, dramatic. Mark the descent of God to see the work, and his speech announcing his purpose to interfere. But beneath the poetic dress, the great facts outlined would seem to be historical enough. To my mind, the great point in the story would appear to be, not the confusion of tongues, but the failure of the builders' plan; the confusion of tongues was only the occasion of the failure.

Account of this scheme and its downfall is written elsewhere upon the pages of recognized history. We have here a word-picture, in brief, poetic phrase, of the rise, progress, and failure of the idea of empire in Babylonia. There it was sought to build a city, Babylon, which should be the metropolis, queen of peoples; men should be resolved into a unit, all of them acknowledging Baby-

lonian supremacy, and bringing their glory and honor into the capital. Some success was won. Babylon's power was felt afar. The way was in part prepared for her. I should not take the opening statement of the Bible tale as a witness to the fact that the Babylonian language had already become *lingua franca*, the language of commercial and diplomatic intercourse, before the emergence of Babylon into pre-eminence among the sisterhood of city-states in South Babylonia. But it is a fact that already before Babylon came to the leadership, the touch of Babylonian culture through trade and politics had been widely felt, and the new queen of cities had thus advantages ready to her hand. None the less, the dream and purpose of empire were vain. That ship of hope and endeavor came to wreck on the rock of the differences in peoples. It was hard, it was impossible for Babylon to mold into one coherent whole the peoples around her, so that they should not be scattered, dissociated, going their separate ways according to their own minds. She could not reconcile the differences between them and herself, differences which appeared outwardly in striking show in the language.

A language has connected with it the spirit, the genius of a people, their very mind and heart. When you have persons speaking the same language, you have evidence of the existence of some great essentials of unity. Until we get on the platform of understanding, through our use in common of some means of communication, we are aliens one to another. The immigrants we call foreigners are very much foreigners to us till by their use of our own speech they have made it evident that they have

grasped and taken into themselves the idea and spirit of Americanism. We have been able to melt the heterogeneous foreign elements into the common substance of our people, because we have succeeded so far in breaking up the little Hungaries and Russias and Italies through education of the masses in our language and in our national mind, manners, customs, and views. So the United States of America has thus far maintained itself, and shows today an astonishing homogeneity; while a United States of Europe, several times attempted, as Emil Reich points out, has never been an accomplished fact, and the process of national differentiation has rather grown more intense of late.

So the Babylonian scheme of unifying the peoples failed. Instead of understanding, harmony, unity, there was disagreement, discord, disunion. Babylon became a scene of Babel and of separation.

Much has been made of the supposed mistake which the story makes in connection with the name of the city. The name, as it appears in Assyrian inscriptions, is really *bāb ili*, i.e., "Gate of God," or perhaps "gate of the gods." But in the story we read "therefore is its name called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth"; that is, the name is explained as derived from a stem *bll* which means "to confuse," an instance, we are told, of popular etymology making such an error as we might expect in one of these old mythical, folk-lore tales. Now "an etymology, like a horse, may be a vain thing for safety, and carries our faith on many a breakneck journey into the land of speculation." But, let me add, was the writer of the story

as we have it, so unconscious of the real meaning of the name of the city? From the language he uses, we may reasonably conclude that he was not. Notice again the words in which he reports the purpose of the builders: "Let us build us a city, and a tower whose top shall be to heaven, and let us make us a name." The name to which they aspired was to be in keeping with the city and the lofty tower, reaching to heaven, a city that should be the very gate of the glory and greatness of the gods. Does it require so great a stretch of credulity to believe that, underlying the poetic description of the city with its heaven-piercing tower, is a consciousness, on the part of the author, of the real significance of the name which the builders hoped to make good? But they did not make good, says the story. Instead of erecting a "gate of God," they made a Babel, a scene of confusion and failure. In short, what it seems we have here is not an etymology born of ignorance, but a punning etymology, in sharp derision of the scheme of glory and empire that fell through.

As it seems to me, this story is a sweeping pictorial review of the events of centuries: Babylon's rise to the position of the chief city-state of Mesopotamia, uniting all the other city-states of the region, and extending her influence, political, commercial, cultural, far and wide so effectively that her language remained, as we know, the speech of diplomacy even when her political power was waning, the big plan of glory and the unfinished column of achievement—all this is strikingly pictured in the few lines of the ancient record.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE

A PROFESSIONAL READING COURSE ON THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. II

From a great nation whose institutions are just in process of remaking, whose future hangs in the balance, we turn to a much smaller country which, having passed through its revolutionary experience and today possessing a well-organized government and stable institutions, is conscious of its strength and confident of its future. Will China repeat Japan's history? Will it stand in 1960 where Japan is today?

And where will Japan be fifty years hence? Is Japanese Christianity destined to wane rather than go on to triumph, and will the church repeat in China the mistakes made in Japan?

On learning wisdom from the consequences of the past neglect, and utilizing the forces which we undoubtedly possess and the opportunities that are near at our hand, shall the lost be regained, the still accessible be grasped, and the still possible be achieved?

These are some of the questions which the matter presented in this issue by PROFESSOR BURTON and PROFESSOR PARKER will lead you to consider.

Questions concerning the subject-matter of the course should be addressed to the BIBLICAL WORLD. Inquiries concerning traveling libraries containing the books of the course should be sent to the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, The University of Chicago, Chicago Illinois.¹

Part I. China (continued)

Summary

To aid in gaining a general view of the whole situation, combining in some measure the data gained from other books, two books of a general character are included in the required reading.

Professor Ross's book *The Changing Chinese* is chosen for use in this course because it gives a vivid record of the impression which China made upon an intelligent observer, who before he visited the country had no prejudice in favor of Christian missions and rela-

tively little interest in them. Though Ross is a trained sociologist, he has occasionally fallen into the fault of generalizing on too narrow a basis, and of accepting without verification the inaccurate testimony of well-meaning witnesses. In the absence of statistics it is difficult to say how many women in China can read, but it is probable that the statement that only one in a thousand can do so is far below the facts. That one man in ten can read is probably not far from true if the statement refers to those who can read books. But doubtless a much larger number can

¹All readers in this course are requested to see that their names are enrolled as members of the Professional Reading Course at the office of the Institute.

read a few characters which they use in their business. Perhaps also Mr. Ross has exaggerated the somberness of life among the Chinese, being deceived by the difference between their amusements and ours. But the book is nevertheless well worth reading and gives in the main a correct impression of China as it was in 1910. Especially interesting and mainly correct, we believe, is its analysis of social conditions, its diagnosis of the causes of those conditions, both favorable and unfavorable, and its judgment as to the forces that must be depended upon to improve them.

The readers of *China and the Far East* must make allowance for the fact that three momentous years in the history of the Orient have passed since these addresses were delivered. No intelligent person is altogether ignorant of the changes that have recently taken place in China, in Korea, in Japan. But it does not appear that the substantial value of the book has lessened in the lapse of time. The expert testimonies it offers on vital questions are still of great interest, and with small abatement as authoritative as ever. The reader will discover further to his gratification that every contributor to this discussion speaks for himself, indifferent to either the contradiction or agreement of his associates. The Clark University Lectures are not built upon a common thesis or body of doctrine. Some illustrations may be offered.

An officer of the United States army in writing of "The Chinese Army," chap. x, rejoices that public opinion in China today honors the military profession which once it despised, and

maintains that the Chinese army "is perhaps the greatest factor in the introduction of western thought and civilization." With this judgment it may be presumed that the Occident in general sympathizes. But Mr. Merrill of the Imperial Chinese Customs Service and long resident in China is of quite another opinion. "Let not China," he says, "be in a hurry to create a great army and navy; let her rather be the first in subscribing unreservedly to an international pact for compulsory arbitration; *and thus shall she preserve her traditional character as a peace-loving nation.*" Mr. Merrill's article, "The Chinese Student in America," is one of the weightiest and most significant in the volume.

Comparison may profitably be made also between chaps. ii and iii. In chap. ii, "A Sketch of the Relations between China and the Western World," Mr. Holcomb is at pains to justify China's ancient policy of strict seclusion. His argument is summed up in the italicized passage, p. 28. In chap. iii, "A Sketch of the Relations between the United States and China," Professor Williams, dealing with what is in effect the same topic, shows much less sympathy with China. He remarks upon the "vanity" of "the autocrat cooped up in his palace at Peking"; and holds that it was China's refusal to learn which made inevitable "a degree of compulsion from abroad." It should be noted, however, that Professor Williams condemns "the attitude of hauteur and disdain toward the Chinese" so commonly adopted by Christian peoples.

There is plain talk too in these lectures on both sides of the much-

mooted question of imperialism. In Professor Blakeslee's Introduction we hear of "race-children," of "nation school-teachers," and of the unique school established by the United States from which the "race-child" may expect one day to graduate. In the same vein Mr. Millard, chap. iv, takes for granted, somewhat overconfidently perhaps, the prevalence of "the American conception of the paternal relation of western to oriental nations; and even issues a warning that our eastern policy will not be respected until the world is convinced that failure to meet our reasonable wishes carries a probability of war." On the other hand, Professor Williams, pp. 53, etc., is not at all disposed to assume "the white man's burden." "It is a dangerous thing when any nation undertakes the work of a schoolmaster." "No nation in the past has emerged very creditably from the self-appointed task of instructing another."

While *China and the Far East* is not distinctively a missionary book, its attitude toward missions will be found in general kindly and appreciative. Three papers, "The Opium Problem," "The New Learning of China," and "Conditions Favorable or Otherwise in China's Development," deal with matters with which the missionary today is necessarily concerned. Three papers besides are concerned directly with the missionary enterprise. Harlan Beach's *History of Christian Missions in China* deserves special notice for its recognition, not often so ungrudgingly made, of the benefits conferred upon China by three centuries of Roman missions. There will be dissent no

doubt from his criticism (p. 259) of the respective methods of Protestant and Roman missionaries. But the criticism is not lightly offered. Professor Moore's *The Progress of Religious Education in China* considers a theme which more than any other presented in this volume claims just now the attention of all serious supporters of the missionary enterprise. It should be read and re-read before the book is laid aside. If the government schools have abandoned, for the present at least, the ancient Confucian discipline, surrendering to the Christian schools the monopoly of religious and moral instruction, the missionary opportunity and responsibility in China today have an unmeasurable significance and urgency.

Biographies

To bring oneself into the heart of missionary work and into sympathetic touch with it, nothing is more useful than biographies. We commend to the reader those which are mentioned in the list of recommended books immediately below.

Books Recommended for Supplementary Reading and Reference

Williams. *Middle Kingdom*. 2 vols. New York: Scribner. \$9.00.

Long the standard encyclopedic book on China from the missionary standpoint, and still quite indispensable. Dr. Williams was a missionary in China.

Denby. *China and Her People*. Page. \$3.00.

A readable book giving the impressions which China made upon an intelligent American. Mr. Denby was United States Minister to China from 1885 to 1898.

Broomhall. *The Chinese Empire*. London: Morgan. \$2.50.

An encyclopedic work by one of the missionaries of the China Inland Mission, issued in 1908.

Headland. *Court Life in China*. New York: Revell. \$1.50.

Dr. Headland, a missionary in Peking, knew the late empress dowager. His wife, as interpreter of Mrs. Conger to the empress dowager, and physician to many of the court ladies, gained intimate knowledge of the situation in Peking in the last years of the Manchus.

Gilmour. *Among the Mongols*. New York: Revell. \$1.25.

An extremely interesting book, ranking with the missionary classics; an informing and inspiring record of a unique experience.

Changh Chih Tung. *China's Only Hope*. New York: Revell. \$0.75.

The author was from 1900 to his death in 1910 one of the most influential men in China, being in her last years one of the two councilors of the empress dowager, who died in 1908. This book, issued in Chinese about 1896, in English in 1900, is a call to China to adopt the learning of the West.

Report of Shanghai Conference, 1907.

The transactions of this famous conference offer a first-hand statement not to be found elsewhere of missionary opinion on vital questions.

Gibson. *Mission Problems and Mission Methods in South China*. New York: Revell. \$1.50.

Dr. Gibson is one of the most successful and most thoughtful missionaries in China, and his book gives the reader insight into the tasks and problems of a modern missionary.

Soothill. *A Typical Mission in China*. New York: Revell. \$1.50.

An attractive and trustworthy account of the everyday life of a missionary, with abundant and interesting details.

Guiness. *The Story of the China Island Mission*. New York: Revell. \$1.00.

Written by the daughter of Hudson Taylor, and presenting in an interesting fashion his point of view.

Lewis. *The Educational Conquest of the Far East*. New York: Revell. \$1.25.

Deals with government and missionary education in Japan and China. Written in 1902, it gives a good idea of the old education in China and of the beginnings of the new.

King. *The Educational System of China*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

A brief but scholarly exposition of the new system of education introduced in 1901-1905. Written in 1911, it brings the story down to the revolution.

Burton. *The Education of Women in China*. New York: Revell. \$1.25.

After a brief account of the kind of education which Chinese women received before the western invasion, Miss Burton sketches the use of the new education, both missionary and native, from the first school in 1842 to 1910.

Thompson. *Life of Griffith John, Story of 50 Years in China*. London: Religious Tract Society. 3s. 6d.

Valuable for the picture it offers of missionary conditions in China in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Lovett. *James Gilmour of Mongolia*. New York: Revell. \$1.75.

Speer. *Memorial of Horace Tracy Pitkin*. New York: Revell. \$1.00.

Taylor. *Pastor Hsi, Confucian Scholar and Christian*. China Island Mission. \$1.50.

Wing Yung. *My Life in China and America*. New York: Holt. \$2.50.

A very important contribution to the history of New China, especially valuable for its account of the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States.

Burton. *Notable Women in Modern China*. New York: Revell. \$1.25.

Contains the life-story of six Christian Chinese women, several of them physicians educated in America, but all illustrating both the essential quality of Chinese womanhood and the effect of Christian education.

Questions for Review and Discussion

1. What elements of the situation in China commend the country to you as one in which western Christians ought to be interested? Does the situation make any special appeal to Americans? If so, why?

2. Are Christian missions in China justified? If so, by what considerations?

3. What should be the aim of Christian missions in China? Do you agree with the majority or with the minority of the Edinburgh Commission on Education in their definition of the purpose of missionary education? Would you give the same definition of the purpose of missionary work in general as of education?

4. What forms of missionary work are called for in China? What is the order of their present importance?

5. What are the most important centers of educational work in China and what type of educational work is most important today?

6. Is the tendency to union and co-operation a desirable one? If so, how far ought it to be carried (a) in education; (b) in medical work; (c) in the organization of the Christian church in China?

Part II. Japan

Books Required

Edinburgh Conference Reports, Vol. I, chapter on "Japan," and Vol. III, chapter on "Japan."

Christian Movement in Japan. 1913.

Cary. *History of Protestant Christianity in Japan*, Vol. II.

Books Recommended for Supplementary Reading and Reference

Clement. *Handbook of Modern Japan*. McClurg. \$1.40.

Well described by its title.

Knox. *Japanese Life in Town and Country*. New York: Putnam. \$1.20.

A work by the late Professor Geo. W. Knox, who, after sixteen years as a missionary to Japan and a like period as lecturer and professor in the Union Theological Seminary in New York, died last year in Korea, while on a lecturing tour in oriental countries. The book, written some years ago, is both interesting and instructive.

Mackenzie. *The Unveiled East*. New York: Dutton. \$3.50.

Mackenzie is an Englishman who wrote in 1907 before Korea had been annexed to Japan. His story needs to be supplemented by a record of the more recent events. His chapters on missionary work are instructive.

Weale, B. L. Putnam. *The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia*. New York: Macmillan. \$3.50.

The author, who writes under the pseudonym B. L. Putnam Weale, is an Englishman who was in Peking through the siege of 1900 and has been much in the East since. The present volume is the fourth extended work which he put out between 1903 and 1907 on the Russo-Chino-Japanese situation. In them he gradually shifted from a pro-Japanese to an anti-Japanese position. Chaps. iii and iv should be read by any who are interested in the question whether Japan is likely from a financial point of view to desire soon to go to war.

Gulick. *Evolution of the Japanese, Social and Psychic*. New York: Revell. \$2.00.

A collection of addresses brought into unity by the common aim of a sympathetic interpretation of the characteristics of the modern Japanese. The discussions take a wide range. Very informing and readable.

Nitobe. *The Japanese Nation*. New York: Putnam. \$1.50 net.

The most recent of the books in this list. Professor Inazo Nitobe is a Christian man who holds a high place in the governmental educational system. His book intended mainly to convince Americans of the sincerity and honorable intentions of his nation is full of information generally interesting. Those who read Mackenzie and Weale should also read Nitobe.

Nitobe. *Bushido, The Soul of Japan*. New York: Putnam. \$1.25.

A most interesting book in which the gifted author first sets forth the moral ideals of the Old Samurai sympathetically from the point of a Japanese, and then points out its inadequacy.

Clement. *Christianity in Modern Japan*. Am. Baptist Pub. Society. \$1.00.

This is a general survey of Christian Missions, Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant, since 1853.

Griffis. *The Mikado's Empire*. New York: Harper. \$4.00.

Does for Japan what *The Middle Kingdom* does for China. An indispensable book, if not always easy reading.

Griffis. *Verbeck of Japan*. New York: Revell. \$1.50.

A standard biography in missionary literature, the picture of a unique man in unique environment.

Davis. *Joseph Hardy Neesima—A Maker of New Japan*. New York: Revell.

A brief, readable account of a great man. No student of Japan should neglect this important book.

Griffis. *Korea, The Hermit Nation*.

Underwood. *The Call of Korea*.

Jones, J. H. *Korea, The Land, the People, the Customs*.

Mrs. Underwood. *Fifteen Years among the Topknots*.

The four books last named, all but the first by missionaries in Korea, may well supplement the views of that country given in Weale and Mackenzie.

The General Situation

In turning from China to Japan one encounters many contrasts. Instead of a population estimated at 400,000,000 in China, Japan proper has about 50,000,000 and including Korea and Formosa 65,000,000. Instead of a country which with present facilities of travel it requires six weeks to cross, one is in a land of well-built and well-operated railroads with which one can traverse the country, from one end to the other, in forty-eight hours. Instead of a country which, just emerging from a political revolution and only a little more than a decade removed from an even more significant revolution of thought and ideals, is in the process of remaking its political organization, its finance, its education, and its social institutions,

one finds in Japan a strong and well-organized government occupying an assured place among the governments of the world, a thorough and complete system of schools, a people conscious of their own strength and confident of their own destiny. Yet much of all this is very recent. Only a little over fifty years ago Japan was more tightly closed against the outside world than China was in 1895. And less than fifty years ago (in 1868) the emperor, who has died within a year, recovered the imperial power which for centuries his ancestors and predecessors on the throne had held only in name, while the real power was in the hands of the Shoguns. Japan, with a history reaching back to pre-Christian times, is in spirit one of the most youthful nations in the world. Limited in territory, separated from the continent of Asia as Great Britain is from that of Europe, Japan has often and appropriately been compared with England. How matters will stand when China has been fifty years a member of the great world-wide family of nations is difficult to predict, but today Japan is the most vigorous force among the peoples of the Eastern hemisphere—the little giant of the East, the Great Britain of the Orient. No student of world-history, no lover of his race, can ignore Japan. Her own future is of vast importance; her influence on the future of other nations may be of greater significance.

The *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1912, will be of great service in gaining a knowledge of the present condition of affairs, though the volume was issued too late to make mention of the death of the emperor Mutsuhito or the

return of Prince Katsura to power (cf. p. 6), or, of course, his subsequent resignation, none of which events, however, suffices to disturb the stability of Japan's government.

First of course, let the General Survey both of foreign and of domestic affairs be read. It is good to find that the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance appears to Christian opinion in Japan a step forward in the world-wide peace movement. Attention should be given in this connection to chap. iii, "Recent Developments of the Peace Movement in Japan," from which it appears that the peace sentiment in Japan is really much stronger than our newspapers are always willing to admit.

The short statement covering the budget on p. 9 suggests both the heavy burden which Japan still carries as the sequel of her wars of 1895 and 1905, and the prudence with which her finances are handled. One of the most significant events of recent history from the point of view of the progress of Christianity is that referred to on pp. 11-17. The various other matters discussed on pp. 17-43 will all illustrate how closely Japan is in touch with western nations and shares their problems.

Those who desire to inform themselves more fully respecting present-day conditions in Japan are referred to the works of Clement (*Handbook*), Knox, Nitobe (*Japanese Nation*), Weale, named above in the list of books recommended. It would be well also to read the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, Vol. I, pp. 50-80.

Korea (or Chosen as its new name is) and Formosa, though so recently acquired, and so separate geographi-

cally and racially as not usually to be thought of as parts of Japan, are politically integral elements of the Japanese Empire. Formosa belonged to China till 1895, when it fell to Japan as the result of the war of that year. Nearly seven-eighths of the population are Chinese. Japan's acquisition of Korea was the outcome of a series of events which, beginning in 1904 with a protocol between the two countries, culminated in the proclamation of 1910 incorporating Korea in Japan under the name of Chosen. Korea, which was already bilingual, is now becoming trilingual.

Religion

The constitution of Japan guarantees religious liberty. There is, therefore, strictly speaking, no state religion. Yet Shintoism is in a sense the national religion. It is indigenous to Japan and its origin is lost in antiquity. It is a combination of ancestor-worship and nature-worship. Its supreme deity is the sun-goddess from whom the emperor is held to be descended. It has numerous beautiful temples throughout Japan, in which there are shrines and priests, but no idols, no altar, and no sacrifice. It has no sacred books. It teaches no dogma and little or no ethics. According to Viscount Suematsu, the essential notion of its ethics is cleanliness of conscience and its ideals of conduct are honesty and straightforwardness. According to Professor B. H. Chamberlain, the sum of its theory of human duty is "follow your natural impulses and obey the Mikado's decrees." By some, Shintoism is regarded rather as a cult of Japanese patriotism than as a religion in the proper sense. At the head-

quarters of Shinto in the province of Ise it was recently declared that Shintoism is "an association to perpetuate the memory of Japan's single line of emperors and to foster the principles of Japanese patriotism." It is not impossible that in the course of time under the influence of modern ideas the worship of deities may disappear and that of deified human beings become rather an act of respect than of worship in the strictly religious sense. In that case Shintoism might survive as the cult of patriotism only. As yet it seems necessary to reckon it among religions.

Buddhism was introduced into Japan from China by way of Korea in the sixth century, A.D. But while in Korea it has almost ceased to exist and in China it is decadent, in Japan it still flourishes in full vigor. Combined for a time with Shintoism, it has been formally separated since the Buddhist priests were expelled from Shinto temples at the time of the Restoration in 1868. But the two religions are still combined in the sense that many of the common people are as much Shintoists as Buddhists, and vice versa. Of late years, under the stimulus of Christianity, Buddhism has taken on new vigor. Having adopted from Christianity its missionary methods and to some extent its ideas, it is now contending with Christianity for the leadership of Japanese religious thought and life. Buddhism has today in Japan not only its temples, idols, sacred books, and imposing ritual, but its schools of theology, its preachers, and its propaganda. Like Hinduism in India it combats Christianity while endeavoring to absorb and assimilate what it regards

as the essential features of Christianity. It is said to be a common contention of the Buddhist priests that Buddhism is the religion of wisdom, Christianity that of love, and there is no reason why the two should not be combined. The combination would, however, from their point of view be Buddhism and not Christianity. Buddhism has largely vanished from India, China, and Korea. It is still strong in Ceylon, Burma, Thibet. But Japan is today its chief stronghold. Japanese Buddhism is divided into six principal sects, themselves divided into sub-sects numbering 36 in all. Its weakness is its low morality, its extreme individualism, and the absence of any strong motive to noble action.

The Confucian moral philosophy was introduced into Japan toward the close of the sixteenth century, and from the seventeenth century on, study of the Chinese classics formed an important part of the education of the Samurai and in this way exerted an important influence on the moral ideas of the Japanese. The Bushido, the code of morals of the Samurai, which made loyalty and unlimited devotion to the emperor cardinal virtues, was itself largely influenced by Confucianism. Yet Confucianism as such has never held the place of importance in Japan that it has had in China.

See further, Nitobe, *Bushido*, and chap. vii in *The Japanese Nation*.

When the Protestant missionaries entered Korea about thirty years ago they found a people almost without religion except ancestor-worship and a superstitious fear of demons. Buddhism had been powerful in past days: indeed

Japanese Buddhism came from Korea; and the few educated Koreans were familiar with the Chinese classics. But Buddhism had lost its power and Confucianism had little influence even over the upper classes. Today practically the only religion of the country worthy to be called a religion at all is Christianity. It is a notable fact that while in 1909 Protestant Christianity had been at work in Korea only about half as long as in Japan and a quarter as long as in China, there were in Korea, in proportion to the population, five times as many members of Protestant Christian churches as in Japan and more than ten times as many as in China. If one compares adherents instead of communicants, the contrast is even more striking, there being, relatively to population, nine times as many in Korea as in Japan and fifteen times as many as in China. This disparity of numbers is probably fully as great now as in 1909. On the situation in Korea today, see *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1912, chap. xxii. On the trial of Christians for conspiring to kill the Governor-General, see *Literary Digest* for January 25, 1913, p. 1801.

History of Missions in Japan

The three hundred and fifty pages of Dr. Cary's *History of Protestant Christianity in Japan* make a rather formidable demand upon the reader. But, upon trial, the book is easily manageable. Its arrangement is simple, its style clear, its material interesting and authentic. Dr. Cary went to Japan in 1879 and has been himself a part of much that he narrates. The table of contents with appended dates offers an outline of the

history which can easily be mastered and held in mind. The reader will find a serviceable index and map.

Four plainly marked characteristics of Protestant Christianity in Japan may be traced through the course of this history: (a) the early acceptance of Christianity by Japanese of the higher class; (b) the dissatisfaction of Japanese Christians from the beginning with occidental denominationalism; (c) the anti-theological or anti-dogmatic spirit of the Japanese churches, as shown in the frequent revision or rejection outright of the accepted doctrinal statements of western Christianity; (d) the importance attached to the institutional aspect of religion as shown by the proposals seriously made from time to time that Christianity with various modifications should be adopted as the official religion of the state.

Dr. Cary, in his Preface, disclaims all desire to philosophize and bids "him who reads draw his own lessons from the story." Certain "lessons" lie very near the surface. It is easy in reading missionary reports to make too much of statistics of "accessions" and "conversions" as an indication of the conquests made by the Christian propaganda. Twenty years ago there were predictions here at home of the speedy arrival of a "Japanese Constantine." Seventeen years more—why just seventeen years is not plain—and Japan would have become a Christian nation. Further, the ancient assumption, only recently subjected to a serious scrutiny, that occidental Christianity must be duplicated on the foreign field should receive from this narrative its death blow. And lastly, the story of missions,

both in China and in Japan, reminds us of the immense opportunities of the largest service that this enterprise offers. We are still talking of missions as though they were merely a matter of the evangelization of heathen communities, and the faithful carrying-out of board policies and programs, forgetting that it has won its victories in

the past because in the Providence of God there have never been wanting to it men of rich intellectual and spiritual gifts, magnanimous, sagacious, courageous, willing with all their hearts to drudge when drudgery is required, but competent also to meet extraordinary emergencies and to direct the large affairs of the kingdom of God.

[This discussion will be continued in April "Biblical World"]

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

Every month from October to June there will be presented in this department of the BIBLICAL WORLD suggestions to leaders of Bible Classes, desiring to use as a basis for class work either the outline Bible-study course on "THE LIFE OF CHRIST" prepared by ERNEST D. BURTON, or that on "THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST" by WILLIAM R. HARPER. Suggestions are prepared by GEORGIA LOUISE CHAMBERLIN, Secretary of the Reading and Library Department of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, who will be glad to consider any questions which club leaders may choose to address to the INSTITUTE.

The Life of Christ¹

The leader of the class must look forward in his textbook over at least fifteen sections in advance of the necessary limits of the portion of the life of Jesus to be covered this month. We are now beginning the study of that momentous journey of Jesus to Jerusalem which, although accomplished by stages and interrupted by retirement from the city, finally gave to his enemies the long-sought opportunity to put him to death. Impelled by we know not what great motive, whether a feeling that if he must die, he would seek the spot where he might be at the center of the national life and reach the greatest number with his last warnings; or perhaps in the consciousness of his great mission, feeling a sense of the poetic justice of dying in that

holy city, where the prophets before him had struggled for a hearing and lost, we do not know. Certain it is from Jesus' own words that in setting his face toward Jerusalem, he was facing death, not only for himself, but possibly for his disciples.

Every event, every discourse in this period should be considered therefore with the situation vividly in mind. If a former teaching of Jesus reappears here, it may be that it is for the last time. If his teaching be new, its force is enhanced by the feeling that it was expressed under the pressure of necessity of "working while the day lasted, for the night in which no man could work" was rapidly coming.

In view of this situation, the work should be presented as one great event, the journey

¹The textbook for this course is *The Life of Christ*, by Ernest D. Burton; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

with each section an incident relating to the whole, rather than as a series of equally important events.

Program I

Leader: Brief résumé of the situation and possible reasons for Jesus' desire to seek Jerusalem.

Members of the class: (1) The "advance guard" of Seventy and their work. (2) The story of the Good Samaritan as a teaching story. (3) The Bethany home. (4) The controversies with the Pharisees.

Subject for discussion: Could Jesus have been true to his mission, and at the same time more politic in his dealing with the Pharisees at this time?

Program II

Leader: Jesus in his use of prayer and his teaching concerning it.

Members of the class: (1) Evidences of Jesus' appreciation and enjoyment of nature.

(2) The dinner-table conversation arranged as a dialogue. (3) The story of the two sons and its lesson to those who heard it from the lips of Jesus. (4) An analysis of Jesus' attitude toward riches and those who possessed them.

Subject for discussion: Did Jesus teach irresponsibility concerning the future?

REFERENCE READING

Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, II, pp. 126-264; Stalker, *The Life of Christ*, pp. 167-70; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, pp. 293-423; Gilbert, *The Student-Life of Jesus*, chap. xiv; Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. xliii-xliv; Rhees, *The Life of Jesus*, Part II, chap. v; Burton and Mathews, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. xxi-xxiv; Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus*, chaps. xii-xiii; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Book VI, chaps. i-v.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* and *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* for special articles.

The Foreshadowings of the Christ¹

Events of stirring political and religious significance form the background for the study of the month. Merely to enumerate them is to feel the thrill of their movement. The sudden rise to prominence of the rude Scythians of the north brought them, with devastating power in their greed for the conquest of Egypt, into the territory of Israel. The crowning of King Josiah, followed by his sweeping reformation and, soon after, his sudden death, brought perplexity and consternation. The centralization of worship at Jerusalem, which was a fundamental principle of Josiah's reform, gave a newly acquired importance to the temple, and to the city of Jerusalem as the special habitat of Jehovah. The persistent warnings of Jeremiah, through fifty years of alternating hope and despair, drove the people either to

devotion or to madness and indifference. Finally the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, ending in the siege and capture of Jerusalem, brought a final note to the history of the ancient city, which in the light of Jehovah's promises was as difficult for the devout as for the skeptical to understand. There was no lack of picturesqueness in the external events of this period. The thoughtful teacher will, however, go below these more spectacular features, and consider the religious tragedy which lay behind. He will not easily forget, nor overlook in his presentations, the religious interpretation of the events of life which was the striking characteristic of Hebrew thought. The Scythians represented to them the scourging wrath of Jehovah. Having been swept into wholesale repentance by the finding of the great

¹The textbook for this course is *The Foreshadowings of the Christ*, by William Rainey Harper; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

law book, and congratulating themselves upon the deserved favor of Jehovah in the reign of their good king Josiah, they are plunged into despair and skeptical unbelief at the unexpected catastrophe of the death of Josiah. They repudiated his reformatory and the prophet who had championed it. The nation hurled itself into a period of idolatry unprecedented in its history. Uncertain, wavering, anxious on the one hand, and frivolous and pleasure-seeking on the other, the city was unprepared for the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar. The capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar and the importation of the citizens of Babylon struck the final blow to the religion of the vast majority, and left the faithful few to work out in a foreign land the problem of Jehovah's omnipresent and omniscient power.

Care should be taken to divide the work in such a way as to make it unnecessary to present too much of this vast picture at one time. Let each great change stand out clearly.

Program I

Leader: The Scythians: Their character and their conquest.

Members of the class: (1) Jeremiah's interpretation of the Scythian invasions. (2) King Josiah and the Reformation. (3) The main principles of the book of Deuteronomy and their significance; that is: one God, one place of worship, one priesthood. (4) The death of Josiah and the disastrous

consequences. (5) A reading of the Book of Habakkuk in dialogue form.

Subject for discussion: Was Josiah's reformation genuine or superficial?

Program II

Leader: Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, his dominion and ambitions; his policy as a conqueror.

Members of the class: (1) Some symbolic acts of Jeremiah. (2) Jeremiah's character as illustrated in his relations with the king. (3) Jeremiah's comforting messages to the faithful. (4) The characteristics of the messianic times as pictured by Jeremiah. (5) The fall of Jerusalem.

Subject for discussion: In what respects was Jeremiah different from a reformer in modern times?

REFERENCE READING

Kent, *The History of the Hebrews*, II, pp. 167-204; Wade, *Old Testament History*, pp. 375-89; Smith, *Old Testament History*, chap. xiv; Kent, *Historical Bible*, III, pp. 192-254; Chamberlin, *Hebrew Prophets*, chap. xi; Sanders and Kent, *Messages of the Earlier Prophets*, pp. 187-293; Goodspeed, *Israel's Messianic Hope*, chap. vi; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, chap. viii; Driver, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*; volumes on Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* and the *Century Bible*.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, one-volume and four-volume editions, for special articles.

CURRENT OPINION

The New Spiritual Atmosphere in France

A more bracing moral and religious tone is evident in France, according to Professor Ernest Dimnet, of the College Stanislaus, Paris, who publishes an interesting study of contemporary French conditions in the January *Atlantic*, under the title "Syndicalism and Its Philosophy." This new spiritual atmosphere is directly due to the national reaction against the violence and excesses of the more radical Socialists. In France, as elsewhere, the Socialist party is divided into two camps, the Opportunists, who stand for piecemeal reform, and the Revolutionaries, who demand the confiscation of capital for the benefit of the working class. The party upheaval has gone so far of late that there has been a tendency to confine the term "Socialist" to the piecemeal reformers, while the more violent left wing has been isolated under the name of "Syndicalism." The Syndicalist movement looks forward to a kind of millennial "Great Strike," whereby the world is to be turned upside down. The rights of the laboring class were not secured by the French Revolution, which merely enfranchised the "Third Estate," or bourgeois capitalist class, and left the working people without legal recognition. And while the workers acquired political rights in the century following the Revolution, they never learned to use the ballot in their own class-interest. As a consequence, the Socialist deputies and Cabinet officials, while nominally representing the labor element, have been unconsciously assimilated with the bourgeois politicians, and have lost the respect of the extreme radicals. The logical result of this condition is French Syndicalism, which, going off at a tangent, repudiates "political action" as a working-class measure, and advocates violence and

the universal strike, supplementing the eighteenth-century cataclysm by a new Revolution. The organized attempt to put this view into practice has led to the moral reaction which M. Dimnet reports. The professor thinks the future of France will be controlled in the interests of a saner policy of "Reformism," which will steer between the extremes of bourgeois conservatism and working-class revolution.

The Present Position of New Testament Theology

In the *Harvard Theological Review* for January, Professor E. F. Scott discusses the above subject under the three aspects: (1) the results of New Testament study in relation to New Testament theology; (2) typical New Testament theologies of today represented by H. Weinel and Paul Feine; and (3) the problems still awaiting solution. Leaving out the second in this brief notice, a few words may be said on the first and third. The writer points out that the documents external to the New Testament but illustrative of its thought, as the apocalyptic, rabbinical, and Philonic literatures, the Greek thought and ideas, and, of late, the oriental religions, have made many contributions. The literary criticism of the New Testament has indicated certain principles on the basis of which the Synoptic Gospels may be used, and the Book of Acts can be counted on as a historical source. And the separate aspects, too, of the New Testament thought have recently appeared in the form of monographs and commentaries which are valuable. These have thrown much light on the investigation of New Testament theology. But Professor Scott thinks that there is much yet to be done for the better comprehension of the New Testament theology. The following elements need to be more thoroughly

studied: (1) While all scholars are agreed that the thought of Jesus contained a large apocalyptic element, yet its precise nature needs to be determined. (2) The beliefs of the early community and their connection to Jesus' message of the kingdom should be more fully ascertained. (3) In place of the present fragmentary condition of the Pauline thought, there should be a truly systematic presentation of it. (4) The doctrine of the Spirit in its bearing on the life and thought of the early church needs to be treated. (5) A more careful investigation as to the history of the apocalyptic ideas of the early church ought to be made. (6) The christological problem remains to be solved. Altogether there seems to be much work for the New Testament scholar.

The Church and the Age

In the *Hartford Seminary Record* for October, under the title "The Spirit of the Age and the Christian Church," President W. D. Mackenzie makes a brief estimate of the religious atmosphere today. He finds that the church is conditioned by three fundamental principles in which the spirit of the age takes form. The first of these is the principle of freedom, which has worked its way through politics and industry, and now operates with tremendous intensity in the field of religion. Removal of state control over the religious thought and practice of the citizen has led to multiplication of sects on the one hand, and to denial of all religion on the other. The second fundamental is the principle of objectivity, which appears in the worship of fact. This finds expression in the modern scientific crusade, which has worked its way through the physical and biological sciences into history, and now attempts to give an evolutionary account of the Bible and the Hebrew religion. The third ruling consideration is the principle of utility. The idea of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" has worked its way through the realms of secular

thought, and now invades the fields of religious doctrine and practical church work, transferring the center of theological emphasis from heaven to earth and from God to man. Eschatology grows vague, and sociology becomes more definite. In conclusion, the writer expresses himself as follows:

This is the air we breathe today in religious thought. "Freedom" seems to give every man the right to think as he will; "objectivity" seems to guide him to the lower theory of evolution (Darwinian and Spencerian in principle even when it talks in Christian sentiment); "utility" seems to compel him to answer all questions with a form of words which shall have an immediate bearing upon human experience on its visible, social, and earthly side. It is a confused atmosphere. Objective standards are openly disowned. The thought of the past is past and done with. Whence the correctives are to arise it may be hard to say. But no doubt the eternal voice of conscience and the persistent, unquenchable laws of reason will gradually assert themselves. For in the spirit of man there still resides that power which can lay hold of truth, and catch glimpses of the very life of an unchanging God. And in the persistent life of the church these treasures of truth are securely held and will shine out again.

Welcome to a New Contemporary!

The first number of the *Bible Magazine* appeared January 1. It is edited by Wilbert W. White of the Bible Teachers Training School and is the successor of the *Bible Record* formerly published by that school. It is of attractive appearance and promises to be of service to the conservative anti-critical student of the Scriptures.

The general policy of the editor can be seen from the quotation from the editorial statement:

Wherever men agree on (1) the transcendence of the person of Christ, i.e., the virgin birth, (2) the atonement, and (3) the resurrection, as taught in the Scriptures, there should be mutual trustfulness and the heartiest and most complete co-operation. The Christian world must soon recognize a new alignment which will

be determined, not by sectarian borders nor always by such critical differences as lie in the suburbs of Christian thought, but by the presence or absence of loyalty to primitive, apostolic Christianity.

May we not hope that present-day aggressive Christianity may soon "develop a center with its right and left wings disjointable from necessary connection with the extremes of right and left," and that this center will conspicuously combine the right spirit, the correct method, and healthful teaching.

There is a demand for the toleration of differences on the part of all who find themselves not extreme, and of united thought and effort in propagating the fundamentals of the Christian faith.

"Epictetus and the New Testament"

There has recently appeared in Germany a book bearing this title by Adolf Bonhöffer. A comparison of primitive Christian ethics with the Stoic ethics of the contemporary period is of much interest and importance for understanding the success which primitive Christianity had in the Graeco-Roman world. It is not that the New Testament borrowed from Stoic ethics or that Stoic ethics borrowed from the New Testament, but that both the Jewish and the Hellenistic world were seeking a higher ideal and a higher achievement in the moral life. The German book is reviewed at length in the *Expository Times* for October by Professor H. A. A. Kennedy of Edinburgh. He regards the book as a model of scholarly investigation and as revealing a sanity of judgment that establishes confidence in the work. The author is one of the foremost students of Stoicism. The opening sections of the book present the refutation of the theories of Zahn and Kuiper as to the dependence of Epictetus on the New Testament. The main portion of the book makes a detailed comparison of the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, which are similar to those of Epictetus, and which might be indebted to him. This includes an extended com-

parison of the vocabularies of the two groups of writings. Bonhöffer's conclusions may be stated in this way: Epictetus may be said to approximate to the New Testament in his genuine theism, his vital association of religion and morality, his optimistic and realistic view of life, and that ethical earnestness which is the result of such a view. The difference between Christianity and Stoicism is essentially that Stoicism is philosophy while Christianity is revelation. In Stoicism self-sufficiency came to be the fundamental principle and it was to be superseded by Christianity primarily because it was unable to ethicize the masses.

A Criticism of Bergson

Bergson's philosophic notion of change "obscures . . . common sense," says T. J. Gerrard in the January *Catholic World*. "It is a radical confusion of thought," he continues, and violates that dictate of common knowledge, "namely, that what has reality, is." This error on the part of Bergson is given rise to by "an exaggerated subjectivism which underestimates the use of the intellect, and is known as Bergson's intuitive method."

The Lesson of the Unrighteous Steward

In the *Expository Times* for January an interpretation of the parable of the Unrighteous Steward is furnished by Mr. Frederick Beames. The lesson which it teaches is: That to do your duty faithfully is the first though the least step toward righteousness. Men are to strive after the will of God in all things instead of gaining wealth. The point of the parable is to be found in the two words "mammon" and "unrighteousness." Mammon is the pursuit of gain, either as the profits of trade or as the interest of the usurer, while unrighteousness is evading the spirit of the law by ingenious juggling of the letter. To gain his master's favor and the approbation of

other traders, the steward showed energy, skill, and keenness. Men should be as energetic in the pursuit of righteousness as they are in the pursuit of profit. The steward was unrighteous not only as a trader but also as a servant. He did his duty toward his master only when he had something to gain by it. Faithfulness and honesty are the least part of a righteous man's equipment, for if he cannot be faithful in the performance of his duty, he cannot even begin to pursue righteousness.

More Evidence (?) of a Jesus-God Cult

The *Open Court* for December, 1912, contains an article on "The Kindred of Jesus and the Babylon of Revelation," by W. B. Smith, in which the author seeks to prove, in support of his theory of the Jesus-cult, that all mention in the gospels of relatives of Jesus are but veiled ways of referring to the Jewish people. The Jesus-cult is epitomized in an ideal Jesus and the Jews are epitomized as the "brethren," "mother," and other relatives mentioned by the New Testament. To prove this point, the author interprets the "Babylon" of Revelation as idol-worship as opposed to monotheism.

Is this history or imagination?

A Call for Fraternity in Labor Disputes

"Labor Unrest: Its Cure" is the title of an article in the *Westminster Review* for November which claims that co-operation between employer and employed is the key to the industrial situation in England. The article is written by Griffith Jones. He is firmly convinced that mere commercialism will never solve the labor problem. He says: "If the master seeks to best the workman, and the workman, the master, then there is nothing for it but war." He is, however, as firmly convinced that the

existing difficulties can be settled. He would do this by "co-operation between capital and labor," the result of which will be the engendering of a bond of attachment and union between workmen and master. This co-operation would manifest itself on the part of the master by his allowing the employee to share in the profits of the business, a practice now followed by a number of British concerns with great success. Evidently the church has an opportunity to inculcate the spirit of sacrifice. For without it the cleverest economic devices will fail.

Christianity and the Historical Christ

Professor James Denny, in the *Expositor* for January, under the above title, treats of a modern theological tendency and gives his conception of the relation of Christianity to the historical Christ. A little while ago there was the cry: Return to Christ. Many theologians have responded to the call. But in the attempt to ascertain the Christ of history they have come to feel that a merely historical Christ is too remote from us; that a historical person could not be known with certainty; and that historical reality is relative. So they consider Christianity as independent of the Christ of history, and deprive Christianity of its historical concreteness and vividness. Against this tendency, the writer urges his view that Christianity is bound up with the historical Christ on the ground that he is the Son of God showing the ideal filial relationship, that he is the Savior of sinners, and that he is the Lord. These three facts constitute the eternal datum of Christianity. Whatever one thinks of Professor Denny's interpretation of the relation, he cannot but feel the validity of the author's contention that Christianity is a historical religion, and that it should not be turned into a general philosophy of religion.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

FOREIGN MISSIONS

Missionary Statistics

The *Missionary Review of the World* for January gives some intensely interesting statistics that not only indicate the activity of the Protestant denomination on the foreign field but the results accomplished. In the field there are 24,092 missionaries, including wives of missionaries, and 111,862 native workers. Their work covers 15,936 organized churches with a total membership of 2,644,170.

The Southern Baptists are fostering a live religious campaign in Bahia, Brazil. During the year just passed the missionary in charge reported 851 baptisms and 200 more converts preparing for baptism.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has appropriated \$54,278 for its work in Italy during the coming year.

A recent missionary census shows that there are 180 Protestant Evangelical churches on the Island of Porto Rico. In view of the short time that Protestant missionary activities have been in vogue, this is a splendid showing.

It has been nearly one hundred years since Rev. Adoniram Judson became the pioneer on the mission field of Burma. In that period, however, the Christian work has spread with remarkable rapidity when one stops to consider the tremendous odds against which Judson and his successors contended. A recent report from the Burmese field shows that there are over 64,000 church communicants, and in addition after an uphill struggle there are over 25,000 Sunday-school students. Judson was not the only one who labored with odds against him. The same or similar problems confronted the spread of the Christian propaganda in India. Word from that field shows that there are now 1,442,000 com-

municants as a result of the labors of Protestant missionaries, while the Catholic church membership is only about 60,000 less.

When one reads these figures, the fact is quickly borne home that a large sum of money is absolutely necessary for the advancement of the Protestant Christian propaganda in the mission fields. At the close of 1912 there were 24,092 missionaries in active service. This figure represents a constituency of 2,644,170 believers. The cost of maintenance for the fiscal year just closed was \$30,404,401. This is less than \$12 per capita for each member. With these figures before one it is needless to say that more money is needed on the foreign field.

Is Japan Persecuting Christians in Korea?

Under the above title, Mr. George Kennan, in the *Outlook* for December 14, 1912, gives a fair treatment of the recent conspiracy case in Korea. After giving a historical account of the matter, he considers the following questions: Were the prisoners tortured? Did they have a fair trial? Is the Japanese government hostile to Christian missions and Christian work in the Korean peninsula? The first question, he thinks, is difficult to be decided without further investigation, because trustworthy evidences are lacking. As to the second, the writer considers that the Koreans received just as fair a trial as any Japanese would receive in a similar case. With regard to the last, Mr. Kennan points out that under the successive governors-general—Prince Ito, Viscount Sone, and Viscount Terauchi—the Christian work in Korea received not only a sympathetic recogni-

tion but also material encouragement and assistance. He holds that the present trial is not an indication of any hostile attitude on the part of the Japanese government, but, on the contrary, that it shows a precautionary measure of the government to protect itself, its servants, and the people in general. "This is not an attack on Christianity and Christian missionaries. It is merely an attempt to restrain the seditious activity that has recently taken the form to assassinate."

The Dangerous Reflex of Mohammedanism

Rev. W. A. Shedd writes on "The Influence of Mohammedan Environment on the Missionary" in the *Moslem World* for January. The influences described by the writer are said to grow out of the character of Mohammed and the nature of the religion he founded. Contact with these influences is said to have a tendency to lead the missionary to: (1) compromise, as the life of the Mohammedan is modeled after that of the prophet, whose career was a mixture of both good and evil; (2) loss of intellectual integrity, owing to the loose habits of thinking with which he comes into contact, such as the use of analogy and imagination in place of proof and argument; (3) a flagging of evangelistic zeal, in view of the fatalistic tendency of Mohammedanism and the temptation to put too much stress upon schools and hospitals; (4) the use of unspiritual means for propagating faith, such as social pressure, etc.; and the assumption of an attitude of intolerance to Islam, in imitation of the intolerance of Islam itself.

President Eliot on Unitarian Lack of Missionary Zeal

President Emeritus Eliot of Harvard, according to the report of an address by him in the *Universalist Leader*, Boston, is much concerned over what he considers a lost opportunity on the part of the Unitarian church to enter the foreign mission field.

The address was delivered by him at a recent meeting in Boston of the Unitarian, Universalist, and Congregational ministers. He is reported to have claimed that it is utterly impossible for the intellectually honest mind of the Oriental to accept the old and mysterious doctrines and cruel dogmas of orthodoxy as an excuse for the genuine need of religious light. The Unitarian faith, having none of this, he holds to be well fitted to meet the situation. But the church failed to act at the psychological moment in such a way as to accomplish all that could have been accomplished, and, as a result, lost a great opportunity.

Scientific Missions

"A Modern Mission Policy" is the title of an article by Rev. C. E. Patton in the November *Chinese Recorder*, in which a successful present-day missionary procedure, as actually worked out on the field, is described. The author states the problem thus: "Given a large field [in Southeastern China], six districts, or *yins*, a population of 1,500,000, six walled cities, 160 market towns, and villages countless, spread over the territory drained by a single river system, how shall it be developed?" In the language of the writer, the answer is: (1) "Build up a central model church and church service at the prefectural city . . . a center for training courses and conferences." (2) "Open chapels at strategic centers throughout the field." (3) "Follow the natural development of the local church by the organization into local groups of all Christians for Sunday service and Bible-study under local leadership, with supervision by the trained preacher and foreigner."

Missionary Progress in Brief

Y. Inouye, a Japanese, has been engaged by the Railroad Department of the International Y.M.C.A. to be a friend and guide to the 6,000 Japanese employed on the various railroads of the West, especially the Union Pacific. His headquarters will be at Cheyenne, Wyo.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Advances in the Sunday-School World

At the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations in its third annual meeting at Dayton, Ohio, the following actions of general interest were taken:

The Committee on Lesson Courses and that on Reference and Counsel were by constitutional provision made permanent. The latter committee (on Reference and Counsel) will consider the relationship of the council to other existing Sunday-school agencies and will confer with representatives of such agencies on all matters requiring co-operation or adjustment.

The report of the Committee on Lesson Courses suggests certain definite restrictions in the functions of the present International Lesson Committee, limiting the work of that committee to the completion of the present cycle of uniform lessons and the present series of graded lessons through the Senior department. All new cycles of uniform lessons as well as all modifications of present graded courses are to be undertaken by the International Lesson Committee only in conjunction with the Sunday School Council Committee on Courses of Study. The report further requests that the relation of the British section to the American section of the International Lesson Committee be an advisory relation only. The Sunday School Council Committee purposes addressing itself to the problem of better lesson courses for Sunday schools in foreign mission fields and courses of religious instruction for foreigners coming to this country.

Regarding the relation of the Sunday School Council to other interdenominational Sunday-school agencies, the secretary's report took cognizance of the recent action of the Federal Council of Churches authorizing the appointment of a Commission on Religious Education, and of the probable early necessity of a close co-ordination be-

tween the work of the Sunday School Council and the work of this new commission. This item in the secretary's report was, with other matters, referred to the standing Committee on Reference and Counsel. Regarding the request of the International Sunday School Association that the highest legislative body of each denomination nominate its representatives upon the International Lesson Committee, the Sunday School Council, by formal vote, resolved: "That it is our judgment that for the present no action be taken by the denominations or conventions in regard to the nomination of members on the International Lesson Committee."

The Committee on Reference and Counsel was authorized to prepare a map of the United States indicating the location of denominational and interdenominational (American Sunday School Union) Sunday-school missionaries and field workers. This distribution of workers together with additional data relating to density and character of population is to be tabulated as a basis for possible adjustments between the various denominations themselves and between these denominations jointly and the interdenominational agencies now engaged in the work of Sunday-school extension.

An annual survey of denominational Sunday-school activities and progress including a new type of vital educational statistics was authorized by the council.

The officers of the council for the ensuing year are: President, R. Douglas Fraser, D.D., Toronto; Vice-President, Edgar Blake, D.D., Chicago; Secretary, Henry H. Meyer, D.D., New York; Treasurer, Mr. D. M. Smith, Nashville; chairmen of sections and committees: Editorial Section, I. J. Van Ness, D.D., Nashville; Educational and Extension Section, B. S. Winchester, Ph.D., Boston; Publication Section, Luther H. Cary, Boston; Committee on

Lesson Courses, J. T. McFarland, D.D., New York; Committee on Reference and Counsel, A. J. Rowland, D.D., Philadelphia.

Model Standards for Sunday Schools as Adopted by the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations and the Executive Committee of the International Sunday School Association, Dayton, Ohio, January 20-24, 1913

One of the greatest advances ever made by the Sunday-school world was the unanimous action of two great bodies, representing fifteen million Sunday-school workers on the continent of North America, in adopting the following document:

1. That the International Sunday School Association and the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations recognize it to be the right and responsibility of each denomination to determine standards for its own Sunday schools.

2. That the International, State, and Provincial Associations be requested to promote denominational standards in denominational schools.

3. That all Sunday schools meeting the requirements of their denominations be known as standard schools.

4. That standard schools meeting the requirements of the State and Provincial Associations, in addition to their denominational requirements, be known as international standard schools.

5. That no denominational school shall be recognized as a standard school or as an international standard school, until it has conformed to the standard of its denomination.

6. That the Sunday School Council and the International Sunday School Association jointly prepare and issue a leaflet for use by the International, State, and Provincial Associations,

giving in full the Sunday-school standards of each denomination.

7. That all denominations be urged to adopt Sunday-school standards.

8. That each denomination be urged to include at least the following points in its requirements for a standard school:

- (1) Cradle Roll.
- (2) Home Department.
- (3) Organized Bible Classes in Secondary and Adult Divisions.
- (4) Teacher Training.
- (5) Graded Organization and Instruction.
- (6) Missionary Instruction and Offering.
- (7) Temperance Instruction.
- (8) Definite Decision for Christ Urged.
- (9) Offerings for Denominational Sunday-school work.
- (10) Workers' Conferences regularly held.

(The above ten points are the minimum requirements for a standard school. Any additional denominational points required will be included in the leaflet as provided for in Section 6 above.)

The following three affiliation or association points were adopted as the minimum additional requirements for an International standard school (see Section 4):

(1) Offering for interdenominational Organized Sunday-school Work.

(2) Annual Statistical Report to County Association.

(3) Attendance at Annual County Convention.

9. That the International, State, and Provincial Associations be requested to promote the foregoing standards, together with such other requirements as provincial and territorial needs may make advisable among schools having no denominational standards.

10. It is understood that the above recommendations apply likewise to Union Sunday schools, except in the matter of denominational offerings.

CHURCH EFFICIENCY

A Year of Celebrating

A movement to "crystallize Lutheran sentiment and bring out Lutheran consciousness," to culminate in 1917 with a

nation-wide commemorative celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, has been announced by a committee of Lutheran clergymen in New York

City. A meeting of the organization will be held this month, when the establishment of district bureaus to direct work among churches and civic organizations in all parts of the country will be authorized.

American Protestants are planning to celebrate the Judson and Livingstone centennials, several bodies seeking to raise large sums for foreign missions.

The Church of Rome has in mind a notable celebration. It will be the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of the triumph of Constantine the Great over the enemies of Rome in 313. A memorial was to have been erected in a suburb of Rome. The Curia was forced to receive permission from the non-Catholic mayor of Rome. The papal committee had intended to place on the bronze tablet "In the Pontificate of Pius X," but the mayor objected and insisted that it should read, "In the memory of Victor Emanuel III." Just what the outcome of the controversy will be is still an unassignable quantity.

Protestantism in Utah

An interesting statement comes from Utah, the home of Mormonism, regarding the strength of the Protestant denominations. The Presbyterians have 1,800 members, with property valued at \$475,000; the Methodists, 1,500 members, with property valued at \$215,000; the Episcopalians, 1,300 members, with property valued at \$625,000; and the Baptists, 1,085 members, with a property valuation of \$140,000.

The Final End of Serfdom

Serfdom is finally at an end in and throughout the Russian empire. A law of this character passed the Duma a short time ago. Many people have labored under the impression that a general emancipatory act was passed in 1861, but this act in reality did not have reference to the Caucasus region. Transitional measures

of a supposedly temporary nature were adopted, but only after the lapse of more than fifty years was the transitional stage terminated. It is reported that the premier encountered great difficulty when he announced this platform of nation-wide emancipation.

The Republic of China, it is to be hoped, will be recognized by the United States at this session of Congress. Senator Bacon, of Georgia, introduced a bill to this effect and there are no signs of strong opposition. The recent Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America passed a resolution urging that such recognition be immediate. It is hard to understand our government's delay in the matter, for America has always been friendly toward China. It is only twelve years since the great diplomat John Hay, then secretary of state, saved China from partition.

An American Library in Germany

A symptom of the increasing German interest in American affairs is found in the movement to establish a "theological America-library" at the University of Marburg. The originator is Dr. Karl Bornhausen, and the movement has the assent and co-operation of the Prussian Ministry of Worship and Education. The government will guarantee the maintenance of the proposed library, while the books, periodicals, and other material bearing on religious life in America will be provided by special funds. The institution will serve as an authoritative center of information for German students of American religious and church life; and it will also promote the mutual acquaintance of students from both countries. Its work will be officially reported by a yearbook.

Object-Lessons as to Sin

If anyone wishes to see the work of sin in the world he should not fail to look at the

reports of the various charitable and reform societies of a great city. Of course it is true that economic conditions are partly responsible for wrongdoing, but that does not remove the fact of the misery which wrongdoing is causing in our world. In the latest report sent out by the United Charities of Chicago the following figures are eloquent of the need of more aggressive work on the part of the church in our social order.

The conditions which had to be dealt with included 1,613 cases of deserted wives; 121 cases of unmarried mothers; 1,240 cases of intemperance, and 212 cases of venereal diseases.

The Society for the Suppression of Vice of New York City during the past year has seized 63,139 pounds of obscene books, 83,609 obscene pictures, 1,577,411 circulars, songs, etc., of an indecent character, and arrested over 200 persons wrongfully engaged. The society also seized over one million names of persons to whom this printed matter was presumably to be mailed.

The terrible conditions seen in these figures indicate that Christian men and women must be governed by a knowledge of social conditions but that they ought none the less to be vigorously moral and religious. The moment the church accepts sin as irremedial—a matter of course—it ceases to be of social significance. One cannot save the world by optimistic euphemisms.

A Reorganized Young Men's Christian Association

The University of Pennsylvania has placed the conducting of its religious, ethical, and social work, including the university settlement in Philadelphia and the University Medical School of Canton,

China, in the hands of a corporation known as the Christian Association of the University of Pennsylvania. Officers and voting members in the association are required to be evangelical church members and to sign the following statement: "It is my purpose as a university man, receiving Jesus Christ as my Savior, Lord, and God, to live a consistent Christian life as I understand it to be set forth in the Bible."

Happy Iceland

Iceland presents the churchly ideal. The traveler in that country finds a utopia. There are no jails, no penitentiary, nor is there need for any, no court of justice, and only one policeman, and it is understood that his job is a sinecure. Not a drop of alcoholic liquor is made on the island. Its 78,000 inhabitants are total abstainers, since they will not permit any liquor to be imported. There is not an illiterate person on the island nor a child ten years old unable to read.

Distributing Bibles by the Million

The American Bible Society has been remarkably active during the past year. In the United States officers of the Society have distributed 1,575,000 books, 1,280,787 in English and 300,000 in seventy other languages. About 376 officers made this distribution, the average for each being 4,189.

The Growth of Christianity

In 1800 only seven out of every one hundred of population were members of the church. In 1900 twenty-four out of each one hundred were thus connected. In view of this fact there is not much place for pessimism.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

WHAT IS PROTESTANTISM?¹

GERALD B. SMITH

Associate Professor of Christian Theology, University of Chicago

It is not so very long ago that Harnack's famous inquiry, "What is Christianity?" opened the eyes of the religious world to the fact that an answer to the question is by no means so easy as has been assumed. To find a common denominator for such varied types of religious thinking as the teaching of Jesus, Paulinism, the Nicene Creed, Catholicism, Calvinism, Quakerism, and Baptist independency is admittedly almost impossible. Today, under the scrutiny of historians, even that seemingly simple division between Catholicism and Protestantism which forms the staple of popular polemic is discovered to be less absolute than was once supposed. The Reformers came to see that Catholicism could not be identified with the religion of the New Testament. Modern historians are making it clear that Protestantism is not a mere "return to the New Testament"; it represents a very complicated development, including diverse elements. In a noteworthy study which has just been translated into English, Professor Troeltsch, of Heidelberg, has made the attempt to untangle some of the threads which are woven into the structure of modern Protestantism.

If we consider original Protestantism, declares Troeltsch, we discover that it really belongs to the mediaeval world rather than to the modern. The characteristic of mediaevalism is the conviction that all human life and all human organizations must be controlled by the church. "The

genuine early Protestantism of Lutheranism and Calvinism is, as an organic whole, in spite of its anti-Catholic doctrine of salvation, entirely a church civilization like that of the Middle Ages." Modern Protestantism, on the contrary, accepts the existence of a secular civilization as a matter of fact, and renounces attempts to coerce men in the name of the church. It thus becomes evident that there are two kinds of Protestantism; and that the modern type is in many ways more strikingly different from the original type than that was from the Catholicism which it repudiated. How has it come about that this newer way of regarding religion has preserved such a continuity with the old that it retains the name in spite of radical differences?

Troeltsch shows that while original Protestantism had no intention of so altering civilization as to promote the secular freedom which it now champions, it was nevertheless indirectly responsible for allowing free play to the movements which have made up our modern world. A brief enumeration of some of the most interesting aspects of this history will reveal the suggestiveness of his analysis:

1. Although early Protestantism had no intention of abolishing a church-controlled civilization (the history of Calvinism makes this clear), yet "three infallible 'churches,' unchurching and anathematizing one another, discredited the idea of the church, for which there is no plural."

¹ *Protestantism and Progress. A Historical Study of the Relation of Protestantism to the Modern World.* By Ernst Troeltsch, Professor of Theology in the University of Heidelberg. Translated by W. Montgomery (The Crown Theological Library). New York: Putnam, 1913. Pp. xi+210. \$1.25 net.

2. The weakened form of church authority in Protestantism made it less able to resist the modern spirit; hence, unlike Catholicism, Protestantism has been reluctantly compelled to tolerate and eventually to use modern ideas in scholarship and in politics.

3. Whenever one type of Protestant belief found itself oppressed by a state controlled by a different type of belief, the cry went up for a separation of the political organization from ecclesiastical control. Whenever the state refused to further the particular interests of a given Protestant group, the group tended to become a voluntary religious organization free to follow out its own ideals. It thus left the state to go its own (secular) way.

4. Our modern doctrine of freedom of conscience and the consequent recognition of the fact that a church must be organized by the free consent of the members is due to the radical Baptists and Spiritualists, whom original Protestantism repudiated. The universal acceptance today of these once-discredited ideals of freedom marks a significant change in the spirit of Protestantism.

5. Modern capitalism, which has flourished in Calvinistic countries, but not in Catholicism, is indirectly due to the Calvinistic doctrine of diligence in business combined with an ascetic simplicity of life. The earnings of such frugal industry had no outlet save in capitalistic undertakings.

6. While Protestantism encouraged popular education in so far as it meant religious or doctrinal intelligence, it has until recently been quite as hostile as Catholicism to any public education which allowed or encouraged free scientific criticism. By destroying church-controlled science, it opened the way for a development of a secular science which it neither desired nor at first approved.

The time has come when we must frankly recognize the facts which Troeltsch has so clearly set forth. The issue between

Catholicism and Protestantism is likely in the near future to assume a new form and a new intensity. Catholicism has unmistakably asserted its intention to hold to the mediaeval ideal of a church-controlled civilization. It intends, so far as possible, to direct the education, the politics, and the social organization of men. It has a powerful ecclesiastical organization with which to work for its ends. Modern Protestantism, on the other hand, has come to terms with modern culture. It is a commonplace that the Protestant lands are those which are making the modern world. But the religious ideals of early Protestantism were nearly all related to the mediaeval conception of a church-controlled civilization. Its theology, therefore, is lacking in those fundamentals which are essential to a religious interpretation of the modern world. Protestantism thus faces a real crisis. Shall it strive to perpetuate a theology which must be constantly at war with modern science, modern social ideals, modern ethical issues, and modern religious aspirations? If so, it will inevitably see the modern world drifting away from its ideals; while those who really wish a church-controlled civilization will find Catholicism far more efficient than Protestantism in promoting this end. If, on the other hand, Protestantism shall conceive its mission to be that of giving to the non-ecclesiastical civilization of our day a profound religious interpretation, it may expect to exert a spiritual control which will be welcomed by all who desire to see our industry and our culture freed from the utilitarian and materialistic pressure which Christianity must ever rebuke and withstand.

Troeltsch does not point out in detail this modern task of Protestantism. He does, however, make the suggestive distinction between Luther's *goal* and the *way* in which Luther sought to reach the goal. Luther's aim was the essentially mediaeval one of assuring the soul of supernatural

salvation; but the *way* which he recommended was that of personal experience rather than that of submission to ecclesiastical authority. Troeltsch contends that the heart of Protestantism is to be found in this "new way" of achieving religious power. It is this "way" which may be followed even if we abandon Luther's conception of the goal. If we proclaim the gospel of the reality of God's strengthening presence to reinforce and enlighten the soul that looks to him in faith, we may define God in accordance with modern philosophy and may locate service to him in the social order rather than in the authoritative church;

but we shall still be in vital relation to the spiritual movement which began with Luther, and which is not to end until the spirit of Christianity shall be freely adopted by the activities of this world. When that time comes, there will be no more need for an authoritative church; but there will be as widespread a demand for churches to proclaim the gospel of religious power as there now is for schools to propagate secular learning and to teach the technique of industry. The foremost duty confronting Protestantism today is to understand the situation confronting us so as to concentrate attention on the actual task before us.

BOOK NOTICES

The Historic Jesus—A Study of the Synoptic Gospels. By Charles Stanley Lester. New York: Putnam, 1912. Pp. xi+426. \$2.50.

The author is interested primarily in the practical and doctrinal phases of this subject rather than in the critical and historical. By this we do not mean that he is unhistorical, but only that he approaches his study from the standpoint of Jesus' significance for religion. He wishes to present a picture of Jesus acceptable to one who holds a modern, scientific view of the world and of history.

The book falls into two main sections. Among introductory matters, the sources, the chronology, Jewish belief in the Messiah, legends of birth, the descent of Jesus, and the leaven of the Pharisees are subjects of discussion. Next, on the basis of the Synoptic Gospels, the following subjects are treated: Jesus in Capernaum, the period of wandering, Jesus on the way to Jerusalem, and the Passion. Finally the results and prospects are summed up, and references are given to literature on the subject.

In his use of the sources the author has not done independent or original work. He seems to have followed the views of Wellhausen without subjecting them to any rigid criticism. For example, he dates the Logia source in 75 A.D., the Gospel of Mark in 67, Luke in 100, and Matthew in 120. These, to be sure, are not the specific dates of Wellhausen, but the order of arrangement is his. Moreover, in tracing out the story of Jesus' career, the sections in Wellhausen's commentaries seem to have supplied the author his outline.

These, however, are not the most important

matters in the book. The significance of the volume lies in its point of approach and the worth which it attaches to Jesus in the light of modern criticism. In a word, the author feels that the religion of Jesus, rather than the religion about Jesus, is the matter of prime importance. Accordingly he would define the Christian religion, not as a creed, a ritual, or a dogmatic system, but as a life which reproduces the ideals of Jesus' life and embodies the spiritual depth of Jesus' religious experience.

Jesus the Christ, Historical or Mythical?

By T. J. Thorburn. New York: Scribner, 1912. Pp. xix+311. \$2.50.

This book is a criticism of and a protest against recent denials of the historicity of Jesus. The author discusses first the Jewish notions of the Messiah in the time of Jesus, and shows that the Jews expected a triumphant deliverer and ruler, and not a suffering and dying God. Next he examines the historical character and value of the Synoptic Gospels as a source of information about Jesus. Here he finds reliable historical materials which he thinks show Jesus to have been a historical personality of unique significance. The sayings of Jesus recorded in the primitive sources of his teaching are found to be, in spiritual and ethical content, far superior to anything contained in the sources from which those who deny Jesus' historicity would draw this teaching. The author considers Jesus and Paul to have been in essential harmony; in spirit they were one. It is also felt that no correct interpretation of Paul can allow that he did not

firmly believe in the historical Jesus. The testimony of Josephus is given considerable weight, and the testimony of Roman writers and of Jewish tradition is also estimated. Criticizing the position of his opponents, he finds no evidence for the existence of a pre-Christian Jesus; nor does he think that the Christian doctrine of the redeemer is essentially dependent upon the figure of a dying and rising Savior in ethnic nature cults. The mythological elements which his opponents find so abundantly in the Gospels are also set aside; and the fact of Jesus as a historical character, whose career is, in the main, depicted accurately in the Gospels, the author believes to be established beyond question.

The International Critical Commentary.

"Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jonah." By Hinckley G. Mitchell, D.D., John Merlin Powis Smith, Ph.D., and Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D. New York: Scribner, 1912. \$3.00.

The series of which this volume forms a unit has done good service in standardizing the point of view and results of modern scientific Bible-study. The volumes already published have justified the judgment of those who projected the enterprise. The leading scholars of the English-speaking world have collaborated in the production of a commentary which is abreast of modern biblical science. As promised by the general editors, each number is interdenominational and interconfessional, and free from polemical and ecclesiastical bias.

The present volume completes that portion of the *International Critical Commentary* which was to have been the work of the late President Harper. The twelve minor prophets were assigned to President Harper; and his work on "Amos and Hosea" stands as a unit in the series. The treatment of the ten remaining prophets has been divided among several writers. In this book, the commentary on Haggai and Zechariah is by Dr. Mitchell, of Tufts College; that on Malachi is by Dr. Smith, of the University of Chicago; and the treatment of Jonah is by Dr. Bewer, of Union Theological Seminary. The general plan of discussion employed in the earlier volumes is followed out; and the book maintains the high level of scholarship marked by its predecessors in the *International* series.

From the Nile to Nebo. A Discussion of the Problem and the Route of the Exodus. By Franklin E. Hoskins, D.D., Syria Mission, Beirut, Syria. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1912. \$3.00.

The author is among those who are persuaded that modern Bible-study revolves around the subject of which his book treats. He admits

that the Hexateuch was compiled from a number of documents; and he says that "even the ordinary reader must in these days know something about P, J, E, D" (pp. 214, 215). His own interest in critical scholarship seems to be confined to insistence that the Hebrew word usually translated "thousands" ought in most cases to be rendered "family," which would reduce the supposed number of Israelites in the Exodus from three millions to "about one hundred thousand," and thus make the biblical history more credible (chap. 14).

While few scientific scholars will be out of sympathy with efforts to minimize the number of Israelites involved in the Exodus, few will regard this volume as a real contribution to the problem. Dr. Hoskins has given us a book of travel which is of considerable interest. His eighty-five illustrations are made from photographs taken all the way from Egypt, through the southern part of the Sinai peninsula, and up into Moab. The book will be useful in connection with such a work as G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*.

The Name of God in the Pentateuch. A Study

Introductory and Explanatory—of Exodus VI. vv. i et seq. By Dr. A. Troelstra. Translated from the Dutch by Edmund McClure, M.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1912. 2s.

The author describes his task as a re-examination of the "base" of biblical criticism. The base in question he takes to be the distribution of the names of God in the Pentateuchal documents. It is true that modern criticism began with Pentateuchal analysis; but this is a historical fact merely. Criticism, with equal propriety, might have set out in view of a comparison between the accounts of the Israelite conquest of Canaan as found in Joshua and Judges respectively; or from the standpoint of a comparative examination of Deuteronomy and the literary prophets; or from a dozen other points of departure. The center of critical interest in Old Testament study has now passed out of the Pentateuch. The leading scholars of today do not have the rigid ideas about the distribution of the names "Yahweh" and "Elohim" that formerly prevailed in critical quarters. So that this book, considered as an examination of the "base" of biblical criticism, is largely aside from the main question.

Socialism from the Christian Standpoint. By Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J. New York: Macmillan, 1912. Pp. 389. \$1.50.

The position which Father Vaughan takes is that of absolute opposition to socialism. He finds only two physicians who claim to have a radical cure for the diseases of society: "The

Supreme Pontiff is the one, the Socialist Philosopher is the other" (p. 35). The author describes his book as an examination of the "irreconcilable antagonism between Catholic and Socialist" (p. 42).

The author prefers to use the term "Christianity" in the title of the book and in passages that deal in generalities; while in the more numerous passages that come to close quarters with the subject he prefers the term "Catholic." This usage is evident from the start; and in the final chapter he says: "I believe that Christianity exists in its fullness and integrity in the Roman Catholic Church and in it alone" (p. 361). Since the book is addressed to the general public, would not a more fitting title be, "Socialism from the Catholic Standpoint"?

The author gives unmistakable evidence that he is greatly alarmed by the rapid progress of the socialist movement (pp. 4-8). He is much disturbed to find that workmen born of Catholic parents, and hitherto connected with the Catholic church, are enlisting under the red flag; and he returns to this topic again and again throughout the book (pp. 84, 85, 180, 185, 242, 243, 313, 314, 320).

Father Vaughan looks at the socialist movement in an external, distant way. The uninformed reader would not suspect, from a perusal of this book, the deep and increasing cleavage between the "syndicalist" and "opportunistic" wings of the party. The former is discrediting itself; while the latter is becoming less revolutionary, more idealistic, and even spiritual. The author probably overrates the coherence of socialism as a "going concern" at the present time; and he certainly views the wider aspects of his theme with little historic sympathy.

On the whole, it cannot be said that this book offers any large contribution to the discussion of socialism. But many sentences and passages occur which are worth considering by men of all schools. For instance: "There can be no short cut, no simple remedy, no panacea. All possible forces must be brought to bear on the question; and they must be co-ordinated. Legislation and private endeavor and Christian enterprise must unite and combine, each supporting the other" (p. 347).

The Positive Evolution of Religion. By Frederick Harrison, D.C.L. New York: Putnam, 1912. Pp. xx+267. \$2.00 net.

As the author's "final thoughts on the subject of religion," this collection of essays will have a certain historic value and significance. Mr. Harrison represents an outgrown type of thought. Certain aspects of Positivism coincide with current scientific habits; while other aspects have been repudiated by the best scholarship.

The book stands for the positivistic "religion of humanity" against all other religions. The atmosphere in which Mr. Harrison moves is that of the nineteenth century. The conceptions of Christianity and the Bible which he opposes are those which were dominant about 1880. He takes the very essence of Christianity to be the violent irruption of the "Supernatural" into human history; religion itself being an otherworldly affair (pp. xvii, 6, 11, 17, 18, 40, 175, 235, 243, 246). Accordingly, he is a stranger to the new social awakening which is today transforming the heart of evangelical Protestantism. As might be expected, he is sympathetic with modern historical study of the Bible—but only in a distant, unfamiliar way. His references to the Bible prove that he is alien to the real spirit of modern scientific scholarship in this department of learning. For instance: "If all the absurdities and all the brutalities were cut out of the Bible it would be a thing of shreds and patches" (p. 190; cf. pp. 36, 37, 179, 189, 197). The primitive gospel of Jesus was "a perfectly hazy, thin, and hysterical affair" (p. 203). Jesus, he thinks, was not worthy to unloose the shoe-latchet of Paul, a far grander soul (p. 208). "The Lord's prayer has little in it that can be called moral elevation" (p. 201).

As to Positivism, which is offered in place of other faiths, we are frankly told that there is no royal road to the understanding of it (p. xix). "No one can explain it in a lecture, or in fifty lectures. It will take us years to master" (p. 247). Its creed is "the sum of provable knowledge" (p. 31). Its objects of worship are "Humanity," "Mother Earth," and "the nobler order of brutes" (pp. 86, 87, 90). "Positivism is entirely absorbed in things of this earth" (p. 212). The Positivist is not an atheist; but for all that it appears that he is done with God (p. 211). "The heavens declare the glory of Kepler, Galileo, and Newton" (p. 98). "Blessed are the rich in heart: for theirs is the Kingdom of Earth" (p. 199).

On the scientific, literary, and cultural sides of life, Mr. Harrison's influence has no doubt been considerable; but as a religious leader he can hardly be taken seriously.

Biblical Criticism and Preaching, by George Elliott (New York: Eaton & Mains. 35 cents), is a booklet which is adapted to the needs of thoughtful men who are not certain about the real nature of modern biblical scholarship. We reproduce two characteristic sentences: "The fact is that the word 'criticism,' both by its etymological and in its scientific use, merely means discernment, discrimination, and judgment" (p. 45). "A dogmatic pulpit is decadent in any period in which men realize their heritage of political, social, and spiritual liberty" (p. 49).

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THE DRIVING POWER OF A COMMON HATRED

We are living in stirring times. We have seen a new president inaugurated in America, a new revolution in Mexico, and the suffragists dividing the English public between apprehension, indignation, and conviction. But most surprising of all is the combined assault of Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Greeks upon the Turkish Empire.

Whatever political rearrangement this triumph of Little Europe over the Turks may ultimately mean, it is an object-lesson in the driving, unifying, and constructive power of a common hatred.

And it is this lesson that the church may well ponder.

We believe in the heavenly Father and in the finality of love in the great universe. Jesus Christ is an illustration of the suffering to which love will submit rather than defend itself with violence.

But religion of love as Christianity is, it is also a religion of hatred of all that is loveless, brutal, obscene, selfish, and money-worshipping.



A love that cannot hate its opposite is a love without self-respect.

A moral order which prefers its prophets to be morally short-sighted is an incubating-ground for every form of dishonesty.

An individual who can look upon injuries done others with the same serenity with which he enjoys his own blessings needs new moral blood-corpuscles.

A theology that permits its scientific interests to deaden its horror of the violation of the elemental demands of God's law is little better than an aesthetic soporific for restless consciences.

If the Balkan states had not been stirred by a socialized hatred they would not now be dictating terms to Turkey. If Christians have no common hatred of whatever is injurious and sinful, Christianity will always have its troops on review and never in the battle line.



Jesus never pretended that love of what is good means easy-going tolerance of what is evil. The first duty of the Holy Spirit was to convict the world of sin. If the forces of the modern church are to follow the impulses of that Holy Spirit they will not only love God with all their might but they will hate evil with all their might.

If they hate evil they will cease hating each other. Such a hatred will draw them together as it drew the Balkan states together. Denominations and sects will cease fighting each other—and, thank God, we can already see the beginning of the new unity—and begin to fight the evils that threaten the very life of our civilization.

When men hate they are no longer investigative, neutral, “seeking for truth.”

They want to destroy something.

Until we get this sort of hatred our religious message will be too optimistic. If the forces of evil are not destroyed the forces of good will be so far handicapped.

If we Christians are to get together we must hate together; and when we hate together we shall get together.

A united church will not be militant until it feels the thrill of a holy militancy. Pious people like patriots need a hatred of their King's enemies to make them appreciate and co-operate in the King's warfare.

Politeness never led a crusade.



The ultimate worth of a theology will be measured by its power to kindle the love of good and a hatred of evil.

You cannot save the world with illumination. A locomotive needs a headlight; but it needs a blazing fire-box more.

The church needs Truth, but it needs more a driving, unifying Love that can beget a driving, unifying Hatred of evil.

WHAT BIOLOGY HAS CONTRIBUTED TO RELIGION

JOHN M. COULTER

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We always think in terms of our education. Sometimes education comes from our daily work without special schooling; sometimes it comes from highly developed training in universities. Speaking generally, our theologies have been built up by university men. In the course of time these theologies have moved out over an entire society and thus people come to think religiously in terms of the best thought in the educational world.

Until very recent years the great interests of the world outside of religion have been war, commerce, and metaphysics. Naturally the material of theology was drawn from these sources. But within the last two or three generations the scientific spirit has been overwhelmingly developed. Unfortunately very few of our theological writers have had any thoroughgoing scientific training. For that reason they have failed to get help for their theology from the various sciences which are really at their disposal. Henry Drummond is one of the outstanding exceptions to this general condition.

This article by Professor Coulter is one of a general group which will appear at intervals during the next few months, setting forth the contribution of science to religious thought. It is hoped that they will enable our readers to grasp the theological possibilities of scientific conceptions, and they will serve to help the positive movement toward a more vital theology.

It cannot be claimed that it has been any part of the purpose of biological investigation to make a contribution to religion. It has been concerned only in discovering the facts of plant and animal life, and in formulating laws based upon these facts. In so far as these facts and laws have a bearing upon religion, biology may be said to have contributed to religion, but only as two distinct bodies of fact and belief inevitably react upon one another when they overlap. That religion and biology are consistent is evidenced by the fact that they are so regarded by those who have given attention to both. They seem inconsistent only to those who have

given attention to one of them and have no real knowledge of the other.

It is not necessary, in this connection, to define religion with great exactness. Perhaps no definition can be formulated that would seem fair or complete to every type of mind and belief. For our present purpose it seems sufficient to say that it involves a strong sense of obligation, and that it overlaps biology when this obligation involves the development of the most efficient types of men and women. Efficiency in this connection means the development of the maximum physical, mental, and spiritual capacities.

The religious impulse is so universal a possession that it must be reckoned with

among the other human impulses, and its significance in human nature should be understood. From the point of view of a biologist, rational obedience to this impulse results in the best type of development, which means not only the highest development of natural capacities, but chiefly the best balance of these capacities. For example, the religious impulse does not express itself fully in a trained body or in a trained mind, but in the subordination of the trained body and mind to the trained spirit. This is the most effective balance of one's powers, concerning which there is no serious discussion, and it is the peculiar function of religion to establish it. It is this perfect balance of highly developed capacities that makes Jesus the ideal type of manhood. It is upon this aspect of religion, which means the proper conduct of one's life, that biology has reacted so strongly that it may be said to have made contributions.

In association with the physical sciences it has developed a point of view that has revolutionized our habits of thought. This point of view has been called "the scientific spirit," but it is an attitude of mind that is not peculiar to the so-called sciences; it has merely been strongly developed by the growth of physical and biological investigation. It now permeates all investigations, and is the animating spirit of any investigator in any subject. It was inevitable that this same spirit should permeate all real thought concerning religion. The effect of this has been happy or unhappy, dependent upon one's point of view, but it was inevitable. To those who prefer to have religion freed from what may be called its fetish-like appendages, and

developed as a definite body of fundamental laws, the result has seemed a great gain. It is far more attractive to thinking people to work under a set of principles than under a set of rules, for principles apply to all situations, while rules can never be inclusive enough. This contribution to religion cannot be credited to biology alone, but it seems to be a fitting introduction to the contributions peculiar to biology.

A fundamental contribution of biology that has reacted favorably upon religion is the increasing body of knowledge in reference to the effects of conduct upon the welfare of the human body. So long as proper personal conduct is a religious demand only, it is observed only by those strongly dominated by the religious impulse, and even with them the pressure of personal interest is rather vague and distant. But when this religious demand is reinforced by a biological demand, proper conduct is observed even by many who are not dominantly religious, and upon even those who are religious the pressure of personal interest becomes more definite and immediate.

It is a very significant fact that the rules of conduct for the best development of men, discovered first by the experience of the human race, and afterward formulated as religious precepts, have now been established as laws by biology. This does not mean that biology deserves credit for the discovery, but that experience, religion, and biology can now combine in enforcing proper conduct; that what was thought to be only a religious precept, deserving the attention only of church members who had pledged themselves to obedience, is

also a biological precept, as necessary to obey as any other law of Nature; that the penalty of disobedience is not doubtful and distant, but certain and immediate. In short, the appeal for proper conduct has been made stronger not only for those who would be religious in any event, but also for many who otherwise would not be religious at all. It is not necessary to cite the personal habits involved in proper conduct, for they are familiar to all who are likely to read this paper.

Passing from the more general reactions of biology upon religion to the more special, the recent intensive work upon heredity must be considered. This work reacts upon religion because it has to do with the welfare of the human race, including its moral welfare. Heredity is the most important and the most difficult problem of biology. It has passed from the stage of crude observation and inference to the stage of rigidly controlled experiment. It follows that there are some things we really know about heredity, but this knowledge has brought into view, as never before, the vast stretches of ignorance that remain to be filled in with knowledge. We must also distinguish sharply between the things we know and the general conclusions we have based upon them, which are at best our present working hypotheses.

We know that certain things are likely to be inherited and other things not. For example, certain diseases of the parent are likely to be transmitted to the child; while an "acquired character," such as a scar or a lame leg, is not transmitted. We know, also, that heredity transmits not only similarity

but also dissimilarity, and this dissimilarity results in what we call individuality. No two human beings are exactly alike, and it is this fact that frees a child more or less from the fatality of its parents. Otherwise, heredity would be a machine-like expression of predestination, and human responsibility would have been reduced long since to a minimum.

When such facts of heredity as body-resemblances, physical diseases, etc., were extended in imagination to include moral diseases or "tendencies," the subject of heredity entered the field of religion; and a terrible burden of responsibility was laid upon parents. The responsibility of parents cannot be exaggerated, but this particular form of responsibility was exaggerated for a time. The result of this feeling of responsibility in connection with heredity led to the development of what is called the science of eugenics, but as yet it is more of a religion than a science. The whole subject of inheritance, as heredity is better called, is too extremely complex to permit safe generalizations as yet, so that any proposed measures in the interest of eugenics, except such as deal with inheritable diseases, may be wide of the mark.

To appreciate this situation, and also to realize that inheritance is full of hope as well as of danger, a brief statement in reference to the machinery of heredity is necessary. The living substance, called protoplasm, is the most potential substance known. It has expressed its possibilities in the infinite variety of structures and forms it has produced among plants and animals. This living substance is organized into minute

structural units called cells, millions of which make up the human body. The bodies of the simplest plants and animals consist of a single such unit, and of course this single cell has the power not only to do the work connected with living, but also to reproduce. As the bodies of plants and animals become many-celled, some of the cells lose the power of reproduction, but retain other powers. In the higher plants and animals most of the cells have lost the power of reproduction, but it is these comparatively few reproductive cells that have retained all the original powers of a living cell. Reproductive cells, therefore, are not specialized cells, but they are the only generalized cells of a complex body, the only cells that have retained the primal powers. It is the muscle cells, or nerve cells, or bone cells that are specialized, not the reproductive cells. This fact is important to remember, for it means that a reproductive cell is not narrowly limited in its possibilities, but that it may express itself in the greatest variety of ways.

When fertilization occurs, two of these very potential reproductive cells unite to form a single new cell, the fertilized egg, and this egg produces the child. Each of the reproductive cells that enters into this union contains the accumulated inheritances from a long line of ancestors, and the combination may well be regarded as a new one; at least it did not exist in either of the parents. Among all the possibilities, or perhaps better capacities, thus locked up in the protoplasmic egg, which ones will get expression? The responsibility of parents, so far as heredity is concerned, ends just here; that is, they are respon-

sible for the limits set to the possibilities of the child, for the child can develop no other capacities than those it has received. It must be remembered, however, that the parents possessed many possibilities that remained undeveloped; in fact, it is certainly true that no one of us has called upon more than a small fraction of the possibilities we have inherited. It follows that the child may develop very different possibilities from those developed by either parent; for example, pious parents may produce a renegade child; and from a drunken home there may issue an upright child. In the former case the child certainly inherited the possibility to develop into a righteous life; and in the latter case the child just as certainly inherited the possibility to develop into a drunkard; but in neither case, for some reason, were the possibilities developed by the parents the same as those developed by the child.

If parental responsibility, so far as inheritance goes, consists only in limiting the number and character of the capacities transmitted, what determines the selection of the capacities for cultivation? It is this second factor that eugenics is in danger of forgetting, in its eagerness to see that the parents are "fit." It is evident that they may be unfit so far as their own development is concerned, but at the same time they are very likely able to transmit capacities that are very fit for development. This second factor, that determines the selection of capacities, may be expressed by the single word *opportunity*. Inheritance determines the number and character of capacities, but opportunity selects those that are to develop. This

second factor does not lighten the burden of parents, but gives great hope to the child. It means that the child is not doomed to one form of inheritance, but that so long as its capacities can be stimulated by opportunity, it may respond by development in any direction.

It is this second factor that furnishes a scientific basis for the claim of religion that no man is past hope on account of his inheritance, or even on account of his previous development. It is certainly a factor recognized by Jesus, for he never seems to have lost his confidence in the possibilities of men.

With such facts at hand, the activities of religion in connection with eugenics become clear.

1. The responsibility of parents in the matter of inheritance when it includes heritable diseases is evident and should be enforced. The maximum danger from such inheritance, however, is not avoided by safeguarding marriage. The far more subtle form of this danger comes from the social evil, on account of which thousands who may be fit when married become unfit afterward.

2. The responsibility of parents in the matter of inheritance in connection with undesirable tendencies should be taught persistently, for the evidence is clear that a strongly developed tendency in a parent may be the easiest tendency to develop in the child.

3. The most important part of the Christian program, however, is to see to it that every child shall have the chance to respond to a stimulating opportunity. This will save thousands where the regulation of marriage will save one. It means a regulation of homes as well as of marriages. It makes the responsibility of parents continuous, and at the same time it puts responsibility upon the child. In a certain sense, this has always been the Christian program, but not in the wide sense that these laws of inheritance and development suggest. It involves much more than Sunday schools and the instruction of Sunday schools, for it includes the total exposure and interests of children.

This program is a larger one than the present movement for eugenics has suggested. In fact, this movement is limited at present to the obvious things that might be accomplished by legislation. But the joint demand of religion and of biology is not limited by the possibilities of legislation. The only organizations equipped to undertake such a campaign are those into whose field it belongs naturally. The Christian organizations have the opportunity to add the practical suggestions of biology to their own great motive, and to transform eugenics so that it may really be another effective form of religion.

CHURCH UNION THAT UNITES

I

THE CHICAGO CO-OPERATIVE COUNCIL OF CITY MISSIONS

GEORGE B. SAFFORD, D.D.

Secretary Co-operative Council of City Missions, Chicago

Church unity at last. Not the sort of union which segregates a certain number of people gathered from several existing denominations in a union church. Such churches, to all intents and purposes, are new denominations. Not a talk-fest on the beautiful text "that they all may be one." But a real unity of endeavor, adjustment, and achievement in the entire local field covered by five great denominations has been reached in Chicago. No formal organic union has been undertaken nor is it contemplated, for it has not been found necessary. What has been accomplished is a unity which preserves all the individuality, historical value, doctrinal strength, and spiritual dynamic of each denomination and brings them together, unfettered and unembarrassed, to wage a single battle against a common foe. We have five camps, but one firing-line.

The Co-operative Council of City Missions is the agency through which this wonder has been wrought in Chicago.

Five years have elapsed since the council was formed and they surely furnish a sufficiently long period to try out the project and ascertain its real value. The writer has no hesitation in saying that were the council now abolished its loss would be regarded as

a calamity by all who have shared in its activities and benefits.

The council is composed of thirty men comprising the missionary secretaries and five other members of the Home Mission and Church Extension societies of the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Disciples churches. They represent an aggregate membership of 122,000, of which 30,000 are Baptist, 30,000 Presbyterian, 34,000 Methodist, 22,000 Congregational, and 6,000 Disciples.

In former days each carried on its missionary and extension work with little regard to what others were doing, and new districts were regarded as unclaimed land in which all had mining rights. Whoever failed to claim such rights was regarded as lacking in denominational enterprise and real solicitude for the salvation of mankind. As a result we find one scattering suburb with a population of about 5,500 people containing fourteen churches, each of which could file a bill against the community any day for nonsupport. Another district about one-half mile square, fairly populated, has thirteen meager churches striving with small success to live and love. Another large and very desirable suburb has fourteen churches, six of which belong to one denomination which, it appears,

once sought by superior strength and alertness to capture the field and exclude all others.

Of course many sections of the city are without proper church facilities, and the congested river districts, where hundreds live in a block, have always been repellent to the sort of denominational zeal which makes the previously described conditions possible. The day of such misguided zeal is rapidly passing and similar mistakes are not likely to be repeated.

Under the new régime large downtown districts have been surveyed with the purpose of ascertaining what work could still be maintained with success.

A large residential district fourteen miles long was jointly investigated. Two denominations already having four churches each within the territory were advised to plant no more; but the other three denominations were urged to plant two churches each within the prescribed area as soon as conditions warranted. Two of the latter have taken advantage of the support of the council and have entered the above field, the council first having approved their plans.

A common policy has been adopted for the prosecution of missionary work among foreigners, the principles of which are as follows:

1. Where several denominations are now carrying on successful missionary enterprises among the foreigners in a given district, they shall continue their work. If, however, past experience shows that these enterprises are so near one another as to create harmful competition, steps shall be taken to effect a consolidation of them if possible. The districts where such missions are maintained shall be noted and their boundaries determined.

2. Where denominational missionary enterprises have been carried on among foreigners in a given district with small success, the representatives shall study the field together for the purpose of uniting all the work done in that district at one or two points, with the purpose of securing at least one Protestant mission which shall be strong enough to be effective. Such combinations might be made by a mutual exchange of property in different localities.

3. So far as possible in future work, we propose that the work for a given nationality be committed to one denomination with the idea that that denomination shall make a special study of the methods of reaching the people assigned to it and shall develop such methods as shall prove effective in carrying to them the gospel. Where the numbers of a nationality are so great that all should work among them, different districts should be assigned to different denominations.

4. The co-operating denominations are respectfully requested to begin no new work among foreigners without first conferring with the Co-operative Council and securing its approval.

At the present time a committee is drawing up a doctrinal and parliamentary basis for the formation of a co-operative Chinese church in which it will be possible for the five co-operating denominations to combine their mission work among the Chinese without confusing them with denominational differences. When such a plan has been wrought out, we expect to erect a building in co-operation with the Y.M.C.A. to provide a spiritual and social center for these strangers, that shall keep its welcoming doors open for them seven days in the week.

Perhaps a glance at the business done at the last meeting will be sufficient to

show how thoroughgoing is the work and how honest and practical is the co-operative relation between the churches involved. Among the items of business transacted at the last regular meeting of the council were the following:

1. The Presbyterians and Methodists were eager to enter a given field where there was room for only one church. The Baptist secretary was appointed to investigate the field and report. On the basis of his report the council advised both Methodists and Presbyterians to refrain from organizing churches or erecting new buildings, as another denomination was found to be more numerously represented than either in that field. The advice of the council was accepted as final and will be followed.

2. The Presbyterians desired to establish a church in a new field which they believed to be needy and not covered by the work of others. Their request was referred to the Committee on Residential Districts for investigation and report. All the surrounding churches will be located on a map, their exact distance from the proposed location ascertained, the density of population and nationalities in the neighborhood will be considered before the council will grant the request.

3. The Methodists desired to locate a church in a given place, but a committee composed of a Baptist, a Presbyterian, and a Congregationalist reported unfavorably and suggested that another place be selected.

4. A plan of union arranged between the churches of two denominations in a suburban community was submitted to the council for its approval. The plan

of agreement had been drawn up with elaborate care. The secretaries of two denominations not involved in the arrangement took the document in hand and promptly discovered certain provisions which were eliminated. The plan as finally approved by the council was unanimously adopted by both of the churches interested.

5. A subcommittee of three was appointed to consider the appeals of some colored churches desiring to solicit contributions from the business men of the city. All such cases are referred by the Association of Commerce to the council for investigation and approval. The subcommittee will ascertain the character of the work being done by the applicants and whether they have any valid reason for calling upon the general public for help, and will report their findings. Undoubtedly the action of the Association of Commerce will be in harmony with their report.

The examples cited above will serve to illustrate the freedom, vigor, and fairness with which the council handles the matters referred to it. It has no formal authority and assumes to act only in an advisory capacity. But the wisdom and justice displayed in its past dealings give to its findings almost the weight of an ultimatum. There is not a case on record where the definite advice of the council has been intentionally ignored.

Its activities as defined in the constitution are:

To further the co-operation of the various Protestant city mission societies in Chicago, in:

a) The evangelization of the foreign population of the city.

b) The maintenance of churches in the central portion of the city.

c) The establishment of new churches in the residential portions of the city.

There are four permanent committees, viz.: (1) the Executive Committee, consisting of the chairman of the council and the secretaries of the five co-operating denominations; (2) the Committee on Foreign Populations; (3) the Committee on Downtown Districts; (4) the Committee on Residential Districts.

Special committees to handle other matters not properly belonging to the above committees are appointed as needed.

One of the standing items on the docket of our regular procedure is "Reports from each of the co-operating societies as to their work during the past month and the announcement in advance of plans being formed for further work."

In working out its plans the Co-operative Council holds regular monthly meetings and many friendly informal conferences.

New territory is investigated under united supervision and all seek to stand

for the rights of each. Free and frank discussion clears away many misunderstandings where interests appear to clash.

Among the many beneficial results are to be found:

a) The consideration of the interests of the community rather than the apparent interest of a denomination.

b) Helping the right church to the right place.

c) Avoiding duplication.

d) Cutting out the spurious enterprises.

e) Missions located in this way do a more substantial work.

f) The hearty approval of the community at the sight of denominations working together in such actual unity.

g) Best of all is the mutual confidence and perfect understanding arising out of our fraternal labors in a common cause. Though enlisted under different banners, the association of the brethren in the work of the council in a common cause develops so warm a friendship that all banners now look to us very much alike, and the sign of the cross on each appears to be the chief ornament of all.

Constitution of the First Chinese Evangelical Church of Chicago

Name

1. The name of this church shall be the First Chinese Evangelical Church of Chicago.

Membership

2. Its membership shall be composed of Chinese who have learned to love and trust in Jesus Christ as their Savior and Lord, and who are trying to be like him and have made a public profession of their faith in baptism.

Officers

3. Its officers shall be a minister, two deacons, three trustees, a clerk, a Sunday-school superintendent, a treasurer, and a Board of Management appointed by the Co-operative Council of

City Missions. The officers of the church shall be elected by the church upon the approval of the Board of Management.

Duties of the Officers

4. (a) It shall be the duty of the pastor to preach and to conduct such other religious services as may be necessary for the promotion of the work of the church.

(b) The deacons shall assist the pastor at the communion, if necessary, and in caring for the poor, and, in the absence of the pastor, shall conduct prayer-meetings and other religious services as may be needed, and, in connection with the pastor and the Board of Management, shall

have power to receive members into the church.

(c) It shall be the duty of the trustees to plan for raising money and to look after the finances of the church, under the direction of the Board of Management.

(d) The clerk shall keep a careful record in a book provided for this purpose of all meetings held by the church for the transaction of business. In this record shall be kept the names and addresses of the members, when received and when dismissed, and whatever else may be of interest.

(e) The superintendent shall conduct the Sunday school and also advise with the officers and the Board of Management respecting the interests of the church.

(f) The treasurer shall keep an account of all moneys received by him for the support of the church or for benevolent purposes, and shall pay out the same as ordered by the Board of Management. He shall make an annual report to the church and shall report, also, at such other times as the church or Board of Management may direct.

(g) The Board of Management, appointed by the Co-operative Council, shall consist of two members of the Co-operative Council from each of the denominations co-operating in supporting and conducting the Chinese Church. The Board of Management shall consult with the officers of the church and shall hold meetings in the church at stated intervals, and shall direct all of its affairs, and their judgment on all questions shall be final, subject to review by the Co-operative Council of City Missions.

5. The pastor shall hold his office for one year or more, as may be agreed upon by the Board of Management after consulting with the

officers of the church. All the other officers, with the approval of the Board of Management, shall hold office for one year.

6. (a) This church is founded upon the fundamental truths of the gospel.

(b) This church will instruct its members from the Scriptures with regard to the fatherhood of God, the divinity and saving grace of Jesus Christ, the work of the Holy Spirit, the inspiration and authority of the Holy Scriptures, the sanctity of the Lord's Day, baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the fundamental necessity of living daily with God's help in harmony with the teachings of Jesus Christ.

(c) Members shall be publicly received into fellowship in the church upon the following confession of faith in Jesus Christ: "I believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and accept him as my Savior and Guide."

Amendments

7. This constitution may be amended upon the approval of a two-thirds vote of the members of the church at an annual meeting, or at any regular business meeting, by the approval of the Board of Management.

By-Laws

1. The annual meeting of the church shall be held on the second Monday evening of December of each year, at such time and place as the Board of Management may direct. Business meetings may be called at such times as the Board of Management may deem necessary.

Amendments

2. These by-laws may be amended at any regular meeting of the church by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting, with the approval of the Board of Management.

Articles for the Federation of the Baptist and Methodist Churches of Mosier, Oregon

Prepared by J. R. Hargreaves

ARTICLE 1. This federation shall be called the Immanuel Church (Baptist and Methodist).

ART. 2. Its purpose shall be the teaching of the gospel and plan of ethics as taught by Jesus Christ, the public worship of God, the expression of Christian spirit in the spread of the gospel among all peoples, and the encouragement of such social matters as may tend to the upbuilding of the home community. In the

teaching, disputed points shall be left to the individual conscience and the individual responsibility before God, only advising that each one be true to himself.

ART. 3. The membership shall consist of such as are now members of either organization, without change of the particular designation, and of such others as may be members of any evangelical church who may be enrolled accord-

ing to their denomination, and their letter kept in custody for any future need, and of those who, from time to time, shall come into possession of a religious experience through conversion. In the admission of converts, permission shall be given to enrol under whichever name the individual may desire, care having been taken to allow for the intelligent satisfaction of the conscience. In the case of the ordinance of baptism, provision shall be made for its administration according to the desire of the candidate and by such person as shall be in full sympathy with the act.

Letters of dismissal shall bear the name of the federation and shall recommend the individual to the denomination desired. Any having joined the federation shall be dismissed as from the federation.

ART. 4. The minister shall be a regularly ordained clergyman, recognized in the circles of an evangelical church having general recognition in this state; said minister shall be expected to continue his association with his own body, but in his ministrations to this federation shall recognize and live up to the basis on which it is established. He shall be the choice of a two-thirds vote of a quorum at a specially called meeting of the church.

ART. 5. The building shall be turned over to the use of the federation and shall be kept in repair by the organization during the continua-

tion of the federation. The property as such shall, for the time, remain in the hands of the present trustees of the Baptist church.

ART. 6. The officers of this federation shall be the pastor, ex officio, a clerk and treasurer, and three deacons which, with two other members to be chosen by a majority of the congregation shall constitute an executive committee and shall represent as nearly as possible the personnel of the federation.

ART. 7. The general expenses, care of building, and running expenses of service shall be borne by the federation as such and without any reference to any past ratio.

ART. 8. Four regular collections shall be taken during the year for missionary purposes and shall be divided equally between the two federated churches. Any special collection may be taken only by consent of the congregation.

ART. 9. If for any purpose either or any denomination forming a part of this federation desires a meeting for its own particular purpose, such meeting may be held provided it does not interfere with the regular services of the federation.

ART. 10. This federation shall be in effect for at least two years.

ART. 11. This constitution may be changed or amended by a two-thirds vote of a special meeting called for that purpose.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

IV

POLITICS AND THE REFORMATION

THOMAS C. HALL, D.D.

Professor of Christian Ethics in Union Theological Seminary

The Reformation was a composite movement in which there were many complex and even contradictory elements. The political interests were seldom sharply defined or even clearly

understood. The sweep that Protestantism made of the northern free cities is one of the most interesting and instructive facts in the movement. Yet it is hasty, for that reason, to

stamp the Reformation as a wholly "middle class" movement. We see in fact almost better reason for making it a geographical matter, seeing that the farther away from Rome the more thoroughgoing was the change. Scandinavia became Protestant to a man. North Germany was overwhelmingly Protestant, while South Germany and Austria remained substantially under the power of the Papacy. The Reformation was, however, neither wholly a class nor a geographical matter. It was in part the spiritual expression of the rise of new nationality. It incarnated the sense of an individual approach to God apart from the central spiritual autocracy. The theoretical questions of the relation of the church to the state raised by Marsilius de Padua, Archbishop Richard Fitz-Ralph, Wiclif, as well as by Machiavelli and Dante had now to be translated into actual practice. And a situation emerged which in some sense must be regarded as profoundly unfortunate. In Luther's letter to the princes of Germany he calls upon them to reconstitute the church. Not indeed that he recognized the "worldly" sword as higher than the "spiritual" sword, but because in 1520 he wished the whole difference swept away. All men were priests to God, and the whole hierarchy was a matter of order and arrangement, and had become a usurpation of the rights and duties belonging to all Christians. Luther therefore attacked the "three walls" by which this usurpation prevented the reorganization of Christendom, and called upon the aristocracy of Germany and the "hopeful young blood" that had come to the imperial dignity

(Charles V) to take the work in hand. In this early period he still hoped for a "right free" council; but as that hope lost its power Luther increasingly relied upon the strong support given him by the Elector, and turned with an instinctively increasing emphasis upon the supremacy of the state. Luther was a man of action who knew how to defend his activity by cogent intellectual analysis. At the same time he most evidently had no matured and self-consistent political theory. He looked to the temporal power to protect the gospel and suppress heresy, but constantly assumed that only deliberate wickedness and an obstinate blindness could fail to see and recognize the gospel when once proclaimed. And his faith in any type of political supremacy depended upon the readiness shown to accept his gospel. Probably no astuteness on the part of Luther, and no theory, however profoundly right, could have saved the situation. Nevertheless the distractions of the Thirty Years' War, the passive and often ignoble attitude of the Lutheran state churches, and the ready subserviency of the church to the central secular authority are, in part at least, to be traced to Luther's attitude. The young reformation movements trusted to selfish secular leaders, and the reed they leaned upon pierced their hands. This was true alike in Scandinavia and in Germany. Luther's own doctrine grew out of political expediency, as is seen in the wavering outlines of his theory of the relation of church and state. He himself would have been the first to rebel, and maintain his spiritual independence, had he found less faithful allies than he did. Once,

however, the church had committed her fortunes unreservedly to the state she became again a faithful pillar of the existing order, even when that order was divisive tyranny and its policy one of contemptible subordination of national to petty dynastic interests.

Luther appealed to the Scriptures to obtain freedom for faith, and to the protectorate of Constantine to show that the secular power could call a council; but in so doing he re-established the tyranny of the written word and the political state over men's minds. Everyone was indeed bound by the word of Scripture, but the interpretation was left in the hands of a state church wholly dependent upon the secular authority.

It was no wonder that many of the more radical Anabaptists, so called, reached other opinions on the basis of the same open Bible. Most of these sects were as narrow literalists as Luther at his worst, and few of them rose to the heights of personal spiritual freedom that marked Luther at his best. At the same time, it is a most shameful pity that the Reformation had no room for some of its own most noble children. In very various degrees they struggled for individualism, both in interpretation of the Bible and in their relations to the state. The fanaticism so easily charged against them was often as much a result of their treatment as the cause of it. They should certainly have had their hearing and their chance. Nevertheless careful examination of the various political theories of the so-called Anabaptists fails to reveal any one of them holding anything like a modern and fairly

self-consistent theory of the relation of the church to the state. To represent them as "socialists" or "revolutionary communists" or as "forerunners of the modern Protestantism" is to read into them opinions and interests generally quite strange and foreign to their world.

So far as what are called the Anabaptists had anything in common, it was rebellion against an external ecclesiastical authority, and a constant insistence upon the sole authority of the written word. Their attitude toward the secular authority varied much as they found it for or against Rome. When the state persecuted them they took generally the attitude of the early church and denounced the state as they denounced Rome as the Anti-Christ.

The literal interpretation of the Scriptures made most of them despondent with regard to both church and state, and they looked for the speedy coming of Christ in person. Hence any political theory was both unnecessary and unrevealed. It is easy to pick out sayings and phrases from these radical dissenters, that seem to give them a modern look. But in most cases an examination of the context shows that it is a misuse of these phrases to make them reflect any attitude that resembles our modern longing for democracy. Even the demand for religious toleration was a result of their own sufferings, and was often based only on the claim that the persecuted minority had possession of the truth rather than upon any abstract faith in mental freedom.

Of systematic political or social thinking apart from its religious bearings, and its relation to the saving of

individual souls, there is hardly any trace. The speculations concern quite other matters than a political theory, or a philosophy of society. To go directly to the writings of the so-called Anabaptists and read them in connection with the theology of the day will do much to correct the false impressions abroad about these much misunderstood writings.

The case is otherwise when we come to Zwingli and Calvin. Zwingli grew up in the free, or relatively free, atmosphere of Humanism. The Pope favored him and protected him as a humanist, because it was readily seen that Rome could make her peace with Humanism. Rome did not early realize that in many ways Zwingli was the very incarnation of that new national feeling which was to be Rome's most deadly foe. Nor did Rome recognize at first the fact that the freedom of Humanism was in Zwingli ultimately entirely subordinate to the religious and almost exclusive principle of God's absolute sovereignty.

The political and social thinking of the Reformed party in Europe was, like that of the Lutherans, under the influence of the profound faith in the external authority of the Bible. But Zwingli and Calvin took the Old Testament more seriously than did either Luther or Melancthon. Hence the theocracy of the Old Testament became in a distinct sense an authoritative ideal. Professors Max Webber and Ernst Troeltsch (Heidelberg) see in the spirit of Calvinism a main support of modern capitalism. They call attention to the "puritanic asceticism" and self-control which makes economic saving and thrifty frugality important

virtues, while socialist interpretation, like that of Bax and others, sees in Calvinism the religious spirit produced by a middle class trading interest. Both these points of view are one-sided interpretations. Calvinism reached its purest expression in the Highlands of Scotland and the Southern States of North America, where feudalism and slavery and a patriarchal outlook upon life found welcome shelter in the authority of the Old Testament. The rise of industrial capitalism displaced Calvinism in England and is rapidly undermining it in southern Scotland. It is not fair to trace to Calvinism what is much more closely connected with the discovery of coal. It is equally unhistorical to trace the rise of democracy to Calvinism. Here again republicanism rather than democracy is the form in which Calvinism did its social and political thinking. No doubt the conception of a sovereign God to whom immediate appeal can be made against all tyranny has been a tremendous factor in the thinking of a struggling minority. At the same time it has also its tendency to suppress moral autonomy and to place the notion of power rather than even justice in the center of political thinking. Calvinism did not make Scotch Presbyterianism at the time of the Westminster Assembly either politically wise or just. In spite of Professor Troeltsch's denials there remain in Calvinistic thinking many memories of the Roman Catholic outlook upon life with its external authority, its underestimate of the world, its legalism, and its centralized government. The theocracy of Calvin was a distinctly ecclesiastical theocracy.

Elders are not laymen, and in the Presbyterian theocracy the laymen have no direct power. The church elects representatives who are straightway ordained to the ruling ministry, either as deacons or as elders. It is a constitutional authority, indeed, with the word of God written as the fundamental law. But on the other hand the courts that interpret the law are purely ministerial courts. It is a modern corruption of the Calvinistic theocracy that makes elders "laymen."

To some degree, at least, it was the centralizing power of Calvinism that made it a bulwark of Protestantism. But even more than that the appeal to the fighting record of the Old Testament theocracy stirred the blood of the men who resisted Rome in arms. It is dangerous to overestimate the effectiveness of that resistance. Hungary and France were lost. The north of Italy and the Rhine provinces were swept again into the Roman lap. The Forest Cantons, Belgium, and Austria remained at the end of the struggle Roman Catholic. England remained far more Roman Catholic than at times has been acknowledged, as the rise of the High Church party has revealed. Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, and Baden Baden were left with strong leanings to Roman Catholicism so that at the Peace of Westphalia (1648) Rome entered upon the task of the reorganization of her life with much ground recovered that at one time seemed hopelessly gone.

Nor can we acquit Protestantism of political failures and lack of substantial faith in her own most precious gift to men—freedom to think. It

was not Lutheranism nor yet Calvinism that in Germany and Holland fought most bravely for freedom of scientific research and intellectual autonomy. It was the Rationalism that had its roots in the old Humanism. It was in the life of the university that a new Protestantism with larger vision and profounder faith took root. Rousseau, Voltaire, and Socinus are not names to conjure with in religious Protestant circles, but they did more to set the political and social thinking of Protestantism free from the trammels of a Roman Catholic theology and the outward authority of a book than religious leaders are ever likely to acknowledge.

The political and social thinking of classic Protestantism was dominated from the beginning by a theological interest. Men desired political institutions in which a "true" as over against a "false" theological system could live and thrive. To both Luther and Calvin correct doctrine was essential for the world's salvation, and all the political and social arrangements of men were to be subordinated to the protection and extension of the truth as set forth in a theology. Could classic Protestantism have agreed upon its system of doctrine it might have become as fatal a barrier to intellectual autonomy as was ever the Papacy itself. Happily it found protection under various forms of political organization and so never could commit its life to any one form. In Switzerland, Holland, England, Scandinavia, etc., Protestantism combined with the political thought of its age, and discovered as numerous intellectual apologies for the politics it found as there were separate political situations, so

that when Hugo Grotius at last took up the task of relating Protestantism to its international and political environment he really entered upon a new and unworked field.

The practical effect of Protestantism can hardly be overestimated. It gave the spiritual energy without which our new civilization is well-nigh unthinkable. It forced men by its challenge of the existing authority to reflect seriously upon all authority. It bravely nurtured the spirit of restless discontent, and strengthened men for their struggle with a wornout feudalism and an exhausted political ideal. It gave men confidence in vital righteousness, and set men to work on national areas. Moreover, it compelled the Roman hierarchy to insist upon reform along all lines of life, and in a measure indicated the lines of the needed reformation.

Nevertheless Protestantism cannot be regarded as having given the world a new social ideal or as having established a political platform for the one it so vigorously attacked. Even when we include in Protestantism the children of Humanism like Hobbes, Rousseau, Comte, Bentham, and later ones of the same type, he must still realize that the political and social work of Protestantism was mainly negative and its approaches to the constructive task were tentative and even timid.

Why was this the case? The answer is not to be given in a word, for only a realization of the complexity and confusion of the situation enables us to give any answer at all. The constant assumption of both Catholicism and Protestantism alike was that all ecclesi-

astical and political forms were given on the authority of religious revelation. The contention of Catholicism was that this religious revelation was the possession and monopoly of the sacramental hierarchy; the contention of Protestantism, on the other hand, was that it was only contained in the Bible. But all agreed that the last appeal was to a religious revelation. To this authority in the last analysis all political and social theory had to bow. Now unfortunately the religious tradition seemed to sanction a very wide range of differing ecclesiastical and political tradition. Luther's common-sense led him to wish as little outward change in the forms of both church and political government as possible, so long as spiritual freedom was encouraged and practical righteousness was advanced. Calvinism so completely fixed its attention upon the restoration of a true church that political forms were of secondary consideration. And well they might be, for in theory the church became all in all. The theocracy was central, the political machinery was an administrative detail. This too was substantially the attitude of Bucer, to whom the political machinery of England, Germany, and Switzerland seemed completely adequate so long only as the secular authority protected, and in spiritual matters obeyed, the true church established upon the word of God. Moreover, what was in fact "spiritual" and what was "secular" only the church herself could discover and maintain.

Thus it came about that in the dependence of the several Protestant bodies upon secular political organizations the temptation to justify from

Scripture the forms men were accustomed to was very great. From the same religious revelation men cogently defended the divine right of kings to do any wrong, and the divine right of revolution and regicide. For the Catholicism of the Middle Ages the close and high reasoning of Aristotle on political life had entered into the thinking of the schoolmen and formed a part of the religious tradition. Melancthon had clumsily to discover all the things Aristotle had really taught him in the pages of Deuteronomy and Paul. And so all along the line the old authority of tradition dogged the steps of the Reformers as they strove to reconstitute church and state. No wonder their success was questionable, and their blunders dramatic and serious. These confusions led to the dreary compromise in Germany that the religion of the prince should be the religion of the people, and in England to all the bloody confusion of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. It gave France

over to Henry, who thought a kingdom worth a mass or two; and left men's minds distracted and divided between the verdicts of their common-sense and political instinct and their submission to the letter of Holy Writ.

In fact, Protestantism had no such well-defined and intellectually defensible position as had the centralized feudalism of Rome. Her instincts and purposes were right. Her face was toward the future and freedom. But she still was hampered by external authority and was groping in the half-darknesses of a false apologetic. Her life is still shadowed over by the false assumptions of Roman Catholic theology which she has never shaken off, and her way is still much lost amid the traditions in political and social thinking inherited from Rome. But the new world has at last entered upon her view, and in a final article the attempt will be made to trace the lines along which a new Protestantism must reconstruct the life of the world.

THE VALUE OF DRAMATICS IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

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New York City

Within the last few years the educational possibilities of the drama have been fully recognized in pedagogical circles. School after school has demonstrated the value of dramatic work in the judicious training of pupils for patriotic

or seasonal celebrations, pageants, plays, and the like. Some slight attempt has been made to utilize this so-called "play idea" in the Sunday school as well as the day school, and, indeed, considering the universal pedagogical principles which

underlie dramatic action, it is to be hoped that the adoption of the play idea may in the future be more general in those schools specifically devoted to moral and religious instruction.

A primary pedagogical function of the drama consists in its training of thought and reasoning power through impressions made upon the different senses. Dramatic action has a widely varied appeal to both eye and ear. Any form of drama creates on its audience the impression of some form of life; it has to do with humanity and the affairs of humanity, both good and evil. That is to say, dramatic action seeks to reproduce some form of truth. Now there is nothing for which conscientious teachers strive harder than to impress truth upon the minds of their pupils, for a clear sense of truth, once grasped, leads on to the end of all teaching: the ability to reason and to form correct individual opinion.

A second great teaching function of dramatic action lies in its development of the instinct for individual self-expression. Especially is this true in the case of children, from the tenderest years up through adolescence. Little children, incapable of a sustained narrative, delight in brief recitals of their experiences, accompanied and supplemented by pantomimic action and motions. The boy and girl of sixteen and eighteen love to imitate their favorite heroes and heroines.

Moreover, one of the most important elements in the encouragement of self-expression, namely, the cultivation of the imagination, is given ample scope in the various forms of dramatic action. It may incidentally be pointed out, in the discussion of the applicability of

dramatics to the work of the Sunday school, that the fostering of this faculty of the imagination has been part of the work of the church from the earliest times, as is evidenced by her services, architecture, works of art, and many of her traditions.

Turning, however, to what might be called a more strictly practical side of dramatic teaching, one might point out its value in training the memory; in teaching self-reliance and, at the same time, respect for the rights of others; and in demonstrating the value of "teamwork," for in any dramatic production, careful individual work must be done by each actor if the play is to be a success; at the same time no one's part is important to the exclusion of anyone else's. Finally, it is upon the spirit of co-operation displayed by all the participants that the production stands or falls.

A theoretical discussion of pedagogical principles, however, is valueless unless some practical application of them can be made. It may therefore be of interest to state that within the past three years, in a New York City Sunday school, an effort has been made, on the different festival occasions celebrated, to supplement the spiritual work by giving entertainments worthy of the school, built on the children's own experience of life, and based on some of the pedagogical principles mentioned above. In illustration, a Children's Day exercise may be cited. Some scenes from *Pilgrim's Progress*, including "Before the Wicket-Gate," "The Palace Beautiful," "Doubting Castle," and "At the Celestial Gate," were dramatized in the simplest possible form by one of the

teachers in the school, and presented by a class of boys. It was found possible to use the matchless language of the classic practically without change. The story was familiar and dear to the childish hearts of the little actors, and the meaning of the journey undertaken by the hero, the chained lions, the key called Promise, and the crowning of the victor was quite clear to the children and at the same time held eternal lessons. Another year, at Christmas, an entire department of the school entertained the other scholars by representing an old English Christmas, with its boar's head, yule log, carols, and pantomime acting. Each feature was explained, by one of the children, as the survival of an ancient custom originally used to celebrate the passing of the sun through the winter solstice and the consequent return of light, and later adapted to celebrate the coming of the Light of the World. Again, to instance an entirely different application of the same principles, one Thanksgiving some boys and girls presented a scene from Puritan times depicting the hardships in which the pursuit of liberty involved the founders of the republic, and the reward of their unflinching faith in the timely arrival of the provision-ship.

All these plays were "home made," that is to say, they were based on facts easily obtainable from books likely to be found in any town or fair-sized school library, which were incorporated into

very simple dialogue by a teacher. The plays were given without scenery and the children usually appeared in their ordinary clothes, with the addition of some suitable symbolic decoration, such as, for instance, a cross for the character of "Christian." It was found that such an arrangement as this last named satisfied the childish delight of "dressing up," while it did not make the children self-conscious and distract their attention from their work in the play.

From the foregoing discussion it may be seen that the field of possibility from the Sunday-school play idea is large and fertile. The Old Testament, the English classics, missionary stories, the pages of history, all dealing with the ideals and struggles of humanity, are a treasure-trove of dramatic teaching. There is no reason why any Sunday school, even with limited facilities, should not have excellent satisfaction from work similar to that described. Few schools, surely, are without some teacher who can construct the necessary simple dialogue for these little dramas. Literary art, though undoubtedly an asset, is not the first prerequisite in the case. Before it, comes some idea to be expressed, based on an understanding of the needs of one's pupils. Children, with their innate love for playing romantic and heroic parts, are equally ready everywhere to seize upon and learn from beauty and truth when these are presented in attractive form.

THE ROUTE OF ISRAEL IN THE DESERT

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Nyack, New York

The prevailing view among modern scholars regarding the location of Sinai and the route of the Exodus has long been to the effect that the current interpretation of the Exodus narratives which places Mount Sinai at the southern end of the peninsula of Sinai is wrong. Mr. Prentice presents a strong case for the rehabilitation of the traditional view. As such it is worthy of most careful consideration.

The route of Israel from Elath to the Jordan is clearly defined and has occasioned no discussion; until recently the route from Egypt to Elath, by way of the Firan and Gebel Musa, has also been unquestioned; today, however, a small yet formidable group of scholars rejects the traditional route and asserts that Israel followed the shorter and quicker *Derb el Hagg*, the old caravan route past Kalat en Nakhl, to Elath. The arguments in favor of this route may briefly be stated.

1. Moses had, as his objective point, the land of Midian, into which tribe he had married. Midian lay at the head of the Gulf of Akabah and on its eastern shore, therefore he would naturally take the shorter road to Elath, which is the northern.

2. The battle with the Amalekites implies a route along the borders of Amalek, and Amalek dwelt in the Negeb, that is in the sterile districts lying to the south of Hebron. Without any extensive examination of the biblical passages it is enough to say that the country of the Amalekites lay on the line of Chedorlaomer's march, and is mentioned together with Engedi (Gen. 14:7); and that the spies sent out by

Joshua passed northward through the land of Amalek to Canaan. If the Amalekites dwelt in the Negeb, why should they oppose Joshua in the Firan?

3. There are two biblical references which couple the mountains of Se'ir with Sinai: the very ancient Song of Deborah, Judg. 5:5, and the Blessing of Moses, Deut. 33:2. Both passages are poetic and the Hebrew custom of repeating in the second line the meaning of the first line would imply that the writers of these passages identified Se'ir with Sinai. This would demand that we should seek Sinai somewhere in Edom.

4. There were royal mines in Sinai, which lay either on, or close by, the route which Israel is supposed to have taken, and as the miners worked always under a guard of Egyptian soldiers, Israel could not have followed the traditional route without coming into conflict with the soldiers of Pharaoh.

The northern route is unknown to me. I have never passed over it, but I understand that it is practically waterless until Elath is reached, two hundred miles from Egypt. Palmer in *The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 234, describes

the district as an "arid, featureless waste," and says "the country is nearly waterless, with the exception of a few springs in the larger wadies; but even here water can only be obtained by scraping small pits in the ground and baling it out with the hand. All that is obtained by the process is a yellowish solution that baffles all attempts at filtering." He repeatedly speaks of the "utterly arid nature of the soil." Petrie speaks of "the waterless route of the Derb el Hagg"; Currelly, who traveled over it, says "the plateau of the Tih is dreary in the extreme. During our journey across we did not see a single tent, or a beast grazing. Some years ago Professor Sayce stated that the probable route of the Hebrews lay across this desert. This seems to me to be absolutely impossible, for the people could not get across this desert with flocks and herds." The traditional route, on the contrary, is comparatively well supplied with water, not only by springs as at Gharandel, Firan, and at Gebel Musa, but oftentimes in the day's march you will pass over darkened stretches of ground, showing the presence of underground water; and as all the peninsula drains toward the sea, there is a subterranean supply of water which may be tapped anywhere along the coast at the cost of a little digging. The water supply, always the dominant factor, would seem to support the traditional, against the northern route.

But let us examine briefly the arguments upon which the new school rests its claims for the northern route.

1. Moses' objective point was Midian. But was it? According to the Bible, the purpose of Moses was to worship

God upon his Mountain (Exod. 3:12; 8:24); his objective point was not the tents of Midian, but it was Mount Sinai. But on mere economic ground, the argument is in favor of the longer road. Olmstead in his *Journey to the Seaboard Slave States* pointed out three characteristics of the slaves: (a) their unwillingness to work under an overseer of their own color; (b) their inability to endure hardships, or to persist in the face of discomforts; (c) their lack of ambition, of initiative, and of any power of co-operation. These characteristics are the consequences of slavery, and they appear wherever slavery is long established. All three appear repeatedly in the early story of the Exodus.

We know too that Canaan was possessed by a highly developed, military civilization. The kings of Canaan dwelt in great cities, with strong walls, gates, and towers. The land was defended by men in armor, and by chariots of war. The Tell el Amarna letters and such excavations as those at Gezer reveal to us the tremendous task to which Israel had set her hand. A race of slaves must be made over into a race of warriors, and for that transformation the long sojourn in the desert was essential. Not to reach quickly the protection of Midian, but to be thrown on their own resources, to be compelled to fight for their own lives, that was the economic need of Israel.

The difference in actual mileage between the two roads is not so great. It is about two hundred miles by the northern, and about two hundred and fifty miles by the southern route. But along the Derb el Hagg there are no such

halting stations as Gharandel, Firan, and Gebel Musa afford on the traditional route. Along the one road Israel must needs press on with all possible haste, whereas she might tarry for months at Wady Firan, or at Gebel Musa.

2. The battle with Amalek implies a route along the borders of the Negeb. But the wanderings of a nomadic tribe vitiate the argument. As well might you locate a point at sea by a drifting iceberg. If we knew no more of the history of Israel than we do of Amalek what would we infer from the fact that the Israelites appear here as slaves in Egypt, building store-cities for Pharaoh? But forty years later we find them overthrowing a king in Bashan, and then devastating Palestine from south to north. The Midianites appear now along the Gulf of Akabah, yet Gideon gives them battle in the Valley of Jezreel. The Edomites appear now among the mountains of Se'ir, but in the fifth century before Christ we find them occupying the lands of Judea. Palmer says that the Teyabeh tribe, who dwell on the central portion of the Et Tih desert, and through whose territories the suggested route of Israel runs, yearly invade the territory of the 'Anazeh Bedouins, who live around Palmyra, far to the east of Damascus. The story of Midian suggests one solution of the difficulty; a comparison of Exod. 3:1 with Judg. 1:16 and 4:11 seems to indicate that the Kenites were considered to be a branch of Midian, so closely allied that the father-in-law of Moses is now called a Kenite and now a Midianite. Hoskins says that today the Sawalihah and Aleikat tribes are subdivisions of the

Towara Bedouins. May not Amalek have been the name of a number of tribes which were scattered throughout the Negeb and the Sinai Peninsula? At any rate, the wonderful fertility of the Firan and its famous harvest of dates could not but have been a temptation to Amalek, dwelling in the sterile Negeb; they would possess the oasis if they could, and their presence at Rephidim is less difficult to understand than is the appearance of the warriors of the Teyabeh tribe, who today dwell in the land of Amalek, before the ruined walls of far-off Palmyra.

3. The strongest argument for the northern route is perhaps drawn from the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:5) and from the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:2), where Se'ir and Sinai are coupled together. Let us look at these passages; if they cannot stand cross-examination, the attack upon the traditional route is greatly weakened.

In the Song of Deborah we read: "The mountains melted before the Lord, even that Sinai from before the Lord God of Israel." Professor George F. Moore, of Harvard, says that the reference to Sinai is a gloss, "originally, as its form shows, a marginal note made by someone else to whom the language of 5:3 suggested Exod., chap. 19. The rhythm of the passage also gains by its removal. The suspicion that the words are a gloss receives some confirmation from the variations of the Greek versions." As long as this verse is in question, and the reference to Sinai stands indicted as a gloss, it cannot be called into court as a witness.

The other verse (Deut. 33:2) is thus rendered in the Authorized Version:

"The Lord came from Sinai, and rose from Se'ir unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran and he came with ten thousand of saints." The last clause is obscure; a slight change would make the verse read: "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Se'ir unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran and came from Meribah Kadesh." Chapman and Driver, among others, give preference to this translation of the verse. Now if this is an instance of the common practice of parallelism, we must admit that the author of Deut. 33:2 identified Sinai with Se'ir, and the Wilderness of Paran with Kadesh.

But are we shut up to that interpretation? In the tenth chapter of Isaiah we have the prophet's vivid description of the march of the Assyrian against Jerusalem: "He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron, at Michmash he hath laid up his baggage, they have taken up their lodging at Geba, Rama is afraid, Gibeah of Saul is fled." Here is poetry, but not parallelism; on the contrary, each place brings vividly before us the onward march of the Assyrian.

Is there not perhaps a similar intent in this passage of Deuteronomy? Might it not be thus paraphrased: "God appeared to his people at Sinai; again at Se'ir he stood revealed; at Paran he led them, and at Kadesh also he declared his presence"? All the long way from Sinai, past Se'ir and Paran to their halting-place at Meribah Kadesh, he went forth with his people Israel. Unless this interpretation be impossible, and Driver, in his *Commentary on Deuteronomy* in the "International Critical Commentary," supports this

interpretation, then the literary argument against the traditional route and the accepted Mount Sinai falls to the ground.

But if Deut. 33:2 might seem to identify Se'ir with Sinai, the identification is absolutely forbidden by Deut. 1:2. Throughout this book the Mountain of God is called Horeb; the name Sinai never appears except in Deut. 33:2. At Horeb, God makes a covenant with his people (5:2); there the Lord spake unto them (1:6); at Horeb they provoked him to wrath (9:8). Again, it is at Horeb that the Lord spake to Israel out of the fire (4:15). Now remembering that, to the Deuteronomist, Horeb is identical with Sinai (and it makes no difference whether we regard the name as that of a group of mountains among which Sinai was a commanding peak, or whether we take it as another name for Sinai), let us turn to this verse, Deut. 1:2. In the Authorized Version it reads: "There are eleven days' journey from Horeb, by way of Mount Se'ir unto Kadesh Barnea." Driver, in his *Commentary* upon this book, says: "The words convey an approximate idea of the distance from Horeb, the scene of the delivery of the Law, to Kadesh Barnea. The time specified agrees with the narratives of modern travelers; Robinson, for instance, traveling in 1838 from Gebel Musa to Akabah and thence to Ain Kadis, occupied exactly eleven days on the journey. The distance would be about 160 miles. Horeb is the name given uniformly in Deuteronomy (except in 33:2) to Sinai; see also I Kings 8:9, which is a Deuteronomic passage and reads, 'There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of

stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt.' No topographical distinction is traceable between Horeb and Sinai; they are different names of the same locality, interchanging only according to different writers." Then if Israel journeyed from Horeb (or Sinai) to Kadesh by way of Mount Se'ir, Sinai and Se'ir are clearly distinguished from each other. There are at least two roads passing from Gebel Musa to Palestine, one by way of En Nakhl, the other by Akabah and the Mountains of Se'ir. So there are two ways by which you may journey from New York to Boston—you may go by the Shore Line, or by Springfield; if I say that "there are seven hours' journey from New York by way of Springfield to Boston," have I not made it impossible to identify Springfield with New York? What else has the Deuteronomist done in this first chapter and second verse, when he says, "there are eleven days' journey from Horeb by way of Mount Se'ir to Kadesh Barnea"?

4. The southern route led past the Egyptian forts and garrisons placed to defend the Egyptian mines, and Israel could not have avoided battle with the Egyptian soldiers, had she followed the traditional route. Whatever the date of the Exodus may be, Israel could not have left Egypt except at a time of political upheaval, when all the resources of the kingdom were engaged in the defense of the frontiers or of the throne. The political conditions which made possible the Exodus would make it highly improbable, to say the least, that Pharaoh would have leisure to plan an expe-

dition to the Sinai mines, or could spare soldiers to guard the miners. These mining expeditions were sent out only at very irregular intervals, in times of domestic peace, not oftener than once every two years; in the days of Merenptah only once in many years. The expeditions were not large; such figures as we have show only 45, 200, 200, and 257 common laborers engaged (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 117). Once we have a record of 734 soldiers, but the number is so large that it "suggests that the troops were used for mining before specialized parties were sent out" (Petrie). The labor was, of course, forced labor, and such soldiers as were sent with these expeditions would not be greater in number than would be necessary to keep the slaves under control. Fifty soldiers would be a generous estimate for the average expedition. So small a guard could not have blocked Israel's path; indeed it might be fully engaged in restraining those in their charge from deserting to Israel.

But I greatly doubt if Israel passed anywhere near these Egyptian mines. If Israel ascended the present road up the Nak'b el Buderah Pass, and journeyed by way of the Wady Magharah and the Wady Mukatteb to Firan, then they followed a difficult, dangerous, and waterless road, which passes the site of the Egyptian mines. But if they followed the seashore to a point opposite the Firan, and then turned inland, they would have avoided any conflict with the Egyptians, even on the rare chance that the mines were then in operation, and they would have had water all the way, for Currelly says that all along the

coast water can be had by digging in the sands. Since, then, the mines were only worked between the months of January and May, and then at very irregular intervals; since any Egyptian soldiers that accompanied the expeditions would be too few in numbers to halt Israel's march, and since it is very doubtful whether Israel followed a road that would take her near the mines, this last argument loses its force.

But let us turn to the testimony of the actual geography. None of the places mentioned in Exodus or in Numbers can be located on the northern route. No site for Marah can be found. Elath, at the head of the Gulf of Akabah, has been suggested for Elim. To those who do not throw wholly out of court the testimony of the books of Exodus and Numbers it would appear that Marah lay about thirty miles out in the desert, for Israel marched three days and came to Marah. With their flocks and herds, their very aged and their young, they could not have traveled more than ten miles each day (and the traveler today, with every facility for speed, does not go much over twenty miles a day), so that Marah should be sought about thirty miles from Egypt. Elim apparently lay close by Marah, for the Book of Exodus merely says, "and they came to Elim where were twelve wells of water and three score and ten palm trees." Numbers says, "they removed from Marah and came to Elim." No number of days is given, no events seem to have occurred between these two stations. Yet, if Elath be Elim, then between these two, Marah and Elim, there lay one hundred and seventy miles of waterless desert, a distance

greater by seventeen miles than that which separates Suez from the accepted Mount Sinai. Over that sterile desert Israel must needs travel for seventeen days, her life dependent upon daily miracles, yet the historians found nothing to record, and dismissed the journey with the brief words, "they removed from Marah and came to Elim."

Furthermore, according to Num. 33:10, "Israel removed from Elim and encamped by the sea," but if Elath be Elim, it lies upon the sea, and Israel was already encamped by the sea when they camped at Elim. In that case "the sea" would hardly have been named as the distinguishing feature of her next encampment. The springs at El Ma'an have been suggested as a possible Rephidim, but the identification is not possible, for Israel's objective point was Kadesh Barnea, and between El Ma'an and Kadesh lay the impassable mountains of Edom, and the hostile race which forbade their roads to Israel. If the Hebrews ever came to El Ma'an, they had to retrace all their steps to Elath, in order to reach Kadesh Barnea.

Of course we are told that the accounts of the Exodus were written hundreds of years after the events which they describe, that they represent only untrustworthy traditions, and that we can base no arguments upon the lists of stations, or on the number of days of traveling which lay between them.

But follow, if you will, the traditional route a little way toward the traditional Mount Sinai, with your Bible in your hand. For three days you journey over a waterless waste, with the long wall-like ranges of the Et Tih and Er Raha

mountains on your left. That long wall is the salient feature of the journey. After three days' journey you come to a spring of brackish water. True, it is a wholly inadequate supply of water for a thirsty multitude, although my dragoon told me that he had seen six springs breaking out where we found only one, and all the ground is darkened by the presence of underground streams. But is it not suggestive that, three days along the route, you find a brackish spring? Along the northern route you must go six or seven days before you will find water of any kind.

A three hours' march beyond this possible Marah, you come to the plentiful supply of the springs of Gharandel. Does not this fit the site of Elim? Not far beyond Gharandel, the Wady Tayyeb leads down to the Red Sea, the next camping-place of Israel, and today quail are often found along these shores, whither they have been blown by the south wind from the shores of Africa. The Firan satisfies every demand of Rephidim, and as you look down from the summit of Gebel Tournah, where tradition says Moses took his seat when Israel fought with Amalek, you can understand just why a battle should have been fought on that plain below,

you can see the narrow pass that Amalek must defend and through which Israel must force her way. Then beyond the Firan comes Gebel Musa with the plentiful springs that lie about her base.

Now granting that the account of the Exodus was written long after the event, but remembering that from the death of Moses onward, no man of Israel except Elijah, so far as we know, ever entered this peninsula, the questions that persist in my mind are, How did the writer of the story in Exodus ever come to imagine such a route as he describes, and how does it happen that that route fits so well this one road through the desert, and no other road? Why should he have conceived that three days' journey through the wilderness, then Marah, Elim, the sea, and Rephidim, and how could he have described a route which so marvelously agrees with the traditional route, unless Israel had actually passed along this way, unless whoever wrote the story had heard it told over the camp-fires of his people, unless the tradition had been driven deep into the fibers of the national life, and had been kept alive through many centuries as the fathers told the story to their children?

JAPANESE BUDDHISM AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS

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There was perhaps no passage of Scripture which caused the translators of the Bible into Japanese so much trouble as the opening verses of the Gospel according to John. The controversy was not over the meaning of the *Logos*, but rather over the oriental equivalent and the word to be chosen as the best translation. The committee of translators divided into two camps: on the one side were those familiar with the Chinese version which they seemed to regard as even more authoritative than the Greek, Latin, and other versions before them. On the other side was the thoroughgoing Japanese party which did not regard the Chinese version as a necessary medium for transmitting western thought. In the Chinese version the *Logos* had been translated by the word *T'ao*, Japanese *Do* or *Michi*, meaning "way," i.e., "way" both in a literal sense and "way" also in the sense of the law of things, the divine principle of things. But the Japanese party felt that this content was inadequate, and rather than take a word with such a definite content it would be better to translate *logos* by the Japanese term for "word," *kotoba*, and then let usage and exegesis by-and-by fill this Japanese term for "word," *kotoba*, with the full Christian *logos*-content. The result of the controversy was a compromise, and it was a compromise rather striking. The Chinese character for *do*, *michi*, i.e.,

"way," was retained, but the pronunciation of it, as indicated by the *kana*-system of writing which is written alongside of the Chinese characters, was fixed as *kotoba*, "word." So when a Japanese reads his Bible his eye takes in the double idea of "way" and "word," though the ear would only catch the term for "word."

Now, of course, after several decades of Christian preaching and exegesis the *logos*-passage is understood fairly much in the same way as it would be in the West, though of course to the scholar in the East who is acquainted with his own systems of thought and somewhat under their sway the *logos*-doctrine is more or less modified, for the East too has the *logos*-idea, all apart from its recent introduction by Christianity. And it is of these oriental counterparts that we wish to speak, after first giving a brief statement of the main outlines of the *logos*-idea in the West.

I. The *Logos*-Idea in the West

We realize of course that there is no such thing as a definite *logos*-doctrine, or rather that it was held under various forms. Only in a general way may we say that it stood for the idea of an immanent reason in things. It is the theory that there is a rational principle in the universe. For convenience' sake we will divide the résumé into five divisions.

1. The Greek Logos

From the beginning of Greek philosophy with its idea of a cosmos, the *logos*-doctrine is more or less present. Heraclitus in the sixth century, it would seem, was the first to recognize the inadequacy of the older theories of the universe which conceived of all things in terms of the purely physical. He felt the need of inserting the idea that there is something in reality like the reasoning power in man. In short, he felt that reality should be interpreted in terms of the psychic. But his conception of the psychic was after all rather materialistic, and so his rational principle of the universe, his *logos*, was only a refined sort of substance, a supersensible form of matter.

This conception of a refined psychico-physical substance gave rise through Anaxagoras and his followers to the conception of a supreme, intellectual principle, not identified with the physical world, but independent of it. This was the first clear formulation of the dualism of mind and matter. Plato's ideas as "archetypes" of things and as the deepest realities were one step farther in recognizing the rational principle of things. In fact, with Plato the idea and the rational principle tended to exclude the other side of reality represented by the concept matter, though his system was never an absolute monistic idealism, but always recognized, at least in a measure, the *μηδὲν*.

Plato's ideas were mere archetypes and they lacked the active principle that is everywhere manifested in things. This was supplied by the Stoics. Their *logos* was not only a rational principle in things, but an active force,

and because of the emphasis on the idea of activity, Stoicism in its *logos*-doctrine reverted again, to a degree at least, to the old Heraclitean position which recognized Reason in things, but which conceived of Reason again in terms of substance. They spoke of "God and the *Logos*," but the conception was Pantheistic or rather Hylozoistic with a tendency toward a refined materialistic monism. Thus the *logos*, the immanent Reason of things, is the ultimate existence, but it is an existence conceived more in terms of substance than in terms of man's psychic life. With the Stoics began the special idea of the *seminal logos*, i.e., the idea that the *Logos* is divided into the *logoi* and that thus man as an individual, rational being is but a part, as it were, of the One Great Reason. Truth in the thought of an individual is the expression of the *Logos*.

2. The Hebrew Logos

The Israelites, particularly in the early period, had an overpowering sense of the reality of a personal God who is the creator and sustainer of all things. This strong belief often expressed itself in extreme and almost crude anthropomorphic conception, but when the Jews became a little more speculative they began to think of God rather as the Absolute and the Infinite. God ceased to be so near and Yahweh was replaced by the Almighty, the Majesty on High. Thus there arose a feeling for the need of a mediator between this Majesty on High and man. This mediatorship was assigned to the Shekinah, the Spirit of God, the Word of God, and the Wisdom of God. The creative Word in Genesis and the Wisdom of God in the Wisdom

literature exercised very much the same function as that of the *Logos* in other systems. The Word of God and the Wisdom of God were not regarded as absolutely separate from God, but rather as attributes of God, though occasionally there was a tendency toward separation of the Word and even of personifying it. But whether regarded as a part of God or as separate from God the *logos* in Hebrew thought was always subordinate to God, and never is God, as the absolute, dissolved into a mere rational principle of the universe.

3. The Persian Logos

Persian dualism recognized two principles in things, viz., light and darkness, good and evil, mind and matter. Each principle is underived, and from the interaction of the two this world has arisen. Individuals are, as it were, parts of the great realities and they represent in varying degrees the nature of these ultimate principles. The rational in man is a part of the rational principle in the all, i.e., the *Logos* as in Stoicism is divided into the *logoi*, though in Persian thought the emphasis was not placed so much on the idea of the rational as on the idea of the good. That is, the *logos*-principle had a strong ethical bent.

4. Greco-Jewish Logos of Philo

Philo's *logos* is a combination of Jewish and Greek conceptions. He starts with the Jewish conception of God as the ultimate reality and the *logos* is subordinate to this self-existing God and therefore not an absolute principle as it was in Stoic philosophy. The immanent reason in the world is subordinate to the creator of the world. But under the influence of the "creative word"

idea of Jewish thought and the Stoic idea of the dynamic *logos* Philo makes his *logos* more than a mere rational principle of things or a mere "archetypal idea" of Platonism, but rather a combination of the rational and active principle in things. This combination is elevated into a real being other than God and other than the world, a sort of intermediary being or a second God. Probably under the influence of Persian dualism of good and evil Philo felt the need of an intermediary being between the perfect God and this world of evil; and this helped emphasize his conception of the *logos* as a separate being that could bridge the chasm. But even this was not sufficient, for if the *logos* is a being who sums up in himself the activities and attributes of God he cannot be responsible for the evil in the world. This led Philo, in spite of his Hebraic starting-point of God, to adopt a sort of dualism after all. God through the *logos* does not create the world, but fashions the world out of chaos according to the principles of reason; the matter or substance of chaos being given. In short, Philo too had to make room in his system for a principle other than the *logos*-principle. Opposed to mind is matter, opposed to good is evil, opposed to the rational (*logos*) is the irrational.

5. The Christian Logos

The framework of the Christian *logos*-doctrine, as found in the Fourth Gospel and in Paul's letters to the Ephesians and Colossians, is essentially that of Philo, who regarded the *logos* as a person, but the content is after all somewhat different. Philo's *logos* is the *logos* of metaphysical speculation, the Christian *logos*

starts with a given fact and experience, viz., the fact of the person of Jesus Christ, and tries to fit this fact into a metaphysical schema. The Christian *logos*, in short, is the creative word of the Old Testament become flesh in the person of Jesus Christ. Then further, in the New Testament the *logos* is not so much the rational and creative agency of the divine as the redemptive agency. Not the creative word in the sense that the word creates the world, but rather the revealed word, the word that creates a new life out of existing life.

Summary of the Logos-Doctrine

Now from this cursory review of the different forms of the *logos*-doctrine let us try to get a general conception, and sum up if possible under a few main heads what seem to be the main ideas.

In general, as we said above, the *logos*-doctrine stands for the theory that there is a rational principle in things. And this rational principle of things is regarded in the above theories in one of three ways:

1. It is regarded as the ultimate and absolute principle, superior to all other principles.
2. It is regarded as one of two principles, i.e., co-ordinate with another and opposing principle.
3. It is regarded as a subordinate principle, subject to a higher and more ultimate reality.

The first of these is represented by certain phases of the Greek *logos*, principally the Stoic. The second has its best representative in Persian Dualism, though early Greek philosophy, too, manifests such a tendency, and Philo himself is not altogether free from it. The third finds its chief representative

in the Hebraic thought in which the *logos*-principle was always subordinated in one way or another to the ultimate reality, God.

II. The Oriental Counterparts

As we said above, the term by which *logos* in the Fourth Gospel is translated is the Chinese *T'ao*.

1. *T'ao* (Japanese *Do* or *Michi*—Way)

Now the word *T'ao* is the same as the *T'ao* in *T'aoism*, the ancient religion of China. *T'aoism* on its philosophical side is essentially a *logos*-philosophy. The ultimate is *T'ao* and *T'ao* is the *way* of Nature. If *T'aoism* were being formulated today, the idea would be very little different from our conception of the rational laws of Nature. *T'aoism* did not personify the *T'ao*, but rather represented it as the great rational principle that pervades the universe. Man is a part of the *T'ao* as the *logoi* were a part of the *Logos* in Stoic philosophy. Man's supreme business is to let the *T'ao* that is within him have supreme sway. If man becomes thoroughly assimilated to *T'ao* he will have peace and quiet and attain his highest destiny. *T'ao* is the norm and substance of all things, and the imperfections and annoyances of life are but a secondary reality which can be entirely eradicated if man would but let the supreme *T'ao* have its way, i.e., let the supreme *Way* be his way. Jesus as the *Way* of life would thus be the easiest way of approach to those trained in *T'aoistic* thought. The only difficulty is that *T'ao* is not personal, but, as we said above, more like the *logos* of the Stoic philosophers.

Similar to the Chinese *T'ao* is that other great conception that runs all

through Chinese and Japanese philosophy, viz., the conception of the *Ri*—"reason" or "rational principle." The *Ri*, however, seldom stands alone, for the Chinese were too practical and had too much the sense of the real world that surrounded them ever to ignore that other aspect of existence which has always made even the most severe monistic systems leave one window open for dualism or pluralism. In some cases, however, an attempt is made to reduce the *Ri* and its opposing principle to a more ultimate reality, and the result is a system very much akin to Spinoza's. In other systems the two opposing principles of existence are conceived of in terms of moral qualities, e.g., the *Yang* and *Yin*—Light and Darkness, Good and Evil—a conception practically the same as that of Persian Dualism.

2. The *Ri*

In some of the later Buddhist systems of thought a supreme effort is made to make the *Ri*, the rational principle of things, into the ultimate and to reduce the opposing principle to a secondary and accidental reality. In fact, all imperfection and irrationality is said to have no real existence. It is due to ignorance and illusion. But what is the origin of ignorance and illusion? It has no origin, because the idea that there is ignorance and illusion is itself an illusion, i.e., not real. But the point in all these systems is this, viz., that there is a rational principle in things and that the *Ri* either is the ultimate principle itself or at least is one aspect of the ultimate reality.

3. Personifications

In the West the *logos*-principle was sometimes personified. In Philo, e.g.,

the *logos* was regarded as an individual being, and in Christianity it became the incarnate Son of God. In the East there have been similar tendencies. The idea of personality is, of course, very vague in the Orient, and especially is the oriental mind slow in thinking of the ultimate reality in terms of personality. Pantheism has ever been and is today still the dominant mood; but in spite of this fact there have been tendencies in eastern thought which make room for the concept of personality, even when applied to ultimate principles and realities. Polytheism, so common in the East, is itself one of these tendencies, for what is polytheism but a personification of existence? It is true, polytheism is not a personification of the *logos*-principle but rather a personifying of all attributes and characteristics of existence. But polytheism in the mind of the thinker becomes sublimated and refined until the manifold of existence is reduced to a single underlying and all-pervasive reality. And this underlying reality is frequently conceived of in terms of the psychic and rational in man. This rational principle in turn is personified very much like the personification of the *logos*-principle in Philo. This is most clearly shown in the teachings of certain sects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in the teachings of the Amida sects of Japan. The conception of the personified *logos*-principle is succinctly summed up in the doctrine known as the

Three Bodies of Buddhism

i.e., the three different meanings with which the phrase, the Body of Buddha, is used.

In the first place the Body of Buddha means the universe as such, or rather

the underlying reality of all things. This underlying reality the Buddhist calls the "real substance."

Real substance is the body of law which underlies the entire universe. This is the so-called spiritual essence which neither is born nor perishes. The apparent differences in the world are but the product of impure thought; outside the mind there are no real differences. Therefore the real essence of the universe is not to be expressed in words, nor can it be reduced to a fixed formula. It is incomprehensible and ultimately it is a Oneness in which there is neither change nor difference. It is indestructible, and because it is a Oneness it is called Real Substance. . . . Whatever is, is evolved from the One Body of Real Substance by the law of cause and effect, and therefore everything is substantially one and the same.

The Body of Buddha, then, in the first place means the underlying reality of all things. It is sometimes called the Law-Body of Buddha, i.e., the universe regarded as the expression of Law.

But in the second place the phrase, the Body of Buddha, means an Ideal Personality. That is, Buddha is not regarded as simply the Law of Things, but he is regarded as personal. Religion needs the concept of personality, say these Amida Buddhists. Through the working of the rational laws of the universe there appeared in the course of time a certain individual. This individual known as Hozo Biku through many lives of hardships and self-discipline finally attained Buddhahood, and he is now the Buddha Amitabha (Japanese Amida), the Personal God of Amida Buddhism.

Everything in the universe is evolved from the one body of Real Substance

spoken of above; "but in order to polish up existence into spiritual beings of absolute and perfect natures whose essence is mercy and wisdom a long process is needed." In this long process man appeared and among men in the course of time appeared the above-mentioned Hozo Biku who finally attained Buddhahood and who is now the god Amida. Notice, Amida is not a personal god, to begin with, for the absolute as such is not personal according to Buddhists, but only after a long process of the operation of the natural laws of the universe is personality evolved, and the personal gods of Buddhism are in the last analysis but the result of an evolution which had its beginnings in the impersonal. Thus the Law-Body of Buddha becomes the Personal Buddha which Amida Buddhists say is essential to religion, for the common man cannot grasp the concepts of philosophy, and needs reality reduced to the terms of personality.

Here then we have a clear case in which the *logos*-principle of the universe is made into a personal being. Sometimes the personifying tendency is carried a step farther. The distinctive attributes of this personal god Amida, viz., his mercy and wisdom, are themselves personified, and we get the goddess of mercy, *Kwannou*, and the god of wisdom, *Seishi*; and these two together with Amida, who is spoken of by some Buddhists as the Father, constitute the Buddhist Trinity, viz., *Amida*, *Kwannou*, and *Seishi*. These may be seen in many temples in Japan.

But the phrase the Body of Buddha is used in a third sense, viz., Buddha as revealed in the historic Buddhas of

which Gautama was but one in a long series. Whether the ultimate is regarded as mere impersonal Reason, or whether it is regarded as Personal, it manifests itself in historical personalities, especially in the great personalities of history; though all human beings are regarded as in some way reflecting the eternal. In this third conception of the Body of Buddha we have again the common Western conception of the eternal *Logos* manifesting itself in the *logoi* of individual beings.

Thus the oriental mind is not at all unprepared to understand the *logos*-doctrine of Christianity, or any other form of it. The most common form in the East is the conception of the *logos* as the rational principle in things. The *logos* as personal and as incarnate in the lives of Buddhas is held widely with a Pantheistic background, i.e., the impersonal *Logos* manifests itself in the *logoi* of individual beings. And finally the idea of the *logos* as a unique incarnation in a historical personality is not altogether absent, but it differs rather sharply from the Christian conception in that the clean-cut theistic background is wanting, and further in that the historical personality in which the *logos* is incarnate lacks the marks of reality. Hozo Biku, the incarnate *logos* of the Orient, has not a shred of historical reality about him. He is but the figment of men's minds, the subjective creation of those who were groping after God. If asked when this man Hozo Biku lived, we are told that he lived 10 *kalpas* ago. Now a *kalpa* is measured as follows: Fill a castle 10,000 miles in cube with mustard seeds. Take out one seed every three years and when the castle is

empty one *kalpa* has elapsed. Hozo Biku lived 10 *kalpas* ago. It is not strange that he does not seem very real. How tremendously real the Christian *Logos* of the Fourth Gospel seems when compared with this Buddhist figment of Amida! In fact, so *real* is Christ, the incarnate *Logos*, that many a Japanese Amidaist who is ready to accept the general theistic schema of Christianity balks when he comes to Jesus and his very definite demands upon a man's life.

The Superiority of the *Logos*-Doctrine of Christianity

And herein lies the great superiority of Christianity over Buddhism: not simply in its system of a theistic philosophy, but in its flesh-and-blood reality of the incarnate *Logos*, the Jesus of the New Testament. Jesus seems so magnificently *real* to one who has waded through the Buddhist subjective creations in the pursuit of a satisfying ideal. A doubting Thomas can see in him the nail prints of humanity and rejoice that he is so *real*. Christ is not merely a Savior-idea—Hozo Biku is that—but he is an objective reality back of the idea. Our modern psychologists who regard the god-idea and the Savior-idea as the important thing, irrespective of the ontological reference of the idea, have yet something to learn, the God-idea and the Savior-idea function only so long as there is a reality that corresponds to the idea. Buddhism has the idea of the incarnate *logos* in Hozo Biku, the savior of man, but this idea is as weak and unsatisfying as it is old, for there is no historical and objective reality back of it. The incarnate *logos* never existed as did the Christian *Logos*.

THE CANONS OF INTERPRETATION

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To one seeking the right interpretation of any writer, secular or sacred, a proper mode of procedure cannot fail to be of interest. How then shall one determine aright the sense of a text, as for example, a portion of Scripture? Five simple rules well observed will do the business.

1. *Interpret lexically*, that is, consult some standard lexicon. Such a book is for us laymen a last court of appeal. What scholarship has agreed upon as the meaning of a word, that must be its meaning for us. Words come and words go, and change with the passing of time. We must seek, then, the sense of the word as used at the time of the work or writer studied. We must, further, determine the classification of the document concerned, whether technical, scientific, or literature for art's sake. The reader of "The Traveler" may feel a trifle disturbed by the words:

But small the bliss that sense alone bestows,

And *sensual* bliss is all the nation [i.e., Italy] knows.

But *sensual* here is to be explained in the light of the preceding *sense*.

Equally puzzled are we by the words of the Psalmist to the effect that "The God of my mercy shall *prevent* me"; "Thou *preventest* him with blessings of goodness"; and the declaration of the

apostle that "we shall not *prevent* them who are asleep."¹ But traced to the Latin root this word becomes sun-clear, i.e., "to meet" (Pss.), "to precede" (Th.). A similar though different history underlies the word *penance*. From Jerome to the Reformation the Vulgate was the Bible of the western church. From "penitence" to its Latin origin, *poenitentia* (*poena*) was only a step. It was when the German scholars tracked out the passages in dispute, that they found the original to be not *poenitentia* but *metanoia* (*μετάνοια*), and the new teaching found a foothold.

Rom. 8:29 has long been a battleground. Quite opposite sects have found refuge here, oftentimes finding themselves standing under the eaves to get out of the rain. Truth is, the word "know" (*γινώσκειν*) here signifies to take note of, "fix the regard upon," and the preposition (*προ-*) does no more than to refer a historic act to the divine counsel that preceded it.

Further, following the use of the Septuagint, in later Greek the distinction between simple and compound verbs is blurred and prepositions are piled up without particular effect.² Again, the angel that stood on land and sea declared that "time" should be no longer.³ This suggests the end of the world, and accordingly, fear and terror have at more or less regular

¹ A.V. 21:3; 59:10; 79:8; I Th. 4:15.

² Cf., e.g., Sanday and Headlaw, *Romans*, pp. 216.

³ Rev. 10:6 A.V.

intervals possessed the faithful. But χρόνος need not necessarily mean time, but, as in R.V.,¹ may mean simply "delay." Likewise, whoever will find in history the background of Jas. 1:17 will confer a great boon by solving the crux of this letter. Just what is here referred to as "lights" it is difficult to say, for the word used (φωτῶν) may include a variety of objects from the heavenly bodies to mortal man.²

2. A second law for our guidance is, *interpret grammatically*. In the story of the storm at sea,³ Jesus was found asleep. "Asleep on a pillow," reads A.V., changed by R.V. to "asleep on the cushion" (τὸ προσκεφάλαιον). The cushion in question was the familiar boat-cushion, and even if only a bag filled with husks, was a recognized item in a boat's outfit. Now by a touch quite overlooked by the revisers of 1611, the Greeks signified particulars by what grammarians are pleased to call "the article of recognition." The cushion was the ever-familiar boat-cushion. The *locus classicus* is found in the Book of Acts.⁴ But here the A.V. has put in what the Greek expressly and purposely omitted. This is not a picture of heathen groping after the God of Israel, but an effort to render homage to an unknown benefactor. Likewise, the crux of the Epistle to the Hebrews swings on a point in grammar.⁵ Renewal for the *lapsi* (those who under pressure or torture recanted) was a sore problem. The verb here signifying

renewal (ἀνακαινίζειν) is clearly used in the active voice. To attempt escape by reference to Matt. 19:26 is to cite something not germane to the question in hand. To attempt to make it a middle voice in sense and thus declare self-renewal impossible is arbitrary.⁶ In the light of chap. 10 there seems only one way of escape, namely, to take the evident meaning, i.e., *lapse cannot be followed by renewal*, and then seek a way of escape by some other route. Nor are such puzzles peculiar to Scripture. Turning again to our "Traveler," we find similar problems.

Each wish contracting, fits him to the soil.⁷

The mystery here is solved by finding the subject of the verb in the man himself, and by expanding "him" to "himself"; that is, the peasant, remote from the causes of extravagant desires, originating within his own simple mind his needs, adapts himself to his place in the hamlet he calls his home.

3. Our reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews brings us to another rule, *interpret contextually*. A passage must be construed consistently with its context, since it is likely that the writer at least intended to send out a harmonious, rational document. Thus, the action of fire as indicated in vs. 8 would, according to this writer's mind, preclude restoration—in vs. 6—and further, the meaning in chap. 10 is obvious beyond question. Also in Rom. 1:17 we have a classic instance. Shall we

¹ So A.R.V. and Br. m.

² Cf. Suicer, *Thes. Eccles.*, II, 1480 (φῶς).

³ Mark, A.V., reads "a cushion"; R.V., "the," i.e., a particular cushion.

⁴ 17:23; cf. Deissmann, *Paulus*, pp. 178 ff.

⁵ 6:6.

⁶ Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 150.

⁷ L. 184. This is practically our problem in Hebrews turned around.

read, "The just will live by [their] faith," or "The just by faith will live"? In the latter case, it is argued, there are two classes of just ones—those who have done works whereon they may rely, and those who must rest on their faith, but this calls to mind the Old Testament passage cited,¹ where the meaning is evident, and if we further compare our verse with the opening paragraph in chap. 4, we shall find that even Abraham, prince of those supposed to be justified by works, is reckoned among those justified by faith.

4. But the passage from Hebrews calls up still another law, *interpreted historically*. The historical background is often the best if not the sole method for getting at the meaning of a passage. The covert references in any considerable piece of literature, whether the *Divine Comedy*, the tracts of Milton, the letters of Burke, *Hudibras*, or the *Dunciad*, all stand revealed in the light of history. The student of Paul must first know of the world of Paul, the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean—Jerusalem to Rome, for that matter.² Further, Christianity sprang from the lap of Judaism. Much of the setting is Jewish, and only from that setting are many passages to be successfully construed. And, further still, Christianity grew up in the midst of that bewildering Greco-Roman civilization and becomes clear only in the light of that bewildering complex thought of the first century.

Accordingly, the reference to angels in Acts 12:15, Matt. 18:10, and similar passages, roots back in Jewish theology. To quote Professor J. H. Moulton, angels are "spiritual counterparts of human individuals or communities, dwelling in heaven, subject to changes depending on the good or evil behavior of their complementary beings on earth."³ Hence the reply to the damsel Rhoda's query, though so blind to us Occidentals, was a then familiar allusion to a universally accepted belief. In I Cor. 10:4 occurs a strange allegory concerning the Rock that was Christ. According to rabbinic tradition, a rock followed Israel in their Wilderness journey—providentially arranged—moving as they moved and halting when they camped. This rock when smitten was a never-failing fountain ("Cum vexilla castra ponerent, et tabernaculum staret, illa petra venit; et consedit in atrio tentorie"⁴).

In I Tim. 1:4 we find a warning against "endless genealogies." Here it is the bewildering blend of Greco-Oriental thought that must illuminate the way. The Gnostics sought to combine philosophy with—or to seek a philosophic basis for—Christianity. World-creation was by a series of emanations of and from the divine original ground, source, or basis. This interpretation is familiar to students of the church-writers of the second century. The allusion is ambiguous, but either way equally apt for illustration here.⁵ Arguing

¹ Hab. 2:4.

² Cf. Berry in *Expos. Times*, January, 1912, p. 182.

³ Cf. Schoettgen, *Horae Heb. et Talm.*, I, 623.

⁴ Cf. *HDB.*, IV, 770; Schoettgen, *Horae Heb. et Talm.*, I, 855 ff.; *Encyc. Bib.*, II, cols. 1659 f.; *Jew. Encyc.*, V, 596 f.

⁵ Cf. Deissmann, *Paulus*, chap. ii.

from I Tim. 1:17, however, others see here an allusion to speculations based on the legendary history of the Patriarchs and their descendants, as, e.g., in the Apocalyptic literature.

5. The last of these five canons for interpretations is *interpret analogically*. It is a safe rule to interpret an author by himself wherever possible, and a document by itself or other contemporary documents. It stands to reason that any sane writer will seek uniformity—barring changes for growth, development, or different conditions.

Again, our interpretation of Heb. 6:6 (Rom. 1:17; cf. chap. 4, might be referred to this canon) finds further help by reference to chap. 10. Surely, in four short chapters the most rhetorical writer in the New Testament would hardly

contradict himself so utterly, especially since he of all the writers was appealing to a critical, possibly hostile, audience. Hence chap. 6 must be interpreted, wherever in doubt, in harmony with the indubitable meaning of chap. 10. Further light appears by reference to the Jewish theological background. From Deut. down to IV Esdras we find a chain of references witnessing to the idea of purgation by fire, the finality of the act, and, further, it is evident that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had not come to the fulness of the knowledge of the gospel as taught by Paul.

This last canon should be applied with caution, for progressive spirits like a Paul, a Luther, or a Wesley never hesitate to revise their opinions in the light of new evidence.¹

THE APOSTLE PAUL IN ARABIA

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“But I went away into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus”: if Paul had not written this to the Galatians, we should know nothing about an important part of his apostolic career.

Many of the authorities on the life of Paul appear to agree that he spent two or three years in Arabia, directly after his conversion, and conclude that he spent that amount of time in reflection;

that he found himself in much confusion as a result of the vision near Damascus and that this time was required for intellectual and theological readjustment before he would be equipped for his great career as an apostle. These volumes also appear to agree essentially in the conclusion that “Arabia” is to be identified with the present Arabian peninsula. There are some difficulties

¹ Cf. Paul’s change of view on the question of the Parousia, and the changing viewpoint in Wesley’s *Christian Perfection*.

in the way of accepting these quite natural conclusions.

It is improbable that the conversion of Paul was a psychological upheaval that resulted in chaos, or even in temporary confusion. Professor James, in *Varieties of Religious Experience*, defines conversion as follows:

To be converted, to be regenerated . . . are so many phrases which denote the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong, inferior, and unhappy, becomes unified, and consciously right, superior, and happy, in consequence of its superior hold upon religious realities.

Romans, Galatians, Paul's addresses quoted in Acts, and his efficient career as a missionary, all indicate that Paul's conversion was not a process of unsettling, but of bringing order and light where before there was uncertainty and the darkness of a great, deep unrest and contradiction of soul; that his spirit, baffled by the hopelessness of legalism, was liberated by a vision of the heavenly Messiah.

Thus the accepted interpretation of the "sojourn in Arabia" appears to be psychologically untenable. Had Paul gone away into "Arabia" from such a motive before his conversion, the logic would be sound. Indeed, the theory that Paul needed Arabia for reflection and readjustment appears to be founded, unwittingly, upon the supposition that the experience he underwent as he drew near Damascus was a sudden materialistic phenomenon that arrested his headstrong course, rather than the culmination of a profound inner experience such as Paul speaks of in Romans and Galatians.

Again, Paul was a man of action, and not a recluse. The better part of three years of secluded reflection in Arabia is an incredible anomaly in the early days of the first love, and the new-found joy of a converted Paul. Was Paul outdone by Andrew who hastened to tell his brother Simon that he had found the Messiah? And Paul expressly tells the Galatians that the light came into his soul that he might "make him known among the Gentiles." He further declares in the next word that "straightway," instead of studying, or inquiring from Peter or other Christians, he went away into "Arabia," logically, to begin the task that had just been made plain to him. Was Paul the man who must first go and "bury the dead" of his former theology? Would Paul, having once seen the Lord and heard his command, turn back from the plow for three years? Had Paul been such a personality we should never have heard of him. Had the impetuous and passion-impelled Paul been capable of becoming a recluse for the first three years of his Christian joy, neither Jews nor Romans would ever have found it necessary to persecute him, for he would never have become the most efficient of those who turned the world upside down.

The Pauline type of man thinks on his feet, and reflects as he works. The virility and vitality of his conception of Christianity all argue that his convictions were forged by a strong and quick arm that would break away from any sling. Modern students will do well to remember that in his process of inner readjustment he did not need to consult a long line of precedents, nor to digest bookcases full of authorities in

many languages. Such readjusting as was needed could most healthily be done in action. Paul was not the man to seek to learn to swim by reading books about the subject, but by plunging into deep water. He was a modern great-power-at-high-speed locomotive and could get up steam pressure for his future task best by running at seventy miles an hour, with the exhaust to furnish a blast for the fires. Instead of going away into Arabia for three years of reflection, he would more likely follow Jesus' precedent of a peripatetic school and ministry combined.

Acts suggests an Apostolic-age meaning of the term "Arabia" which appears to have been overlooked. The list of the Jews of the Dispersion represented at the Feast of Pentecost names the Eastern Dispersion first: "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers of Mesopotamia"; then the central region, Judea, is named; then the Western Dispersion: "Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome." Then follow two summary and definitive, inclusive ethnic terms: "Both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians," "Cretans" signifying the Western Dispersion by a western geographical name, while "Arabians," in like manner, summarized the eastern groups named (Acts 2:9-11a).

In the Old Testament literature, Arabia was often referred to as "Kedem," *the East* (cf. Gen. 10:30; 25:6; 29:1, etc.). Trained in Palestine, Paul naturally used "the East" and "Arabia" as interchangeable terms. "Arabia" is equivalent to saying, "the

field of the Eastern Dispersion." This loose use of geographical and ethnic terms, and even their misapplication, is exceedingly common in Hebrew and Aramaic literature (cf. D. S. Margoliouth, article "Arabians," in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, Vol. I).

There are abundant reasons why Paul, directly or "straightway" after his conversion, should go and preach to the Eastern Dispersion. It is a matter of common agreement that the Eastern or Hebrew Dispersion, and the Western or Greek Dispersion were separated by differences far wider and more fundamental than those of language. Tradition, cultural environment, training, and prejudice had separated them indeed as "far as the East is from the West." Edersheim states convincingly the attitude of the Pharisees toward the two dispersions: "Phariseism, in its pride of legal purity and of the possession of traditional lore, with all that it involved, made no secret of its contempt for the Hellenists, and openly declared the Grecian far inferior to the Babylonian dispersion" (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, I, 7 ff.). Only comparatively few of the exiles had returned to Palestine. The school of Gamaliel as well as the "Eastern" Pharisees recognized that the only perfect genealogical lists were to be found in the Babylonian Dispersion, and that the Eastern Dispersion alone could claim purity of descent from Abraham. Ezra was so important a personage to Judaism that according to rabbinic teaching the Law would have been given by him, had not Moses obtained that honor. The best Targums and the Mishna or second Law came from Babylon. Edersheim states that the

father of Halakkic study was Hillel the Babylonian, while Eleazar the Mede, who lived contemporary with Paul, was the most popular Haggadist.

Had Paul been a Sadducee as well as Hellenist-born, his preaching first to the Eastern Dispersion would be remarkable. As a "Pharisee of the Pharisees" he was bound to go first to the pure descendants of Abraham, the most genuine Jews of the race. The esteem in which Babylon was held by Paul's contemporaries is shown by the fact that after the destruction of Jerusalem with its temple, the spiritual supremacy of Judaism removed to the Euphrates valley, and after 73 A.D. Babylon became the rabbinic capital. Thither also followed the apostle of the Judaizing Christians (cf. I Pet. 5:13).

While Paul's commission was to the Gentiles, he uniformly went first, in each center of the Roman Empire where he wrought, into the synagogue and began by preaching Jesus to the Jews. Only after they had "rejected the counsel of God" did he turn to the Gentiles. He recognized that his debt was first to the Jew. True to the precedent of Jesus, the children of the household must first be fed, then the dogs. Like Jesus, he laments in bitterness of soul the rejection of their Messiah by his own race.

Students of the life of Paul seem to be obsessed with the foregone conclusion that his missionary career and work are faithfully recorded in the Acts. But the fragmentary nature of this source of information regarding his experiences is evidenced by the catalogue of his sufferings in II Cor. 11:23-27. He says he has been in "prisons," but the Book of Acts records only one such experience

before the letters were written to Corinth, viz., the one at Philippi. He tells of five scourgings at the hands of the Jews, and Acts knows of none of them. Thrice was he beaten with rods, but we otherwise know of but one such event. Thrice also had he suffered shipwreck, and on one occasion had struggled for his life in the water for twenty-four hours, but Acts contains not a reference to such events. The most fascinating chapters of his life remain unwritten.

What is more plausible than that many of Paul's sufferings at the hands of the Jews, possibly all five of the "forty stripes save one," were his reward for telling the Eastern Dispersion that he had found their Messiah? The zealots for the law and the rabbinic traditions, in "Arabia," were so bitter against his revolutionary message that he was soon convinced that the only possible field for his apostolic mission was the field of the Western Dispersion. The marvel is that he returned to Damascus from his first great missionary tour alive.

It is possible that it was on the journey into "Arabia" that Paul became accustomed to make the claim that he was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews." It would certainly not be accepted by representatives of the Babylonian Dispersion.

They must have charged him with being a Greek, and have scoffed at his claim to being a Hebrew of pure extraction. Should they accept radical doctrines proclaimed by a Tarsus-born pupil of the Hellenist Gamaliel? Was it to be thought for a moment that a falsely called Pharisee, leavened by Greek philosophy and Sadduceeism, might

come into the domain of the only pure descendants of Abraham, the authors and defenders of the Law in its divine purity, and inculcate in their midst pernicious and heretical heathen doctrine—the climax of it all that the Messiah had commissioned him to preach to the hated Gentiles?

The success of his mission to the Arabian Dispersion appears to have been nil. There are no records of churches planted, nor did any fellow-workers from there accompany him on his western tours, unless it possibly be true that Silas was an "Arabian." These experiences with the Babylonian Jews add significance to the words he wrote later to the Galatians:

For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by the bondwoman, and one by the freewoman. But the one by the bondwoman was born after the flesh, and the one by the free woman through promise. [Let the Eastern Dispersion pride themselves on their pure descent from the flesh and blood of Abraham!] Which things are an allegory, for these women are two covenants, one from mount Sinai bearing children unto bondage, which is Hagar (for the word Hagar is mount Sinai in *Arabia*), and answers to the Jerusalem that now is, for she is in bondage with her children. But the Jerusalem which is from above is free, which is our mother. . . . But ye, brethren, after the manner of Isaac, are children of the promise. But as then the one born after the flesh persecuted the one born after the spirit, so also is it now. But what saith the Scripture? Cast out the bondwoman with her son; for the son of the bondwoman shall not inherit with the son of the freewoman.

His disappointing experiences with the Eastern Dispersion and his sufferings there interpreted the Scripture to him.

Finding himself a Christian at Damascus, on the line of march of the caravans between Babylon and Jerusalem, Paul may logically enough have concluded that the Lord's plan was for him to go on into "Arabia." After the events of this first tour had shown him there was no field for his mission in the East, he returned to Damascus, closely followed by the plotting Babylonian Jews. Escaping their deadly plots under Aretas, he turned to the Western Dispersion, where Greek philosophy and culture had providentially modified the prejudice of the Jews, and made possible the planting of Christian churches that should contain Jews, proselytes, and Gentiles.

The hatred of the Babylonian Dispersion for Paul may have contributed to the defeat of his hopes and plans on his last visit to Jerusalem many years later, and may have promoted his long imprisonment and martyrdom.

His claim before Agrippa II is vindicated by this view of "Arabia" and of Paul's three years there: "Whereupon, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." For three years of reflection in the Arabian desert would have been rank disobedience to the commission received from the risen Lord on the way to Damascus: "To be a witness and a minister to those dwelling afar off, that they should turn from darkness to light" (Acts 26:16 ff.).

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE

A PROFESSIONAL READING COURSE ON THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. III

In the preceding numbers PROFESSORS BURTON AND PARKER have discussed China and Japan. In the present number they complete the study of missionary work in the latter country and pass on to the discussion of India. Again the problems are colossal. But there is, of course, one radical difference between India and both China and Japan. India is under British rule. From the point of view of missionary interest this is of great importance.

Questions concerning the subject-matter of the course should be addressed to the BIBLICAL WORLD. Inquiries concerning traveling libraries containing the books of the course should be sent to the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.¹

Part II. Japan (*continued*)

Evangelization and Christian Union

As respects the present condition of the Japanese Christian community, the problems that are agitating it and the progress that it is making, *The Christian Movement in Japan* for 1912 must be our chief source of information. So far as bare figures are concerned, the tables folded in at the end tell the story, and compared with the tables in the volume for the past year show that the members of Christian churches increased within the year from 78,875 (including about 15,000 baptized children and probationers) to 83,638 (including about 17,000 baptized children and probationers). The Roman Catholic Christians number 66,689 and the Greek Catholics 32,246.

Distribution of Christian Forces, which should be read with the map at hand,

shows that the unevangelized area of Japan is still very large. Questions of overlapping, of the duplication of effort, of the delimitation of territory, have been considered in view of the growth of the kingdom of God, and not of denominational aggrandizement. Paragraph 5 on p. 232 and 5 on p. 237 should be studied in view of what has already been said of movements toward church federation and unity. In connection with this chapter we may turn to Appendix I, "The Eleventh General Meeting of the Conference of Federated Missions in Japan," to learn what progress the Japanese churches are making toward the organization of the Christian church of Japan. It may seem to the reader, however, a fair question whether organic church union is really desirable. And are the Japanese churches in fact anticipating it? Appendix III,

¹All readers in this course are requested to see that their names are enrolled as members of the Professional Reading Course at the office of the Institute.

"Chronology of the Christian Movement," is a convenient table which may well be employed in a rapid review of Cary's *History*.

Very important in the "Survey of Domestic Affairs" is the assurance (p. 15) that Christianity will hereafter receive official recognition. This does not mean, of course, that Christianity, as was once confidently predicted, has become the official religion of Japan, but one of the religions of Japan. It is no longer a foreign religion, to be merely tolerated. It has its own rights and privileges. If this is not the complete fulfilment of Dr. Cary's forecast on the last page of his *History*, that "ere many more decades pass away there will be a Christian Japan," it is a close approximation to it. There is still a Buddhist Japan. There is also a Christian Japan.

Remembering that Korea is now an integral part of Japan, we may revert to *China and the Far East* and Mr. Hall's chapter on "Religious Conditions in Korea," which tells the story unparalleled in the history of missions, the establishment, namely, within a quarter of a century in the "country without a religion" of a self-supporting and self-propagating native church. Incidentally, Mr. Hall raises "the burning question" of modern missions.

There is a gratifying exhibition of comity and of co-operation among the several denominations at work in Korea. But can we not do better? Shall there be one day, and soon, the undivided church of Christ of Korea?

Returning to *China and the Far East*, it is gratifying to find on p. 3 authority for contradiction of the charge

that Japan is disposed to limit religious freedom to Korea.

On the whole situation see also the very instructive Missionary Survey of 1912, by J. H. Oldham in *The International Review of Missions* for January, 1913.

Education

In no respect is the contrast between China and Japan more striking than in respect to the educational situation. In the fifty years since Japan opened her doors to western influence she has developed a remarkably strong and complete educational system. This system begins with the kindergarten and extends through elementary, middle, and high schools, to the university. It includes technical and professional schools of various classes and grades. The Imperial University of Tokyo has 4,600 students and ranks with European and American universities. The other three imperial universities are smaller. Besides the public and governmental schools there are many private institutions, notable among them the Waseda University with 8,000 students, the Keiojugiki with 3,000 students, and the Woman's University with over 1,000 students—all these in Tokyo. Elementary education is compulsory and it is claimed that over 95 per cent of the children of school age actually attend school each year. The figures for Japan would be still higher if the pupils had their way. Large numbers who are completing one period of education and wish to go on to a higher grade are prevented from doing so by the limits of the capacity of the school. In the United States about 1 in 5 of the population is in school; in Japan about 1 in 8;

in China about 1 in 240. In China 1 in about 6,000 is in a Christian school; in Japan about 1 in 3,000. In other words, the total school attendance in Japan is thirty times that in China in proportion to population; but the attendance at Christian schools in Japan, only twice that in China.

For a brief but informing description of the governmental system of education see A. Pieters in *Christian Movement in Japan*, for 1900; for a fuller discussion see Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, also article on "Japan" in *The Encyclopedia of Education*, edited by Paul Monroe, and chap. viii of Nitobe, *Japanese Nation*.

The situation in respect to Christian education is extremely interesting, and one may perhaps justly say critical. The law of compulsory education, the strength of the government schools and their rapid development in recent years, together with the fact of insufficient support for Christian schools has brought it about that the more elementary Christian schools are actually diminishing in number and size, and while the higher schools are growing, they are relatively behind. Especially noteworthy is the lack of facilities for schools for higher education in which leaders of the Christian community might be trained under Christian influences. This fact is all the more significant because by reason of the crowded condition of all government institutions it is almost impossible for a boy who begins his education in Christian schools to make the transfer to government schools for his higher education. Some intelligent observers believe that only by an early and noteworthy development of Chris-

tian schools in Japan can a loss of influence and an eventual decrease in numbers on the part of the Christian community be averted.

Chap. iv of the *Christian Movement in Japan* on "Christian Education" is perhaps for our purposes the most important section of the book. Cary's *History* will have already awakened interest in what is said (pp. 57-59) of the Doshisha. The frank confession of serious defects in theological education, the failure of the Christian colleges to meet the demands made upon them, the relation of the middle schools to the government system, these are all topics of the first importance to those who are expecting the Christianizing of Japan.

After this we may well read the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, Vol. III, chap. iv, and pp. 307, 308, 385-390, and then returning to the *Christian Movement in Japan* for comparison of statistics. Notice that the figures in the *Christian Movement*, chap. iv, include Roman Catholic schools: compare the tables at the end of the volume. Consider as you read, what would be necessary in order to meet the situation adequately. Would a Christian university solve the problem?

When the Christian missionaries entered Korea they found almost as little education as religion. Very few schools remained, and these extremely inefficient. Availing themselves of an excellent alphabet which had lain unused for five hundred years, while the few who read at all used the far more difficult Chinese ideographs, the missionaries soon began the production of literature and the establishment of schools. Soon after Japan established

her protectorate over the country, she began also to develop schools, but until annexation in 1910, moved rather slowly in the matter. In 1909 about 60 schools were directly supported by the government, some of which were well organized and equipped, and a limited number of private schools were aided by the government. On the other hand, there were at this time nearly 1,600 missionary schools, some of them well organized and conducted, but the large majority of them elementary country schools. Since annexation, the Japanese government has undertaken the development of popular education, and Christian schools have diminished in number, though probably also improved in quality. Exact figures are not at hand for either missionary or government schools. But see *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1912, p. 373.

Literature

One of the most deeply felt needs of the Christian community in Japan is a literature. The Bible of course has been translated, and has recently undergone revision. See *Biblical World*, November, 1912. Much has also been done in the way of producing hymns and other distinctly religious literature. But in a country of as high a degree of general intelligence and education as Japan, especially in a country so completely exposed to the materialistic and anti-Christian influence exerted by much of the literature produced in Christian lands and imported into Japan, it is of the highest importance that there should also be a good body of general literature permeated with Christian ideas. In the language of one of the most eminent members of the Japanese

Christian community, himself a writer of international reputation, what is most needed is literature that is not avowedly religious, but is written by men who take the ethical point of view, unaffectedly expressing it in whatever they write. Such literature may be history, biography, essays, or fiction.

It is the more surprising therefore that until very recently there has been in Japan no general organization for the publication of literature permeated with Christian ideals, and cause of congratulation that a permanent committee has now been organized. See *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1910, pp. 263 ff. (cf. also pp. 225 ff.); 1911, pp. 122-31; 1912, p. 128. In January, 1913, the name of the committee was changed to "The Christian Literature Society of Japan," and it is to be hoped that the new organization may be even more effective than the Christian Literature Society in China, which has done a work of very broad scope, though mainly by translation. For the *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1912, chaps. v-vii, makes it evident that Japan is no longer dependent upon translations of western Christian books. Her religious literature is increasingly indigenous, written by Japanese scholars for their countrymen. There could be no more convincing evidence that Christianity has really taken root in Japan.

The need of Korea (Chosen) is quite different from that of Japan. The Christian community is much less advanced intellectually, and the non-Christian community is as yet much less affected by western ideas than is the case in Japan. Some idea of what is doing and a fair notion of what is

needed can be gathered from *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1912, pp. 371, 374.

Suggestions for Review

1. Compare China and Japan in respect to (a) extent of territory, (b) number of population, (c) essential race qualities, (d) race traditions, especially from the point of view of democracy and aristocracy, (e) moral character, (f) strength and stability of government, (g) education, (h) probable future influence on the world and on human history.

2. Compare the Protestant Christian communities of China and Japan in respect to (a) absolute number, (b) number in relation to population, (c) influence on the nation.

3. Compare the Roman Catholic communities in the two countries and note their size relative to the Protestant communities.

4. Compare Christian education in China and Japan in extent and strength. Why is Christian education so weak in Japan compared with education maintained by the government and by voluntary effort of non-Christians? What is the outlook for Christian education in Japan? Ought it to be strengthened? If so, how? Does the situation in Japan throw any light on the present opportunity in China?

5. Ought the foreign missionaries in Japan to withdraw and leave Japanese Christianity to work out its own destiny? If so, why? If not, why not?

6. Sum up the situation in Korea, in respect to (a) character of the people, (b) their future as a whole and politically, (c) standing of the Christian community, (d) the greatest needs, (e) the duty of Japanese Christianity

in relation to Korea, (f) the lines along which western missionaries should work in Korea.

Part III. India and Ceylon

Books Required

Year Book of Missions in India for 1912 (Vol. 1).

Jones. *India's Problem: Krishna or Christ*. Revell. \$1.50.

Richter. *History of Missions in India*. Revell. \$2.50.

Books Recommended for Supplementary Reading

Jones. *India: Its Life and Thought*. New York: Macmillan. \$2.50.

Topics relating to India are discussed with skill and first-hand knowledge. The closing chapter on "The Progress of Christianity in India," hopeful and optimistic. An unusually attractive book.

Fraser. *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots*. Lippincott. \$4.00.

The author was a "civil servant" in India for twenty-five years. Writes in entire sympathy with Christian work and with a store of fresh information regarding political and social conditions.

Oman. *Brahmins, Theists, and Muslims of India*. Jacobs. \$3.50.

Popular studies of curious and unfamiliar aspects of religious life in India. Attitude toward Christian teaching unsympathetic.

Slater. *Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity*. Revell. \$1.50.

Written by a L.M.S. missionary to set forth "the true genius of Hinduism and its fundamental distinction from Christianity." A scholarly book and likely to be accepted as standard.

Cowan. *The Education of Women of India*. Revell. \$1.25.

A survey of what is being done today for the education of women by the Indians themselves, the government, and the missionaries, with a brief historical introduction.

Eddy. *India Awakening*. Missionary Education Movement. \$0.50; paper, \$0.35.

A trustworthy discussion in a popular style of important topics relative to Indian missions. Adapted to class study.

Smith. *Life of Henry Martyn*. Revell.
\$1.50.

Smith. *Life of William Carey*. Revell.

Smith. *Life of Alexander Duff*. Revell.

The General Situation

The term India as officially used by the British government denotes the territory ruled by the Viceroy of India. It thus includes the great Indian peninsula from the Himalaya Mountains on the north to Cape Comorin on the south, and Burma from the Bay of Bengal on the south and west to Assam and Tibet on the north and west, and the Chinese frontier and Siam on the east. The island of Ceylon, on the other hand, is not under the Viceroy, but has its own governor and is administered under the Colonial office. Geographically and from the point of view of Christian missions, however, Ceylon is as closely related to the Indian peninsula as is Burma, and the present portion of our study, while dealing chiefly with India proper, will follow the example of the *Year Book of Missions in India*, and include both Burma and Ceylon.

Between the peoples inhabiting this great territory and those of China and Japan there are certain marked contrasts. The Chinese are practically of one race and language; the same is true of the Japanese if we exclude the Koreans. In Burma there are six or eight races each with its own language, and in India proper a far larger number. According to recent authorities the languages of India and Burma (not including Ceylon) number 147. Japan has a strong and wholly independent government; China, having just freed herself from the rule of the Manchu, has set up an independent and purely

Chinese republic. In India there are numerous native states (694 in all), but their population is less than one-fourth of the total population of the Indian Empire, and they are only somewhat less directly, not less really, subject to the rule of England than are the other three-fourths of the people who live in the provinces and presidencies administered by British governors and lieutenant governors. In education India is far behind Japan, and though under the fostering care of the British government it has developed a more perfectly organized system of modern education than exists in China, the hereditary appreciation of education and desire for it is far less in India than in China, and illiteracy is even now greater. In China the three great non-Christian systems of ethics and religion blend together, and in Japan Shintoism and Buddhism are not in sharp antagonism. In India, on the other hand, Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Parseeism are almost as sharply distinguished from one another as each of them is from Christianity. But more striking and important is the difference in the attitude toward religion as such. Confucianism, which has dominated the thought of China for twenty-five centuries, is rather a system of ethics than of religion. In response to an official inquiry, 3,000 students in the University of Tokyo reported themselves as agnostics, 1,500 as atheists, 60 as Christians, 50 as Buddhists, and 8 as Shintoists. Among the more than three hundred and fifteen million people of India, only 50 avowed themselves as agnostics in the census of 1911 and 17 as atheists. This difference is, moreover, more than superficial.

To the people of India religion is an essential element of life. Akin to the sharpness of distinction between religions and carrying the division still farther, is the great fact of caste which divides the two hundred and seventeen million Hindus into multitudinous, sharply separated communities.

Of these various influential elements of the situation in India, the presence of the British ruler makes for unity and solidarity; the diversity of races, languages, and religions makes for division and insularity. But the existence of the divisive forces demands the continuance of the British rule and makes for its perpetuation. The fifty million people of Japan are bound together by unity of race and nationality and an intense national patriotism. The four hundred million Chinese are of one race and speak one language, and though national feeling is not as strong as in Japan, it is becoming stronger every day and is unopposed by any barriers of race, language, or religion. But the people of India are not a race and India is not a nation. Nor does it seem possible that it should become so for generations to come. And because there is no adequate basis for national unity, there is no probability of foreign rule being displaced by a native and independent empire or republic. Coming into India in the seventeenth century in the person of the East India Company purely for purposes of trade, displacing the company and establishing a government under the crown and parliament toward the end of the eighteenth century, England has in the last hundred years become more and more aware of the enormous moral responsibility under

which she has placed herself, and has, with constantly increasing conscientiousness and success, addressed herself to the almost limitless task of promoting the welfare of the people of India through a righteous and stable government. In this government the Indians themselves are by England's desire and intent receiving a constantly increasing share, but the day when England can withdraw from India is probably still far in the future.

These facts must be kept in mind as we read: the diversity of races, languages, and religions, and the existence of caste; the deep religiousness of practically all of the people, especially of the inhabitants of India proper; the relatively low rate of literacy, the presence of the firm controlling hand of England in all matters political, and in no small measure in education also.

It will be well to begin our reading with chap. i of Jones, *India's Problem*, and to follow this with chap. i of *Year Book of Missions in India*, of which Dr. Jones is also the chief editor. The former volume was written ten years ago, but its general statistics are those of the census of 1891. The *Year Book*, on the other hand, is able to make use in part of the statistics of 1911 and in part of the *Quadrennial Report on Education* of 1907. This fact should be borne in mind in comparing figures. It should also be remembered that in *India's Problem* Dr. Jones is speaking of India proper, not including either Burma or Ceylon, while both of these come within the scope of the *Year Book*. In reading pp. 51-53 of *India's Problem*, and p. 3 of the *Year Book* dealing with the political situation, it is to be remembered that in

the decade which separates these two books there was a strong development of the national spirit, expressing itself, especially from about 1906 to 1909, in bitter opposition to the British government and in some instances even in attempted assassination of British officials, and constraining the government to strong repressive measures. The attempt to assassinate the present Viceroy in December, 1912, was, of course, subsequent to the publication of the *Year Book*, but according to recent reports from India seems to have called forth strong expressions of disapproval from influential Indians and rather to have strengthened than weakened the hold of the government upon the people. The discussion of religion and education in these introductory chapters is preliminary. These subjects will be taken up more fully a little later.

Religion

The strong hold of religion upon the Indian people referred to above gives especial importance to this phase of our study. "India is," as Dr. Jones remarks, "the mother of religions." An exhaustive study of the religions of India, especially of Hinduism with its manifold phases and voluminous sacred literature, is of course beyond the scope of this course.¹ But the instructive chapters of Dr. Jones (*India's Problem*, chaps. ii, iii, and iv, 1), supplemented by those of Mr. Larsen on Hinduism, Mr. Saunders on Buddhism, and Mr. Wherry on Mohammedanism (*Year Book*, chap. ii), are adequate to give one a general

idea of the complex religious situation which confronts the Christian missionaries in India and Ceylon. The *Year Book* is especially valuable as showing how matters stand at the present day, and in particular what modifications of Hinduism and what counter-movements have resulted from the presence and influence of Christianity.

History

In *India's Problem*, chap. vi, Dr. Jones gives a brief but very instructive sketch of the history of Christianity in India from the second century to the ending of the nineteenth. It will be well to begin with this chapter, in preparation for the fuller treatment of the subject in Richter's volume.

Dr. Richter's *History* is one of the indispensable books to the student of missions. Nowhere else will he find in the compass of a single volume a comprehensive survey of the history of Christianity in India, Roman Catholic and Protestant, from the earliest traces of its existence, long before the arrival of the Portuguese, down to the opening of the nineteenth century. A sense of proportion and of values enables Dr. Richter to present this vast subject clearly and without confusion. A glance at the simple and logical "Contents" is reassuring. One need not fear under this guidance to lose his way and wander in a tangled thicket of unco-ordinated details. To the German authorship must be attributed certain inaccuracies and omissions in dealing with early English and American movements.

¹ Those who wish to undertake a fuller study of the subject will find needed help in Jones, *India: Its Life and Thought*; Hopkins, *The Religions of India*; Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*. The sacred books of Hinduism are contained in translations in the well-known series of *Sacred Books of the East*.

And to this source also we are indebted for somewhat fuller accounts than English writers give of Ziegenbalg and the early Danish missions of South India and of the unique work of the Basle Missionary Society.

The serious reader cannot do better than to take Dr. Richter's word for it that the entire book will repay careful reading. The Introduction is really an introduction. One may skip it, of course, and climb over the wall by a short route into the territory he proposes to explore. But it is far better to take the prescribed path through this inviting gateway. The information offered regarding "Land, People, Religion" is not altogether new, but it is up to date and attractively presented. Section 3, "Religion and Caste," should be particularly helpful to those who are asking for a definition that can be firmly grasped of that vague, elusive term "Hinduism." The story of the ancient Syrian church of South India and of the early Jesuit missions contained in chap. i ought to be more familiar to Protestants than it is. Dr. Richter's account of the promising Protestant evangelistic endeavor, which began two hundred years ago with the German Pietists and faded out as the eighteenth century closed, is rich in suggestion to students of missionary methods and policies. In chap. iii the reader is furnished with information which popular mission books entirely neglect or give only in hints and fragments in the story of the opposition of the East India Company to the entrance into India of missionaries, its amazing "Patronage of Heathenism," and the Parliamentary struggle for the charter

of 1813. Apart from a knowledge of these facts it is hardly possible to do justice to the higher courage and undaunted faith of the leaders of the modern missionary enterprise. The reading of this almost forgotten chapter of history should silence the platform talk and the cheap applause which accompanies it of a church which was merely "playing at missions" until the twentieth century came in. Another fruitful field of inquiry is mapped out in the account of "The Advent of the Great Missionary Societies." Dr. Richter's account of this most significant religious awakening is necessarily very brief. It is a theme which has not yet received adequate treatment. The material is now accessible and there is the making of a much-needed book in it.

The last half of the *History* is occupied, not with missionary annals, but with discussions of "problems" and "movements," much more important than any accumulation of facts and statistics. The short chapter entitled "The Leaven at Work" deserves particular attention. It deals with matters which do not commonly receive attention in missionary reports and discussions. The reader must judge for himself whether or not they deserve to be taken into account in any attempt to forecast the future of Christianity in India. On that particular matter Dr. Richter is reticent. With the Union Movement he is plainly in sympathy. It is a question, however, whether he discovers in it the significance and the promise which to not a few men of experience in the field it plainly contains.

[This discussion will be continued in May "Biblical World"]

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

Every month from October to June there will be presented in this department of the BIBLICAL WORLD suggestions to leaders of Bible Classes, desiring to use as a basis for class work either the outline Bible-study course on "THE LIFE OF CHRIST" prepared by ERNEST D. BURTON, or that on "THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST" by WILLIAM R. HARPER. Suggestions are prepared by GEORGIA LOUISE CHAMBERLIN, Secretary of the Reading and Library Department of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, who will be glad to consider any questions which club leaders may choose to address to the INSTITUTE.

The Life of Christ¹

In the work of this month, we follow Jesus into his temporary retirement from the immediate danger in Jerusalem, a danger which became more imminent as a result of the popular enthusiasm following the raising of Lazarus. The respite is brief, however, and lasts only until the approach of the Passion week, when we find Jesus again in Jerusalem, in the midst of his enemies, defying them and denouncing them in parables and plainer speech.

Here, as in the preceding month, the leader should not allow the members of the class to be lost in the details, but must keep a unity and a perspective which will enable them to judge of each action, event, or teaching in its relation to the approaching tragedy of Jesus' death, so clearly seen by himself. Caution seems thrown to the winds. If death must come to Jesus, it will find him at his self-imposed task, confident that no matter what violent hands may bring to him, a future lies beyond, more glorious than his faithful apostles are able to conceive. No opportunity is lost to impress upon those who come to him the intrinsic worth of the things that belong to the kingdom of God, and the sacrifice that is necessary if one would enter the kingdom. With an authority from which there is no appeal, the warnings are sounded in the ears of the fanatical Pharisees and lowly followers alike.

¹ The textbook of this course is *The Life of Christ*, by Ernest D. Burton; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Program I

Leader: Reasons for the "blindness" of the Pharisees.

Members of the class: (1) Reading of the story of the raising of Lazarus and discussion of the immediate results upon the situation of Jesus. (2) The reading of Browning's *Karshish, the Arab Physician*, and discussion of the point of view of the raising of Lazarus there presented. (3) Jesus' method of interpreting the Old Testament law. (4) An interpretation of Jesus' rebuke of ambition.

Subject for discussion: Judging from the standard of our present thought, to what extent would Jesus, if living today, be deemed a peculiar man; that is, different from the best type of men among which he would be living? Consider in this connection his relation to all classes of society; to men, women, and children.

Program II

Leader: A presentation of some respects in which the kingdom of God seems nearer today than when Jesus was living on earth.

Members of the class: (1) Some of the characteristics of the kingdom to be inferred from sections 108-14. (2) The story of Jesus' visit to Bethany, and, in connection with it, a review of his personal friendships. (3) The triumphal entry into Jerusalem. (4) The events of Monday and Tuesday of Passion week in Jerusalem.

Subject for discussion: Did Jesus use parables in these last days with the same purpose as in his earlier ministry?

REFERENCE READING

Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus*, chap. xiii; Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. xlvii-li; Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus*, II, 298-380; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, pp. 423-68; Rhees, *Life of Jesus of Nazareth*, pp. 161-73;

Gilbert, *Student's Life of Jesus*, pp. 306-24; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, III, 202-40; Burton and Mathews, *Life of Christ*, pp. 201-27.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* for articles on "Lazarus," "Bethany," "Pharisees," "Sadducees," "Jericho," "Zaccheus," "Minae," "Simon the Leper," "Mount of Olives," "Bethphage," "Triumphal Entry," "Sanhedrin."

See also Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

The Foreshadowings of the Christ¹

The transition from the period of turmoil, perplexity, and fanaticism that marked the closing years of the decline and fall of Jerusalem, to the still greater perplexity but comparative quiet of the Babylonian exile, is a difficult one to make. It is perhaps illustrated in a comparison of the impassioned work of Jeremiah, the Jerusalem prophet, with the more contemplative and thoughtful reconstructions of the early prophet of the exile, Ezekiel. The class should be made to see that even in the exile, among the Hebrews who were first transported to Babylon (the cream of the population in the ancient city), faith in the inviolability of Jerusalem did not at once perish. Was it not based upon such teaching as that of the first Isaiah, whose prophecies had been so gloriously vindicated in the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib? Not until the city was actually taken could this hope perish.

The significance of the news of the fall of Jerusalem, and the consequent coming of the vast number of additional captives from Jerusalem, of necessity threw the Hebrew community into confusion as to both hope for the future and faith in Jehovah. Was Jehovah at last deserting his people? How could he exist without his city? Was Jehovah defeated by the gods of Babylon, or had he voluntarily abandoned Jerusalem?

What had become of the promises of Jehovah concerning the future of the people of Israel? Had he broken his covenant? Was all relationship between Israel and Jehovah ended? How could Jehovah have further communion with his people if his intercourse with them was limited to Palestine and to the temple in Jerusalem, which now lay in ashes? What was Jehovah's relation to Babylon, and to the world-powers which seemed to set themselves against his people? Many of those who were living as exiles in Babylon had never been faithless to Jehovah; had worshiped him according to the law; had lived according to the standards which they believed he had established. Why should they be suffering in common with those who had rejected Jehovah? It is only as the vital character of questions such as these to the Hebrew people in exile is fully appreciated that the work of the prophets of the exile can be understood.

The work of Ezekiel in the early period of the exile may be treated at one meeting of the class. The wonderful group of passages in which Israel is described as the servant of Jehovah, the contribution of that unknown prophet whose writings were probably centuries ago joined to those of Isaiah of Jerusalem, will constitute the work of a second meeting.

¹ The textbook for this course is *The Foreshadowings of the Christ*, by William Rainey Harper; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

We shall expect in this period many foreshadowings of the messianic times, since in deepest despair and humiliation those spirits in Israel which were still uncrushed must set their minds upon the future if they would receive comfort. Moreover, peace of mind could come only through such an understanding of Jehovah and his treatment of his servant as would enable them to retain their belief in his power, in his faithfulness, and consequently in the possibility of their own deliverance.

The leader's task throughout this month will be so to present the spiritual struggle of the Hebrew people under these trying conditions as to give an appreciative understanding of the rapid growth in their conception of God; a growth such as could hardly have taken place except through experience and suffering. Here also flowers the wonderful conception of vicarious suffering which in multitudinous forms has become, in our modern day, the very heart of religion.

Program I

Leader: The social, religious, and commercial life of the city of Babylon during the exile.

Members of the class: (1) An imaginary picture of the colony of the Israelites when the news was received that Jerusalem had fallen. (2) The reading of Ezekiel's vision of the Resurrection of Dry Bones, and the discussion of its effect upon the hopes of the community. (3) Ezekiel's ideal of Jehovah

as a faithful shepherd. (4) The characteristic elements of the psalms of this period.

Question for discussion: Why is it that so many of the great ideals of the world have originated in times of personal or national calamity?

Program II

Leader: (1) A careful presentation of the reasons for studying chaps. xl and following of Isaiah in this period. (2) The various ways in which the term "servant" may be interpreted in this portion of Isaiah.

Members of the class: (1) The mission of the servant. (2) The future of the servant when his mission shall be accomplished. (3) The characteristics of the foreshadowings of Israel's future in this period. (4) Isa. 52:13—53:12, and its relation to the great Christian doctrine of self-sacrifice.

Question for discussion: What was the mission of Israel, and has it been fulfilled?

REFERENCE READING

Smith, *Old Testament History*, chap. xv; Kent, *History of the Jewish People*, I, 3-98; Wade, *Old Testament History*, pp. 389 ff.; George Adam Smith, *The Book of Isaiah*, II; Sanders and Kent, *Messages of the Later Prophets*, pp. 1-193; Goodspeed, *Israel's Messianic Hope*, chap. vii; Addis, *Hebrew Religion*, chaps. vii, viii; Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, chap. vi; Peake, *Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, chaps. i-iv; Volumes on Ezekiel and Isaiah II in *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, *Century Bible*, and on Isaiah in *Bible for Home and Schools*.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* for articles on "Exile," "Isaiah," "Ezekiel," "Babylon," "Cyrus," etc.

CURRENT OPINION

The Use of the Bible by the First Christians

Professor Harnack, in his recent monograph on *Bible Reading in the Early Church*, gives a most interesting discussion on how the Old Testament was used by the first Christians in their meetings of religious worship and in their homes. They took over the Old Testament Scriptures from the Jews. It had been the fact among the Jews that the Bible was a common book. It was read in the synagogue and it was read in the home. This attitude of Judaism predetermined the history of the Bible in the Primitive-Christian church. The Jewish Christians simply continued their previous private use of the Old Testament. The fact that they had become believers in the Messiahship of Jesus tended to increase their use of the Scriptures in so far as it was now necessary to study not only the law but also the prophets and the other Writings, seeing that these afforded prophetic proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus.

This Jewish and Jewish-Christian use of the Old Testament books simply and easily passed over to the gentile Christians, for the Old Testament Scriptures were then accessible and in actual use by the Jews in the Greek translation (which we speak of as the Septuagint). The use of the Scriptures by the gentile Christians was, however, limited, owing to the fact that they had not, previous to becoming Christians, made use of these Jewish books. This explains why mention is never made of the private use of the Old Testament in the epistles of the New Testament. Timothy is exhorted to public reading (I Tim. 4:13). It was from this public reading that the community gained practically all of its knowledge of the Bible. That Paul did not in general count upon a private reading of the Scriptures in his communities fol-

lows conclusively from Col. 3:16, where mention is made of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs wherewith the individual members should edify themselves and one another, but nothing is said about the reading of Holy Scripture.

Paul's Idea of the Lord's Supper

The evidence regarding the sacramental meals in the mystery-religions is both meager and difficult to interpret, writes Professor Kennedy in the January *Expositor*. He admits, however, as possible that in the mystery-religions certain ritual acts of eating and drinking were believed to impart new life or immortality, and takes for granted that in the sacrificial meals some kind of communion with the Deity was supposed to be established. He thinks likely also that in the commemoration feasts of the period a ritual fellowship with the departed ancestor or hero was a main element in the celebration. He then considers the relationship which may have existed between ideas such as these and Paul's conception of the Lord's Supper. This latter appears most fully in I Cor. 10:1-5, 14-22; 11:17-34. The former passage he holds affords no evidence for the notion that Paul believed in the magical connection of the glorified body of Christ with the worshiper through the medium of the bread and wine. In the latter passage he thinks it is clear that for the Apostle, communion with Christ does not depend upon any sacred rite; its essential condition is a whole-hearted faith. Faith is for Paul the indispensable postulate of all that is of spiritual worth both in baptism and in the Lord's Supper. Those who partook of the Lord's Supper had received and welcomed the good news of salvation through his self-sacrificing death. The bread and the wine were to them symbols of all that that death involved and when

they received them with discernment they were making acknowledgment of the dying love of the Redeemer. But, as in baptism, there was something more for Paul and his converts in the sacred meal than an impressive symbolism. The "acted parable" was amazingly fitted to arouse and invigorate their faith. Thus, by faith they were carried past the symbols to what Holtzmann has fitly called "the sphere of the reconciling grace which rests upon the death of Christ." There they were able to realize with new vividness the actual operation of the divine love working in their behalf. The symbols became a sacrament, a convincing pledge of the mercy of God in Christ the crucified.

The Bible at First the Book of the People

Professor Harnack has also considered the question how it happened that Christianity was able to preserve in principle its distinctive character and to defend its sacred writings from the encroachment of the priesthood amid a world of mystery-religion. He answers that it was because Christianity was the daughter of Judaism; it was because Christianity, in so far as it was distinct from Judaism, was more spiritual, more lucid, more free, more universal, more simple than that religion; and because with even greater energy than Judaism it strove to make not only the faith but also the sacred discipline of the life the central point of its system. Soon, indeed, the faith and the cultus attracted to themselves and acquiesced in very much that belonged to the mystery-religions, but the essential characteristics of Christianity—the belief in God as the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth, as the father of mankind, as the father of Jesus Christ, the good news addressed to all men, the faith in the Savior of the world, the *regula disciplinae* for the new humanity—all these fundamental characteristics could not possibly be proclaimed in mysteries, and at the

same time could demand an unrestricted use of the Bible. This unrestricted right to listen daily to the direct voice of God might have proved the strongest bulwark of Christian independence, freedom, and equality, and a lasting defense against complete subjugation to sacerdotalism and mystery. But as time went on the laity made less and less use of their privilege. When in the twelfth century a lay Christianity, based upon the private reading of the Bible, struggled into the light of day, it was now too late. The church of priesthood and mystery began then to take measures, at first cautiously and tentatively, with a view to withdrawing the Bible from the common people.

The Reforms of Pius X

In the *Constructive Quarterly* for March, Father Wynne, of the editorial staff of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, summarizes the "Reforms of Pius X." In every document that has come from the present Pope, comparatively little space is given to establishing a doctrine or a principle. These are taken as granted by the members of the hierarchy to whom such letters are usually addressed. But the chief space is given to practical suggestions and directions. The principal means by which the church must endeavor to re-establish all things in Christ is the proper formation of the clergy, by carefully selecting the candidates, by training them strictly in seminaries, by safeguarding them against rationalism, by showing preference for those who keep up interest in their studies without losing their zeal in active ministry. Abuses in the chant used in liturgical services have been reformed. In view of the exigencies of modern life, the number of days have been reduced which the faithful are obliged to observe as days of precept. Uniformity has been introduced in the new arrangement of the Psalms in the Breviary. Frequent communion among the laity has been re-established.

Teaching of the catechism has been emphasized as a means of overcoming indifference in religious matters, and as a powerful antidote to the social unrest and disorders now so prevalent. The regulations of the church in regard to marriage have been simplified. The pronouncements of Leo XIII on social democracy and popular Christian movements have been reiterated. Modernism has been condemned and stamped out.

Paul's Message to Religion

In the *Constructive Quarterly* for March, Professor Benjamin W. Bacon discusses "Paul's Message to Religion." The influence of Paul has been of no slight moment in the development of the racial religious consciousness. Should we not be able in some measure to identify and define it? There was in his time a world-wide famine of the word of God. Various cults were being propagated in which the motive was the effort of awakening personality to triumph over finite weakness and mortality by contact with the unseen Source of life, knowledge, and power. Greek philosophic thought had undermined the authority of Olympus, making room for many an "unknown God." It had also called into being a sense of individual souls and their worth. How could there fail to be a world-wide eruption of the volcanic fires of man's religious nature?

St. Paul is the only consistent, logical, and thoroughgoing upholder of the doctrine that the Jewish legal economy was universal but *temporary*. His doctrine of the Cross is that it is God's signal to humanity of altered relationship to himself, as much a signal to the Gentile who has no written law, as to the Jew. This temporal feature is the real novelty of the gospel of St. Paul. The essential and permanent thing is his consciousness of having been admitted through contact with the spirit of Jesus into Jesus' *sense of sonship*. To St. Paul the essential

thing in Christianity was "the spirit of adoption whereby we cry Abba, Father." The very word is appropriated from Jesus; for the Spirit is his Spirit, and he that receives it "puts on" Christ.

The Baptists and Church Unity

When the question is What will Baptists sacrifice for the sake of church union? President George E. Horr, of Newton Theological Institution, answers:

I. Northern Baptists by their union with the Free Baptists have practically remanded the matter of so-called "close Communion" from the denomination to the individual church.

II. We may properly countenance the public dedication of infants on the part of their parents to the Christian life with the insistence that the observance shall not be called baptism or in any way confused with it.

III. We are showing by the organization of the Northern Baptist Convention and the increasing vogue of permanent councils that tendencies toward representative government are bringing us into closer affinity with more centralized communions.

IV. We may appropriately welcome a larger liturgical element in worship. This attitude on our part would do much to break down a foe to church unity that has been more serious than many suppose.

Pictures of the Joyous Christ

The oldest representation of Christ shows him as a joyful good shepherd rather than as a man of sorrow, is the statement of Dr. Franklin Hamilton in the *Christian Advocate*. He bases his view upon what is claimed to be the oldest known sculptured Christ, now in the Imperial Museum in Constantinople.

The most familiar representations of Christ come to us from the Middle Ages and portray his death upon the cross. It is mainly from these that the modern church has derived the notion that Jesus was essentially the Man of Sorrows. The figure in Constantinople is claimed to contradict this view. The writer thus describes it:

It is battered, squat, and unsymmetrical. Untrained hands formed it. The casual eye would scarce deign to rest upon such a monument. . . . It is the earliest known carved Christ representation of our Lord . . . brought from an early Christian tomb in Asia Minor. It shows an oriental shepherd of grotesque but gentle mien. He is a toiler, a peasant. He is coarsely garbed and smiling. On his broad bent shoulder rests a lamb.

Alexander the God

In the *Expositor* for February, Cuthbert Lattery, S.J., in an article entitled "Alexander the God," attempts to prove that the great Macedonian conqueror set himself up as an object of worship in Egypt on the occasion of his subjugation of that country.

In brief, the argument advanced is that in the light of such a presupposition the incidents of the visit to the Oasis of Ammon, the banquet at Baktra, the mutiny at Opis, and the promulgation of the decree demanding divine honors from the Greek cities are most clearly understood.

Eucken on Christianity

The sense in which Rudolph Eucken finds Christianity the "permanent and universal" religion is set forth by Dr. E. E. Slosson in the *Independent* of February 27.

Eucken, says Dr. Slosson, discovers in "historic Christianity all the essentials of a permanent and universal religion, capable, when properly understood and presented, of satisfying the severe requirements of modern thought and feeling." The statement is contained in a character sketch of the distinguished German professor and an outline of his philosophy. Eucken is at present delivering a course of lectures in America.

Eucken's idea of how a man attains the spiritual life is set forth by the writer as follows: "Eucken steers carefully between the position of Buddhism, that each man must work out his own salvation without any help from above, and the extreme Calvinistic position, that man is purely passive and

altogether undeserving." On this point Eucken is quoted thus: "The change [from the lower to the higher life] cannot possibly happen to man; it must be taken up by his own activity; it needs his own decision and acceptance. Only by ceaseless activity can life remain at the height to which it has attained."

This [comments Dr. Slosson] leads to the distinctive form of Eucken's philosophy, known as activism. This is like pragmatism in its rejection of the mere intellectual view of life and in basing truth upon a more spontaneous and essential activity. But Eucken's objection to pragmatism is stated in the following language: "Pragmatism is more inclined to shape the world and life in accordance with human conditions and needs than to invest spiritual activity with an independence in relation to these, and apply its standards to a testing and sifting of the whole content of human life. . . ." It will be seen that Eucken does not fall in with the tendency of the times to subordinate the individual to society.

The Cycle of History

The Chinese revolution which has resulted in the overthrow of the empire and the establishment of the republic shows that history repeats itself even in the Orient, according to Rev. A. H. Smith in "The Relation of the Chinese Revolution to Human Progress" in the January *Chinese Recorder*.

He maintains that history shows the rise of nearly all republics to have occurred in much the same way, and that in this case China has been no exception to the rule. He says:

The great dynastic changes have been of a practically invariable pattern. A reigning house has arisen, flourished, begun to decay, until—as a protest against misrule—the people, taught by the ancient Sages, began to rise in more or less open rebellion. By degrees the whole empire was aflame, insurrection expanding into war, until fire and sword devastated the land.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

FOREIGN MISSIONS

How Adoniram Judson Chose between Heathen and the Stage

How Adoniram Judson missed being an actor or a playwright, and became a Baptist missionary instead, is told by Adoniram B. Judson, M.D., in *Service* for March 13. Judson had just left college, and, being undecided whether to attempt acting or authorship, made an extended trip through a number of the northern states and returned home in a still uncertain frame of mind. After his arrival home certain influences led him to enter the newly opened theological school at Andover. This was in 1807. Shortly thereafter, while on a walk back of the seminary, the call to preach to the heathen came to him, and from that time forward he never hesitated in pursuing the course that led him to the foreign field.

The Moravian Himalaya Mission to the Tibetans announces the completion by its missionaries of the translation of the entire Bible into the classical Tibetan language.

There has been an increase of over 70 per cent in the number of Protestant church members in Japan in the last ten years, according to the *Missionary Review of the World*.

There are 4,000 Christian Endeavorers in the Micronesian Islands, says Rev. C. F. Rife, an American Board Missionary. From the Christian Endeavor Society most of them later enter the church.

A year ago (1911) the total missionary benevolence of the churches in the United States and Canada was computed to amount to \$12,290,000. In the year just closed (1912) an increase of 18 per cent has been

made over 1911. This means that the 1912 contributions were \$15,590,000, of which \$14,940,000 came from the United States.

The Problem of the Eurasian

If Eurasians are to be born, better that they should be born in wedlock than out of it, is the position taken by the Bishop of Singapore on the question of "Intermarriage between Europeans and Natives" in *The East and the West* for January, 1913. The author says the problem is more and more forcing itself upon the minds of thoughtful people in the East, and that its solution depends upon the consideration of two points, the happiness of the parties concerned, and the status of the offspring. The first, under ordinary conditions, as in any land, depends upon the individuals themselves; the second upon whether they are married or not. The number of children born to unmarried English fathers and native women is said to be on the increase. If this is to continue, it is better that the parties should marry.

Missions to the Navajo Indians

Men and Missions recently gave the following figures regarding mission work among the Navajo Indians: the tribe numbers about 27,000; work among them was begun fourteen years ago; there are ten mission stations and one hospital; these facilities are able to reach only 5,000, leaving 22,000 unprovided for. There are four denominations represented on the field and to each has been assigned a portion of the territory to be covered, in the hope that a dozen new stations soon may be opened.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Tenth Annual Convention of the Religious Education Association

Ten years ago an association was organized which may be said to present more open doors for progress than almost any other in either the religious or secular field, for this so fully represents both. We refer to the Religious Education Association, the tenth annual convention of which came to a close on Thursday, March 13, in Cleveland, Ohio. Space does not permit us to give details of important actions there taken, or even approximate reports of the hundred and fifty or more addresses from men whose names are known from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in connection with the topics for which they were announced. A simple reading of the program was sufficient to indicate what religious education in the thought of these large-minded men may signify, in the matter of both comprehensiveness and liberality. The trend of action in religious education is indicated by the changed emphasis of the program during the last ten years. At first it concerned itself more largely with the Sunday school and the conventional lines of church work. As the years have passed and the failures of religious education in the Sunday school have been found to lie chiefly in untrained teachers and unappreciative homes, the association has laid increasing emphasis on the necessity for providing in the college and the day school the education in religion which will send young men and young women fresh from college life into active and effectual service in their home churches and into the founding of homes devoted to the rational training of Christian families.

Not less than twenty-five addresses were scheduled, grouped under such topics as: "The College Curricula Based upon Certain Laws of Student Development"; "Respective Functions of the Different Religious Agencies of Higher Institutions";

"The Science of Religion and Its Place in the Curriculum"; "The Making of Religious Citizens"; "Present Conditions in Bible Study in Our Colleges." The annual meeting of the council of the association was devoted in four important sessions to a conference on social education in high schools. To this conference were invited one hundred and fifty leading educators, many of whom participated in the program. The discussions were among the most impressive of the convention. In a public-school section of the association still further attention was given to moral and ethical instruction for pupils of all ages.

The general theme of the convention, "Religious Education and Civic Progress," well expresses the ground of discussion in the department of churches and pastors, as well as in that of theological seminaries. In the former the question of the dominant function of the church in the life of today was memorably presented by such men as Washington Gladden, Charles F. Dole, and Timothy Frost. In the department of theological seminaries the discussion centered around modifications in the curriculum, based on the demands of such a church as that portrayed by these men. Much interest was manifested in the question of worship for children either separately or in connection with the adult worship of the church. Practical plans which have been tried out were described and commented upon. Here, as in every department of the organization, it might be observed that the tendency is away from definite machinery, or programs to be automatically instituted, toward a careful study of local conditions and adjustment of all plans, whether for the church, the Sunday school, or other religious work in the community, to the needs of the particular constituency which is under consideration. In other words, common-sense and wise judgment or, perhaps in more

modern phrase, a scientific study of the religious needs of a community and scientific management in the filling of these needs is the demand of both leaders and those who are led.

In the department of Sunday schools the constitution of the curriculum which should be provided for boys and girls of the high-school age, and recreational and other activities for pupils of all ages were the chief themes. "Training for Citizenship through the High-School Curriculum," and "Training for Citizenship through Boys' and Girls' Clubs," the general topics of two separate meetings, indicate the practical nature of the several addresses given.

In the many conferences of the Christian associations, the brotherhoods, the training schools for lay-workers, and other equally important constituencies, it was clear that the desire for unselfish service, and close co-operation with every existing agency for religious education and civic welfare, permeated the groups. Eugenics and sex hygiene were among the subjects newly appearing in the convention. The address by Dean Walter F. Sumner on "The Double Standard of Morality: Its Relation to Civic Progress" was one of the most conspicuous and highly approved of the many great evening addresses.

The hospitality and co-operation of the people of Cleveland, both in the preparation for the meetings through most capable and influential local committees and by their hearty support of all meetings, evidenced the high standard of their own citizenship and their ability to appreciate so great a program as was presented. It was fitting that one of their own educational leaders, President Charles F. Thwing, of Western Reserve

University, was honored with the presidency for the coming year.

On this the tenth anniversary of the association many references were made to the founder of the association, President William Rainey Harper, whose dream, translated into action ten years ago, gave birth to the function which the association is so memorably fulfilling. No one can fail to be impressed with the breadth and sanity of the work of the organization, the democracy of its constituency, and the dynamic power which it contains. Through all of its sessions religion and education go hand in hand; educational activities recognize more fully the need and possibility of religious and moral elements, and religious activities seek the means of expression which scientific educational methods present.

Professor Kirsopp Lake to Lecture in America Next Year

Rev. Kirsopp Lake, professor of early Christian literature and New Testament exegesis at the University of Leyden, Holland, is to lecture at the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, next academic year. The Cambridge institution has invited the distinguished foreign scholar to fill the chair of New Testament exegesis and word has just been received of his acceptance. The matter now lacks only the official approval of Professor Lake's request for a leave of absence by the Holland Minister of Education. Professor Lake is to conduct the courses formerly given by the late Professor Henry S. Nash. They are: "The Exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans"; "The Apostolic Age," and a seminar course on "Early Christian Literature" or some allied subject.

CHURCH EFFICIENCY

The Motion Picture and the Church

The moral uses to which the motion picture may be adapted in the interest of moral teaching, says Carl Holliday in the *Inde-*

pendent, seem unlimited. For instance, at the Buffalo meeting of the Second Missionary Department of the Protestant Episcopal Church during October, 1912, it depicted

the value and necessity of mission work at home and abroad; at the Flatbush, Long Island, Congregational Church it is used each Sunday in the "Children's Church" to illustrate the brief juvenile sermon by the minister; in the Christian Church of San Jose, California, it prepares the Sunday-school pupils on Saturday afternoon for their lesson the next morning; in the Parkhurst Church of Minneapolis, it attracts on an average six hundred children and grownups each Sunday morning; in the Park Church at St. Paul it recently furnished a genuine Egyptian background for a tableau representing "The Children of Israel in Captivity"; in the Congregational Church of Appleton, Wisconsin, it forms the basis for the sociological discussion on Saturday night, such as a recent debate on Woman's Rights, and on Sunday night furnishes the illustrations for the regular religious-social program, such as a recent one on Tuberculosis under the supervision of the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association.

The South's Interest in the Negro

A Christian commission composed of eleven college professors from as many state universities in the South will soon meet to study the Negro problem. In the past it has been the North which has supposedly taken the initiative in this problem but the South has never been indifferent to this, perhaps the most serious social question that is now in their midst, and this new commission is only one more evidence of the attitude of the best sentiment of the South. Other evidences are to be seen in Miss Helm's admirable little volume on the Negro, and the new Inter-Church Institute opened in Nashville.

The Chicago Sunday Evening Club

A successful religious institution has been established in the business district of Chicago under the name of the Sunday Evening Club. The president and leader

is Rev. Clifford W. Barnes, a young Presbyterian minister. The club holds two religious services every Sunday evening in Orchestra Hall. Its appeal is primarily to strangers and traveling men who are spending Sunday in the hotels; and through its Committee on Church Affiliation it also seeks to interest resident non-churchgoers, and to put such persons in touch with the Chicago churches.

The first meeting begins at 7 o'clock. This is a gospel song service and New Testament study, and has an attendance of more than 1,700. Close upon this comes the second service, which has an attendance of about 2,500. This is an inspirational and educational meeting, and is usually addressed by some speaker of national reputation. Many of the foremost clergymen of America and Great Britain, as well as men and women prominent in other walks of life, have spoken at these meetings. Over 75 per cent of the audience are men. Music is furnished by a trained choir of eighty voices, a quartette of soloists, and the Orchestra Hall organ. Further information about this vital undertaking may be had from the executive offices of the club, 10 South La Salle St., Chicago.

Canadian Methodists and Church Expansion

The Methodists of Toronto, Canada, have started the new year with two stupendous moves. The first is the raising of a large free town building fund for new churches in suburban districts and adjoining new communities in Greater Toronto, and the purchase of a central site for a downtown second, institutional Methodist building.

As to Being Late at Church

"London-Late-At-Church" is the title of an article in the *British Weekly* of February 6, in which the tardiness of the world's largest city in reaching divine service is unfavorably compared with the promptness

of rural England in putting in its appearance at the house of God on the Sabbath. In London, according to the article, the general condition prevailing is as follows: one-third of the congregation is present ten minutes before the service begins, and the other two-thirds keep coming from the time service opens until it is half over, disturbing the choir, those already in their pews, and the minister. In the rural districts, promptness is said to characterize all classes of churchgoers, so much so that certain English classics have immortalized the trait for all time.

A Church as Benefit Society

If the church cares for the uplift of man while a member of society, why should it not care for the personal comfort of his family if death overtakes him? This question has been solved by several churches, but one of the latest of these is the Trinity Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. A beneficial insurance association has been established for the men of the church between sixteen and sixty years of age. The benefits take the form of relief in sickness, disability, or death. The beneficial Association is supported by dues and assessments payable monthly.

One of the oldest beneficial organizations of this character is found in the Pilgrim Congregational Church of Boston, Mass.

Vacation Bible Schools

The Daily Vacation Bible School as a summer activity of the church has shown wonderful growth during the last five years. Rev. Robert Boville, the national director of the schools is responsible for the growth, activity, and power of the institution. Each year sees new cities added to the list. In so far as the schools are concerned, they are non-sectarian and the percentage of Catholic children is nearly equal to that of Protestant children. No religious propaganda is permitted, so that the work of the

schools is purely social, giving the children clean, wholesome influences during the rigors of the heated spell. The following table will indicate the growth of the institution since 1907:

	Schools	Children	Teachers	Cities
1907.....	19	5,083	70	4
1912.....	160	38,306	707	29

University Pastors

Realizing the need of denominational and pastoral oversight of young men and young women students in the great universities and colleges in the United States, many of the religious denominations have placed a wide-awake clergyman in the neighborhood of the university or college as university pastor. Each month sees men of wide experience placed in these fields. The feeling is that very often students go to a college or university and fail to affiliate themselves with their denomination, although they may have been active in church work in their home town or city. The university pastor will guard against this and serve as an adviser to young men and women of the denomination they serve. At Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Kansas such men have recently been appointed.

The Church as an Aid to Matrimony

Father W. J. Dalton, of the Church of the Annunciation, Kansas City, Mo., the originator of the church matrimonial bureau, has since its establishment a year ago received 17,000 letters from which 400 marriages have resulted. The bureau has become world-known, letters reaching it from all quarters of the globe.

Church Union in Canada

The question of organic union between the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational denominations of Canada has been under consideration now for about ten

years. Serious steps by such great bodies cannot be taken in haste. The progress toward the desired end is, however, all that could have been hoped for by those most interested in the project. The Methodists, led by some of the keenest-minded church statesmen of Canada, have with remarkable unanimity voted for the union. The Congregationalists, owing to their form of government, are thrown back on the individual church and while heartily fostering the spirit of Christian unity have not as a body finally declared themselves. The Presbyterians, with characteristic caution, are feeling their way through their problems to a sure basis for general action. After thorough discussion in the individual churches, the presbyteries, the assembly, and the committees, something like two-thirds of the strength of the denomination has registered in favor of organic union with the other bodies. Even the minority is seized with the hope that some plan for close co-operation among the various churches may be adopted. At the beginning of this year, one of the first efforts to put the proposed scheme into practical operation was seriously made. In a sparsely settled rural community in western Ontario, an advisory committee composed of representatives of the Presbyterians and Methodists has recommended that in eight different places in their district the congregations of both bodies should unite. If the individual congregations to whom this is now referred back for final action accede to the proposal, an amicable arrangement of properties will be made and in place of the present sixteen

congregations there will be but four Presbyterian and four Methodist. This will, if carried through successfully, help to solve some of the grave problems of the country pastorate.

Caring for Aged Clergymen

That various Christian bodies are awakening to the critical problem of an adequate provision for the care of the ministry is daily becoming evident. Bishop Doane, of the Episcopal church, has offered to give up his salary that ministers of his diocese may be better paid. In this same line the Northern Baptist Convention has raised \$250,000 for the support of superannuated clergymen and missionaries. The Presbyterians are accumulating large funds for the purpose. The splendid Lady Kortwright legacy of over \$300,000 has been received by the Board of Ministerial Relief and Sustentation for the permanent fund. With this legacy came accrued interest amounting to \$48,000. As this last sum could not be invested as an endowment, it was divided among the pensioners of the board.

Ministers as Policemen

An effort to "clean up" Los Angeles is now in progress. Six clergymen of the city have been put on the roll of the police force. The minister-policemen are members of the Juvenile Protection League. They have been commissioned not only to safeguard the young and prevent the exploitation of girls, but to arrest and prosecute parents who neglect their children.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

THE ISSUE BETWEEN SPIRITUALITY AND MATERIALISM IN THE NEW RELIGIOUS AWAKENING

LOUIS WALLIS

Author of "Sociological Study of the Bible"

These volumes¹ are books of the hour—products of the social awakening. Yet, in their approach to current questions, they start from opposite poles. Both make a religious appeal; and each is a worthy outcome of earnest thought. But their atmospheres and fundamental assumptions are very unlike. The contrast between them is so characteristic of the present time that it is worth while to consider them together as exhibits in the case of Spirituality versus Materialism in the new revival of religion.

Mr. Nearing's book is an expansion of an address delivered before the Friends' General Conference at Ocean Grove, N.J. By its title it professes to be not only a religious, but a Christian, appeal; and it must, therefore, be judged primarily upon this ground. The body of the book is a treatise on contemporary economic and social problems. The subjects considered are as follows: chap. ii, America, the land of plenty, whose natural resources, factories, etc., are the possessions of the few, and whose labor, poverty, overwork, unemployment, vice, and misery are the possessions of the many; chap. iii, The haggard man, a type of the worker in representative industries, who is not paid living wages; chap. iv, The motherless girl, who is underpaid, and who must eke out a living by the rewards of immorality; chap. v, The factory child,

who ought to be in school; chap. vi, Devouring widows' houses, or the evils of land speculation and overcrowded tenements; chap. vii, The long day, in which the laboring man is overdriven and overworked; chap. viii, The curse of enforced idleness, by which the worker is needlessly thrown out of employment; chap. ix, Human sacrifice, or the accidents and catastrophes of modern industry; chap. x, Reaping the young grain, or the premature death rate.

As a study of the social world in which we live, Mr. Nearing's book has no uncertain value. It will be of service to ministers, lecturers, and social workers who are dealing with these vital questions. If we did not know the status of the author, his text at many points would lead us to suppose him a pronounced socialist, whose deliberate object it is to set class against class (pp. 19, 20 ff.). But his general attitude is that of the investigator and reformer who is bent upon advertising "things as they are."

Without calling in question the timeliness and validity of this book as a treatise on practical economics and sociology, the form in which it is issued entitles us to ask how far the author's methodology carries him as a religious teacher. The present social awakening has raised up a large number of writers and speakers, both clerical and lay, whose object seems to be the reduction of

¹ *Social Religion: An Interpretation of Christianity in Terms of Modern Life.* By Scott Nearing, Ph.D., Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. xvi+227. \$1.00.

Spiritual Culture and Social Service. By Charles S. Macfarland, Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1912. Pp. 222. \$1.00.

religion to materialistic philosophy. Mr. Nearing, indeed, is an instructor in economics at the University of Pennsylvania; and he frankly says that he delivered his address before the Friends' Conference as an economist, and not as one versed in theology (p. xiii). He tells us that the Friends received his presentation of social facts with a "storm of protest" as "gross overstatements." Was this due, as he appears to suppose, merely to their *ignorance*? Or did it express their reaction against the materialism latent in his interpretation of Christianity? Church audiences can be carried very far in these days by tactful methods of address.

The problem raised by such attempts to treat Christianity as a kind of sublimated economics can be touched upon here, of course, only in a brief way. Is the modern religious revival going to give us at last only a Christ who was a glorified social settlement worker? Let us gladly admit and insist that Jesus was interested in what we now call "social problems," and this to a far greater extent than the older school of theology recognized. But does this exhaust the meaning of his mission? Is the biblical history, in which Jesus Christ is the greatest outstanding figure, to be reduced to a process of social evolution simply? Or is the social process in the Bible a phase of the human apprehension of God, and an item in the spiritual outlook of mankind?

Without at all denying that Jesus would indorse Mr. Nearing on the ground of his own specialty, it seems to be in point to say that the school of thought for which he speaks must inevitably fail in the attempt to reduce the gospel to a program of social service. One may grant that religious thought has been so transcendental that it has largely overlooked the dignity and worth of the struggle for bread; but this is not to join the new crusade which seeks to capture the kingdom of heaven by violence in the name of economics! The emphasis of

the older theology upon spiritual things to the exclusion of mundane problems was, no doubt, mistaken and one-sided. But we seem to be coming into the midst of a reaction which is going over to the opposite extreme. Men of Mr. Nearing's type, in the eyes of the public, give a materialistic character to the entire social reconstruction of religious thought. There is no danger that we shall revert to the mistake of the past; but the present awakening will not be constructive until it learns to interpret the social gospel in terms of the highest spiritual achievements of the past.

The antidote for such books as that of Mr. Nearing is found in Mr. Macfarland's volume. All the protest against child labor, white slavery, overwork, underpay, exploitation of the poor—all the economic appeal of the former work—would be indorsed by Mr. Macfarland. But this author beholds the new social warfare in a spiritual perspective. In his eyes, the new revival of religion, while great and worthy in itself, is but an item in the age-long campaign of the human spirit for the achievement of companionship with God. For him, life is more than meat; the body is more than raiment; and man shall not live by bread alone. Ministers who would interpret the social gospel in terms of spiritual passion will do well to ponder this author's words with care.

Our social reformers are right, he says, in reaching up to the heavenly through the earthly. But our real social leaders today are not those who, in their blind zeal, would substitute humanity for religion, who would displace the church by the social settlement, and who would neglect spiritual truth in the supposed interest of human comfort. Our modern danger, he declares, is that of divorcing social betterment from spiritual life, while the one ought to be the expression of the other. No social program will ultimately avail that is not expressed in terms of the spirit. Our social movements can never endure, can never be more than

the outward semblance of the kingdom of heaven without some institution, some spiritual school, which is ever teaching men that salvation does not rest in political economy.

Mr. Macfarland sees today's problem in the light of Scripture; and his point of view is at once modern and biblical. He regards

the social problem itself as one of the stimuli which drive us upward to God. His book is a kind of informal work on exegesis, which lays both the Old and the New Testaments under contribution. Altogether, it is one of the sanest and most balanced essays thus far called out by the present religious awakening.

BOOK NOTICES

The Book of Judges [The Bible for Home and School]. By E. L. Curtis. New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. xii+201.

This was the last work performed by the late Professor Curtis of Yale Divinity School. The last three chapters of Judges were left unfinished and have been done by Dr. A. A. Madsen, who was associated with Professor Curtis in the preparation of the *International Critical Commentary* on "Chronicles."

The Book of Judges is one of the most interesting of the Old Testament writings. Its narratives have been left with their original simplicity and beauty untouched to a larger degree than is true of any other early Hebrew writing. It is invaluable therefore for the insight it gives into conditions of life in early Israel, and for the testimony it affords regarding the literary attainments of Israel in that period. The book contains some of the oldest material in the Old Testament, and constitutes thus a good starting-point for any prospective student of Hebrew literature and history.

This commentary will be found very useful by the average man who is desirous of knowing the true significance of the Book of Judges. As in the other volumes of the series to which it belongs, the text is printed in clear and good-sized type; its logical divisions are marked by appropriate section-headings. The more important variant readings are added; and the source to which each portion of the text belongs is indicated by the printing of the appropriate symbol upon the margin. Dr. Curtis has adopted the theory of the origin of Judges which identifies its sources with those found in the Hexateuch. Hence the margin of the text is sprinkled with the letters J, E, D, P, R, etc. This identification of the sources is, of course, open to question and might, perhaps, have been more fully defended, even in a popular commentary. A brief introduction gives the main facts regarding the origin, purpose, and char-

acter of the book in a very simple and clear manner. The introduction includes a working list of books, which should lure the student on to further study. This list would have been much improved if it had contained less. Some of the titles are too technical for this sort of book and some are too antiquated. The commentary itself is restrained and competent. It does not obtrude unnecessary explanation upon the reader and the explanations that are given really explain.

Saints and Heroes since the Middle Ages.

By George Hodges. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1912. Pp. 318. \$1.35.

Dean Hodges follows his volume of *Saints and Heroes of the Middle Ages* with a similar volume of short biographies of more modern times. With the same informality and charm he now presents to the reader, Luther, Loyola, Calvin, Cranmer, Coligny, Laud, Cromwell, and other leaders of religious movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only one, the sketch of John Wesley, belongs to the eighteenth. Dean Hodges writes with delightful simplicity, sympathy, and humor. His opening sentences are particularly arresting. History is perhaps most attractive in its biographical form, and young people will not be able to resist this book, if it falls within their reach. Excellent portraits accompany most of the sketches.

Les Actes de Paul et ses lettres apocryphes:

Introduction, Textes, Traduction, et Commentaire [Les Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament]. Par Léon Vouaux. Paris: Letouzey, 1913. Pp. 384. Fr. 6.

Vouaux has provided a well-proportioned critical edition of the Acts of Paul, which

Schmidt's discovery of a Coptic version has revealed to us in something like completeness. The documents long known under the names of the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the apocryphal Correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians, and the Martyrdom of Paul, have been shown to form part of a more comprehensive work known to the early church as the Acts of Paul. It was this work which Tertullian's Asiatic presbyter "fashioned for love of Paul," about 170. These facts, familiar since the work of Schmidt, are clearly presented along with the ancient notices in Vouaux' introduction. The probabilities, he thinks, favor an origin at Pisidian Antioch. In presenting the text, Vouaux prints the Greek as far as it is preserved, with a French translation on the opposite page; where the Greek is wanting, the French translation of the Coptic occupies the page. There are copious textual and historical notes. In a useful appendix Vouaux deals with Laodiceans, Alexandrians, and the Correspondence with Seneca. For Laodiceans he refers to Harnack's list of manuscripts (*Geschichte der althchr. Lit.*, I, 36), without noting that it is supposedly derived from the much fuller list in Lightfoot's Colossians. With manuscripts which have come to light since the researches of Lightfoot and Harnack (cf., e.g., *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXIII, 76-78), Vouaux shows no acquaintance. It seems strange to be referring to Lightfoot's *Philippians* in the edition of 1873, but it is stranger to find the *Grammar, Armenian and English* of Paschal Aucher and Lord Byron ascribed (p. 135) to "F. P. Awker and L. Byron." The bibliographies indeed are somewhat carelessly printed, and some of the works cited are evidently known to the writer only at second hand. That for the Acts of Paul, moreover (pp. 136, 137), implies a fuller list of versions of Thecla than Vouaux has given (pp. 14-17), and in his text he seems to have taken account of only half the versions of that most popular part of the Acts. One must regret that in doing so systematic a piece of work he has not taken the slight additional pains to make it even better. On the whole, however, he has provided a useful and scholarly edition of the Acts of Paul.

The Fitness of the Environment. An Inquiry Into the Biological Significance of the Properties of Matter. By Lawrence J. Henderson. New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. xv+317. \$1.50 net.

The bulk of this book is devoted to bringing out clearly the fact that the inorganic universe exhibits a remarkable adaptation to the needs of organic life. It has been a commonly accepted fact ever since Darwin's day that the organic world has come to its present condition through a process of development and of con-

stant adaptation to environment. Professor Henderson makes it equally clear that the same kind of adaptation exists in the inorganic world. The conclusion to which he is driven by the indisputable facts is stated in these words:

"The perfect induction of physical science, based upon each and all of its countless successes in every department of physics and chemistry, conclusively proves that the whole process of cosmic evolution from its earliest conceivable state to the present is pure mechanism.

"If, then, cosmic evolution be pure mechanism and yet issue in fitness, why not organic evolution as well? Mechanism is enough in physical science, which no less than biological science appears to manifest teleology; it must therefore suffice in biology. . . . Hence we are obliged to conclude that all metaphysical teleology is to be banished from the whole domain of natural science."

The question then forces itself upon us, What is to be said about this remarkable adaptation on both sides? Is it to be accounted for as due to an exclusively mechanistic teleology, or can we still find place for some tendency or purpose somewhere outside of the mechanistic process? Professor Henderson, as a scientist, grants the possibility of this latter hypothesis, but he is able to make room for the operation of such teleological tendency only at the very beginning of the whole process of development. This is, of course, nothing more nor less than the old deistic doctrine of a First Cause, and leaves unanswered the vital question: Can philosophy and theology live in a mechanistic world?

The Cambridge Mediaeval History. Planned by J. B. Bury, edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney. "The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms." New York: Macmillan, 1912. \$5.00.

A hearty welcome awaits the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, complement of the *Cambridge Modern History*. The work is planned by Professor Bury and edited by Professor Gwatkin and Rev. J. P. Whitney, of King's College. The general construction of the volume adopts the principles of Lord Acton for the *Cambridge Modern History*.

The first volume, which has just appeared, covers the first two hundred years from the time of Constantine in a series of studies upon such matters as Constantine and His State, the Reorganization of His Empire, the Triumph of Christianity, Arianism, the Teutonic Kingdoms, the Kingdom of Italy under Theodoric, etc. Altogether there are twenty-one chapters, most of which are concerned with the course of outer events. There are no historical eccentricities in the treatment but everything moves on in

a classical and competent fashion. Particularly interesting to the student of doctrine are those sections dealing with the Arian controversy. This great moment of the church's life is discussed with characteristic breadth and insight by Professor Gwatkin. But why should Athanasianism be discussed under the title head Arianism rather than vice versa? Is this not something like discussing Calvinism under a chapter title of Arminianism? It seems, on the whole, a little unfortunate that the general treatment should be so little touched by modern interest. Chap. xix, which deals with the entire period, in twenty-five pages passes from the languages of the Empire, through commerce, corporations, and forms of land tenure, to the influence of the bishops. This seems rather superficial. We hope that in the subsequent volumes the treatment will be less conventional and that, without making the work into a treatise upon the philosophy of history, there will be a more outspoken recognition of the fact that history is not a mere collection of items, but is a study of social forces which operate in social evolution or devolution. It may be true that the historian as over against the sociologist cares more for differences than for generic qualities, but history is really indispensable only as we see the rise and fall of social minds.

The Ethics of the Old Testament. By Hinckley G. Mitchell, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Tufts College. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912. Pp. x+417. \$2.00.

Students of the Old Testament from any angle of approach—history, theology, homiletics, sociology, philosophy—will find this volume serviceable. Although the professional interpreter expects no new results here, the book is a new thing in the field of popular biblical exposition, where so much work of various kinds is urgently needed. Professor Mitchell undertakes to set forth in logical order the moral ideas of the ancient Hebrews on the background of old Testament history. He, of course, accepts the methods and results of the modern historical school. While leaving it to the reader to define for himself the ethical significance of the Old Testament as a whole, the author suggests that it can evidently no longer be regarded as peculiar for the completeness and consistency of its morality, and therefore infallible in the sixteenth-century sense. As an illustration of what is meant by this, he goes on to say: "The thoughtful reader of Genesis can explain the fact that in 9:20 ff. Canaan is cursed for an offense of which, not he, but his father has been guilty; also how it is that in Josh. 7:24 f. the children of Achan have to suffer with him, although, according to Deut. 24:16, Moses has just ordained that 'the fathers shall not be

put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers.' In these and many other instances criticism has shown that we have to do, not with a homogeneous text, but with the work of two or more authors writing at different times and from different standpoints."

The author's purpose, then, is as far as possible from that of hunting out inconsistencies and discrepancies in the Bible; for, as he indicates, his task is to put on exhibition the *standpoints* of the different periods from which the various Old Testament documents arise, and to show how these different points of view connect up with the history of Israel. The book may, therefore, be called a study in the mechanics of progressive revelation.

As to method of treatment, Professor Mitchell points out that there are at least two ways of handling the subject. The first method, and the one which would have been adopted by a writer of a century ago, is what might be called the "pigeon-hole method," according to which all the material relating to a given topic is placed in one chapter, making the book practically a collection of detached essays. The other method, and the one which our author follows, treats the various aspects of the subject in a succession of rounded stages, producing a unified impression upon the reader's mind. The usefulness of the volume will be enhanced if it be studied in connection with a good modern manual of Hebrew history.

The Theology of the Gospels. By James Moffatt. New York: Scribner, 1912. Pp. xvi+220. \$0.75.

This small volume does not pretend to be an exhaustive presentation of gospel theology. Only the salient features of the subject are discussed, and these are set forth in a topical rather than in a systematic scheme. The theological character of the gospels, their eschatology, the God of Jesus, the person of Jesus, and the spirit of Jesus, are the topics treated. By "theology" of the gospels the author means their religious thought as it centers about Jesus and the revelation God made through him. The prominence recently given to eschatology raises a question whether gospel theology may not be eschatology pure and simple. The extreme eschatological views of Schweitzer are rejected in favor of a harmonistic view. Jesus spoke of an imminent catastrophic kingdom and he also spoke of a kingdom present in the lives and hearts of men. "The mind of Jesus is larger than the apocalyptic theory would allow and no sort of justice is done to it unless the absolute validity which he attached to the truths of pardoning love, trust in God, and the higher righteousness is candidly admitted." Jesus' thought of God is determined by Jesus' unique consciousness

of sonship, hence his general emphasis upon God's fatherhood. God loves all men, he takes their sins seriously, but is always ready to forgive, and, in fact, he creates the desire for forgiveness by bringing home to them the realization that their sin is against love. The gospels correctly represent Jesus' own views when they interpret his person messianically, but in this the conception of the suffering servant of Isaian prophecy occupied an important place and his filial consciousness was prior to his messianic consciousness. Jesus' spirit remained with his disciples after his death. This was the divine power which they felt in him while with them, and which came to them after his resurrection, rendering their lives stable and effective.

The Interpretation of Religious Experience.

The Gifford Lectures, delivered in the University of Glasgow in the years 1910-12. By John Watson. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons; New York: Macmillan, 1912. Two vols. Pp. xiv+374 and x+342. 10s. net each volume; \$6.00 for the set.

In these two volumes one can almost hear again the persuasive voice of Dr. John Caird, whose interpretation of Christianity in terms of the Hegelian philosophy made it seem possible to hold to the absoluteness of Christianity on the basis of a psychological analysis, while historical criticism was making untenable the orthodox apologetic. Professor Watson writes, however, having distinctly in mind the recent activity of radical empiricism, which in the famous Gifford lectures of Professor James seemed to make God merely the name applied to the decidedly vague and practically indefinable spiritual reality which touches us through the subliminal realm of consciousness. The present Gifford lecturer believes that if religion does not lead to certain knowledge—if, in short, it does not express itself in a defensible philosophical system—it cannot hope to maintain its sway in the mind and heart of an intelligent man. He seeks to show how rational is the view of the universe and of human life which explains all on the basis of an ever-active, absolute divine Spirit.

The first volume is devoted to a historical survey of the interpretation of religious experience; for Professor Watson has small patience with a method of investigation which would neglect the accumulated store of human wisdom and start *de novo* on the quest for God. Those who are accustomed to the method of historical interpretation generally current today will feel that his survey is scarcely in touch with the real movements of human society. His sole concern is to give critical epistemological expositions of certain leading types of religious philosophy. How completely this epistemological interest dominates is seen from the fact that

Luther is only incidentally mentioned and Protestantism almost completely ignored, while Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant serve as the ladder by which one progresses from mediaeval thought to Hegel, who, in Professor Watson's estimation, is the real prophet of modern Christianity.

The second and constructive volume is concerned with setting forth the positive content of the author's own interpretation of religion as the rational program by which man intellectually, morally, and volitionally enters into a genuine experience of union with the absolute immanent divine Spirit. The later developments of the evolutionary view of reality are carefully considered, and Bergson's conception of creative evolution is shown to involve precisely that mobility and spontaneity which makes an immanent God so much more universally in touch with human experience than the God of deism. Thus the Christian doctrine of the incarnation is symbolic of the universal truth of the activity of God in and through human life.

The growing recognition of the fact that the historical investigation of the facts of Christianity makes impossible the orthodox theory concerning the absoluteness of our religion will doubtless turn attention increasingly toward the philosophical problem of establishing an absolute form of faith. Thus Professor Watson's lectures constitute a timely contribution to the understanding of one of the great problems of modern theology. Whether this problem can be solved by so exclusive a use of epistemological dialectic is another question.

That Boy of Yours. By James S. Kirtley.

New York: George H. Doran Co., 1912. Pp. 250. \$1.50.

This volume is the work of an experienced clergyman, who has made careful and sympathetic studies of boyhood from all points of view. It will be of service to parents, ministers, and students of child-psychology. It is written in a clear, forceful style, controlled by an intelligence and a power of observation which make it delightful reading. To the ex-boy, it brings back the scenes of youth with a vividness that recalls the experiences and feelings of olden days. Beginning with a chapter which is entitled significantly "His Table of Contents," the author goes on to consider the boy's Body, Appetite, Curiosity, Power of Imitation, and Imagination; his Sports, Employments, and Possessions; his Looks, Gangs, Chums, Heroes, and Sweethearts; his Motives, Failings, Punishments, and Troubles; his Home, Reading, Teacher, College, Vocation, and Religion; together with many other aspects of the complicated theme of Boyhood. The book is a worthy contribution to the growing literature of the subject.

Bismya, or The Lost City of Adab. By Edgar James Banks, Ph.D., Field Director of the Expedition of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago to Babylonia. New York: Putnam, 1912. \$5.00.

Dr. Banks has prepared a very readable account of his travels and explorations. He describes his finds at Bismya with much detail. The volume is full of material bearing on the life and customs of the people with whom the author came in contact. Scattered through the text are 174 illustrations, most of which are from photographs. The book will find a place in libraries of modern oriental travel.

In *The Science of the Spiritual Life* (Revell, \$1.50) Dr. M. Talling undertakes the rewriting of theology from the point of view of science and by scientific method. His thought is based upon the conception that creation is not finished and that God is still at work in the material universe. This universe, however, does not exhaust Nature, but there is a super-materialistic universe of spirit. The ultimate authority for religion is God, as in science it is Nature, and in philosophy it is truth, and in morals it is right. This, of course, does not altogether serve practical purposes, for how are we to know God? "By the Scriptures," replies Dr. Talling. The Bible is a sixfold life of Christ, one in the Old Testament, wholly prophetic, four in the Gospels, and one his institutional incarnation in the church. The Bible is not a revelation, but is the record of many revelations. This brings the author to the conception of a progressive revelation through a special inspiration of the Scriptures. This inspiration differs from that of other literature in quality and purpose. It is the inworking of God, just as the church is the working of God through men. God is both transcendent and immanent and our will is free, though acting in accordance with law. Sin is the result of our ancestors' sinning. The fall of man was not once for all—a fact of past history and true only of one individual, but is a universal falling. Beyond that is also the movement upward through evolution which has not been steady. People partake in social solidarity and so in sin. The future holds further probation for the wicked.

Altogether the volume is interesting as an

illustration of independent thinking which will serve well to mediate the point of view of modern science to those who wish to think theology through in its terms. In this particular, however, however much one may feel that certain questions are not fully answered, the book will be of real help.

The exceedingly interesting volume of Bishop Whittle, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, has passed into a new edition after a life of thirteen years (Macmillan, \$2.00 net). As a matter of fact, it is something more than personal memorabilia; it is the account of the dealings of the government with the Indians of the Northwest. Of course, the book covers a great many other things and it never is uninteresting. It is a bit of permanent literature, brimful of human interest and rich with good stories.

Rev. J. M. Connell has rendered a real service in providing *A Book of Devotional Readings* from the literature of Christendom (Longmans, Green & Co., \$1.25). It is a collection of short extracts from the entire range of Christian literature from the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles to Tolstoi. Of course, the value of such a volume depends altogether upon the quality of the material abstracted. The present volume will stand examination from this angle. Another editor, of course, might have selected many other extracts, but he would be very narrow-minded who cannot approve of these which the author has actually presented. We are particularly glad to see quotations from Mazzini on "The Victory of Truth" side by side with the stirring words of James Martineau on "Immortality."

The Autographs of Saint Paul, by Marcus D. Buell, professor of New Testament Greek and exegesis in the Boston University School of Theology (New York: Eaton & Mains, 35 cents), is a brief introduction to the study of Paul, scholarly, but not too technical for the beginner. It puts much emphasis upon the use of *charis*, "grace," in the sense of the forgiving love of God for repentant sinners. While this little book will not settle the problem of Pauline authorship, it will be of good service to ministers and theological students. It is a fitting companion-piece to Professor Moffatt's recent booklet on *Paul and Paulinism*.

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THE MINISTRY OF RELIGION

Religion is more than the strenuous life. To love our God and our neighbor with all our might does not exhaust the gospel. Beyond the imperative to love is the blessing of being loved by our God. Duty and illumination, reformation and reconstruction are no substitutes for that spiritual ministration which the strongest and most vigorous of us daily need.

We are not likely to be charged with raising inaction into a supreme religious mood, but is there not danger lest, in our militant idealism, our passion for social service, our search for efficiency, we lose that mellowness of life which comes to those who trust as well as serve?

We have not yet outgrown the need of those consolations of religion of which men used so frequently to speak. There is a peace of soul which passes our understanding even though we are psychologists. Fellowship with Christ will ease the yoke and lighten the burden of even the most unselfish social reformer.

Christ the consoler can never be lost in Christ the king.



Life brings to every man something more than calls to duty and opportunities for heroism. Sooner or later we each must face failure and disappointment, sorrow and suffering, deprivation and loneliness. Despite all men's attempts to conceive of death in terms of chemical reaction, stricken hearts still mourn their dead. Nor is the shout of battle enough for those who listen for voices forever still.



Our Christ knew the meaning of heroism in sacrificial service, but he knew also what it means to get peace and joy from fellowship with the Father. The message of his peace and the way to his

peace he left to his disciples. They were to share his joy as well as his cross.

Religion to be anything more than humanitarianism must give us companionship with the God of our spirits.

We need to pray as well as meditate; to ask God frankly and, if you will, naïvely for help and the things we need. For a god who cannot be prayed to and who cannot answer prayer is a very useless member of the fellowship of the cosmos.

Let us learn that we not only have to work for him, but that he can work for us; that we not only have to be brave, but that we can throw ourselves like the prodigal into our Father's arms; that for a Christian stoicism is as unworthy as epicureanism.



We need to be quiet more often, lest in the bustle of our religious life we overtrain our spiritual selves. We need to feel the ministration of the mountain and the prairie as well as hear the call of the slum and the hall of legislation. We need to feel that God can wipe tears from people's eyes as well as look after social evolution and progressive platforms.

We are not so superior to the men of the past as to have outgrown need of the comforting and the heartening of a God who is companion of our sorrows as well as master of fortunes and Lord of the kingdom for whose coming we pray and work.

Our most human moments are likely to be those in which we feel the touch of dependence and weakness. However liberal may be our theology in such moments we need to see that the Christ who nerves us to sacrificial service for others also must first enrich us with his own peace and trust.

For this, after all, is the gospel: God is with us to forgive and help us.

All else is duty and illumination.

THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE GOSPEL FOR THE SALVATION OF SOCIETY

SHAILER MATHEWS

Can the gospel save society? There are thousands of earnest Christians who believe it cannot; that the social order in which we live is so hopelessly corrupt and Satanic that it is idle to imagine its ever being saved. In their view the work of the church consists in the rescue of individuals from a ruined world and the patient endurance of evil until Christ returns to establish a supernatural kingdom.

There is, also, an increasing number of men and women who believe that the social order must be saved by being transformed, but who believe that the gospel is altogether incapable of working the transformation. They look to the development of class hatred as the means of finally bringing about a fraternity.

There is still a third class who believe neither in the second coming of Christ nor in socialism, but who do believe in the finality of success. To them the gospel is a synonym for weakness or a clever device which the strong have evolved for the purpose of keeping the weak submissive.

The distrust of the social sufficiency of the gospel represented by these three classes is not to be answered by complacent rhetoric. The accompanying article, given in its original form at the meeting of the Baptist World Alliance, endeavors to show that all three classes of skeptics are mistaken.

The gospel is not identical with an orthodox theology. Orthodoxy is the result of an effort to formulate philosophically and authoritatively what an age believed the gospel to be. How far such results have been from the simplicity of the New Testament any student of church history knows only too well. Orthodoxy as we find it in many a creed comes to us wet with the blood of our spiritual forefathers and rank with the smoke of the stake.

True evangelicalism is a message not of doctrinal precision, but of life. The teaching and life and resurrection of Jesus reveal that God is Love, and that the supreme good of life is to be loving, like God. That is the essence of the gospel. It is not a call to duty or an

exposition of philosophy, but the announcement that God can be trusted as a Father, that he will help all those that trust him, and that consequently love is the final law of life.

The social teaching of Jesus is the extension of this principle. His life of service and his death upon the cross are the exposition of the gospel in his own individual life, and his words regarding marriage and wealth are its application to the social order in the midst of which he lived. But, strictly speaking, the gospel as the gospel has no specific social philosophy or program. Each age must apply to its own conditions and problems the principle contained in the supreme message that God is Love, that sinners can be forgiven, that men can

trust a loving Father for their daily needs, and that just because God is Love it is better to serve and sacrifice than to fight and win.

I. Why the Gospel Is Judged Socially Insufficient

The three greatest objections to the social sufficiency of the gospel are, (1) the enmity between the gospel and the economic order, (2) the emphasis of the gospel on brotherhood rather than on justice, and (3) the perplexing commentary on the power of the gospel given by the history of the church itself.

1. The Gospel v. the Economic Order

1. The enmity between the gospel and economic order is by no means a modern discovery. All through the Christian centuries men have urged poverty as the indispensable prerequisite for holy lives or, as in the case of some of the Anabaptists, communism. And long before them Jesus himself had pointed out the sharp distinction between the service of God and the service of Mammon, and had distinctly warned his followers against anxiety as to material goods.

But the antithesis between an economic order which makes the creation of wealth superior to human well-being, and a call to trust in God as loving and to the love of men in the spirit of true fraternity, was never so manifest as today. It is becoming unendurable.

The crisis of civilization lies in the struggle to determine who shall control the surplus of the economic process, and the gospel must flee or help meet this crisis. The only evangelization that will save the world is something more than the preaching of an escape from punish-

ment to come; it is rather such a transfusion of the forces of civilization with the ideals of the gospel as to bring justice and fraternity into the economic order. And that can never be accomplished in a single generation. Each new advance in civilization in heathen lands will bring Christianity there, as in Europe and America, face to face with the vastly more difficult problem of the socialization of the ideals of Jesus in an industrial order. The conquests of the Christ will not be complete until he has conquered the control of the economic surplus of all lands.

Within the last few years we have passed from the belief that unrestricted competition is a good and have begun as a community to regulate not only the financial but also the social powers of great corporations. Yet the complete triumph of the ideals of the gospel seems distant. While the Christian must welcome every act of restraint which embodies even an approach to the ideals of the gospel, yet the fundamental difference between supreme goods of life continues. On the one side are those who make wealth supreme, and on the other is the gospel, making the good of humanity supreme. The conflict between these two ideals must be fought to a finish.

2. Fraternity v. Justice

2. The second objection to the social sufficiency of the gospel lies in the fact that, recognizing the legitimacy of this conflict, men are seeking victory in an appeal to justice, rather than to love or fraternity. If by this is meant they are seeking to *give* justice, their position would be identical with that of the gospel. But the struggle between the

classes and the masses today is not to *give* but to *get* justice. The motive of individuals in such a struggle may be thoroughly altruistic, but the conflict has long since passed the individualistic stage and has become a struggle between groups.

Now the appeal to get justice is an old appeal, but at the bottom it is not evangelical. Jesus made this clear in his teaching as to non-resistance. According to him loyalty to the gospel was not an insistence upon one's own rights, but a willingness to surrender such individual rights for the common good. The appeal to justice at first sight seems far more powerful than this call to surrender, for it can utilize an anger born of the sense of injustice and the violation of one's own rights. But such a feeling leads ultimately to the appeal to force. Every revolution is a confession that love has failed to impress men with its absolute supremacy. Where men have to fight to get a just share of privilege, it is evident that other men are fighting not to give such privileges.

The modern struggle between the classes is not in itself necessarily controlled by the gospel. In the same degree as it may seem unavoidable does it argue the insufficiency or the inability of the gospel to transform men's motives into those of love. Many leaders of the present social movement have altogether lost confidence in appeals to altruism and are deliberately fomenting class hatred in expectation of a final struggle in which justice shall be gained. The Christian church must face this situation. It is not enough to say that the gospel is at work when individuals filled with the love of their kind endeavor to incite class

warfare. Such warfare may be the court of last resort, and such individuals may be Christians. But war, like charity, argues the incomplete evangelization of the world and the very effort to stir up hatred is an expression of distrust in the power of love.

3. The Imperfectly Evangelized Church

3. The third ground of distrust of the social sufficiency of the gospel is the imperfect evangelization of that very body that stands for the gospel, the church. The history of the church is a sad commentary on the unwillingness of men to submit themselves to the ideals of the very Christ whom they have declared to be the Son of God. Nor need one think only of the persecutions of the past. There are too many modern churches in which are bickerings, pettiness, and quarrelsomeness worthy of the Corinthians themselves. How comes it to pass that the organization which looks forward so confidently to a share in the triumph of the ideals of Jesus which it claims to embody can indulge in church quarrels and magnify the ideas of rights of majorities and minorities over the spirit of mutual surrender which is the real test of the regenerate life? The churches of many a modern city deserve the rebuke given by Paul to the Corinthians: "Are ye not carnal if ye bite and devour one another?"

The gospel is being put to the severest test in the house of its friends. To churches belong the large proportion of the capitalistic class, that is, those who have particularly enjoyed the blessings of the economic surplus. Rightly or wrongly it is believed to favor those who

have privileges in the social struggle. I believe that there has been a remarkable change in this particular during the last few years, and it is not too late to rectify the misinterpretations from which the church has suffered. But he would be an evil counselor who did not warn the churches that the spectacle of their quarrels over doctrinal and practical details on the one side, and their unwillingness to urge more distinctly upon their members the need of democratizing privilege, serves to decrease confidence in that gospel they profess. "If the salt has lost its savor wherewith is it to be salted?" If the church, the body of the Christ, cannot exemplify love, God will intrust this gospel to some other agency as he once transferred it from the Pharisees to the Gentiles.

II. The Social Sufficiency of the Gospel

Potent as are these objections to the sufficiency of the gospel to salvation I am convinced that they are due to a superficial estimate of the gospel and a confusion of orthodoxy with genuine evangelicalism. A fundamental difficulty with them all is an impatience with human nature. If the conditions which have been mentioned are to be faced frankly as liabilities, there are assets which are just as frankly to be counted.

1. It Breeds Hatred of Injustice

1. In the first place, there is the capacity of the gospel to stir in human hearts a hatred of all injustice and to nerve them to combat every institution that countenances injustice.

Whatever else the eschatological message of Christianity may involve,

it never blinks the issue of the conflict between forces of oppression and forces of righteousness. The coming of the kingdom of God and the triumph of Christ are never set forth in the gospel as a simple and peaceful evolution. The forces of Gog and Magog must be conquered by the forces of the Christ who came to send into the world not peace, but a sword. The non-resistance which Jesus teaches is not passive submission in the presence of injustice done others. The very Christ who taught men not to struggle for their individual rights fought the good fight of faith against the Pharisees who were seeking to belittle the people's rights.

There may be those who with complacent optimism believe that individual and social evolution may be unconsciously transformed into the likeness of the kingdom of God. The gospel never contemplates any such academic victory. It teaches men to practice no auto-suggestion that men or institutions are better than they really are. It knows only too well that there are those who will oppress the weak until they fear to oppress them; that there are institutions in society that must be destroyed, rather than transformed; that there are men who prefer to exploit, rather than to love their fellows; but it teaches also in its wonderful messianic program that God himself will, through his people, put an end to such oppression.

But the hatred inculcated by the gospel is not the hatred inculcated by revolutionary socialism. It is a righteous hatred of unrighteousness and the conflict which it expects is only the last resort by which those men who cannot be induced to be loving shall be deprived

of the control of social forces. A gospel without this blood and iron in its message would be a message of flaccid optimism which would have made impossible every hero of the faith who subdued kingdoms for the sake of larger equality and fraternity.

2. The Co-operative Power of the Gospel

2. In the second place, the gospel, just because it is a much wider term than ecclesiasticism, can find its followers in many an institution which is not strictly religious.

Indeed, it is fair to say that in the same proportion as the church comes under the sway of the gospel does it inspire its members to larger co-operation with other institutions which are seeking, in the evangelical spirit, to bring the ideals of Christ into social life. So clearly are we coming to see that those who are putting the principles of Jesus in operation are not his enemies, is that men are sometimes inclined to be impatient in their criticism of the church. Sometimes they even say that the labor union and fraternal organizations are really more Christian than is the church itself. But such criticism is, after all, unfair to the new spirit which is finding expression in our church activities. Just as churches are themselves learning larger co-operation in spiritual and material service to humanity, are they also finding that the evangelical impulse is a bond of co-operation between their members and non-ecclesiastical movements. It is this impulse to co-operation that so sharply distinguishes the evangelical from the ecclesiastical spirit, and in it lies one of the most cogent reasons for believing that the gospel of love

which can promote the work of friendly co-operation is to maintain itself throughout the entire social order.

3. Its Power to Evoke Sacrifice

3. But even more significant is the power of the gospel actually to produce loving lives whose aim is to *give* rather than to *get* justice. If one looks back over the Christian centuries he will find plenty of imperfections in the church but he will also find that the ideals of the church have always been higher than the ideals of the times to which it belonged. And this superiority has been due, not to the fact that necessarily the church was more learned or better organized, but to the far more striking fact that it has sought, through the spirit of sacrifice, to minister to the needs of the day. True, the most outstanding expressions of this really evangelical spirit have been ameliorative, but he would be a most unfair critic who would deny that as long as there is sin and misery in the world amelioration is necessary and blessed. When one thinks of the sacrifices Christians have made to found hospitals and schools, to give alms and many another form of helpfulness, and then compares such activities with those of non-Christian people, he sees clearly enough that the gospel of a loving Christ and a loving God has had the power to evoke love for men; and if it be true that nowadays we see the spirit of Jesus is not exhausted in efforts to ameliorate but must move over to the abolition of conditions from which misery springs, it is only what we should expect of a Christian spirit that is growing more intelligent. To doubt that the gospel which has evoked self-sacrificing love in the

past is to succeed in evoking the same love under our modern conditions, is to throw history out of the window.

4. The Corroboration of the Gospel by History

4. And this conviction is deepened as one sees the general tendency of social evolution to move toward the ideal of fraternity which Jesus says is to mark the kingdom of God. Recall the wonderful social effects of Christian missions. True, the gospel has been aided by other forces born of Western civilization, but it has also been hindered by them. If occidental commerce were thoroughly Christian, oriental nations would have been far more completely evangelized (in the deepest sense of the word) than they are today. For the gospel itself as it appears in the printed page of the Bible and in the simplest message of the missionary has amazing power to release social forces and correct social injustice.

Nor need we look at the elemental triumphs of the gospel. We can follow the advice of the writer to the Hebrews and pass on to the more complicated evidence of social evolution. If one will study the history of class conflicts where men have fought to gain justice and privileges which should have been freely granted them, a remarkable conclusion seems inevitable: Out of the bitter comes the sweet; out of the conflict has come larger fraternity as well as equality; out of class hatreds has come an appreciable approach toward the democratizing of privilege which is the social expression of the principles of Jesus.

It is not merely that men have found that honesty is the best policy. Often

to their surprise they have found that the extension of privilege is advantageous to all parties combined. In every struggle which has resulted in the extension of privilege the classes who have surrendered privileges have reaped such advantages as to be forced to approve their own defeat. If, as the early fathers so finely said, the soul is naturally Christian, it is just as true that social evolution is teleologically Christian. Individuals, it is true, may lament the lack of privileges which their forefathers may have possessed, but the enriched social life, which has come from the struggle in which their interests were apparently defeated, has brought so many more opportunities that if the choice were possible they would not be ready to exchange the one for the other. What man of South Carolina would re-establish Negro slavery? What man of Massachusetts would re-establish the New England theocracy? One increasing purpose does run through the ages, and that purpose leads, not toward the development of the power of the few over the many, but, although not steadily and always with the possibilities of further struggle, toward that democracy of privilege which is the social equivalent of the kingdom of God. There is no reply to this argument from the general tendency of history except that drawn from the overemphasis of the evil born of the process. And in history as in tracing the course of a river, a man must not mistake the eddies which the river causes for the general direction of the mighty current itself. If there can be detected any purpose in history, it is toward a fraternal democracy. And is not this precisely what the gospel sets

forth in its eschatology, namely, the inevitableness of that social order in which the Heavenly Father is to be supreme and which is to be composed of those who are ready to treat one another as brothers?

5. The Gospel Inculcates Faith in God

5. Another consideration of great moment is one which every Christian must reckon as final. The gospel is sufficient for social salvation because it inculcates life in accordance with the character of God who is Love.

If we hold, as hold we must, that God is immanent in our world, and that his will in some mysterious way gets expression in the course of human events, our faith in him as Father will not permit us to believe that he will permit his world to escape that great process which is the expression of his will. The pessimism which sees escape for the world only in a cataclysm is really a denial of God's presence in his world. We dare attempt to bring the institutions of the world under the control of the principles of love, because we believe that we are working with him. If the gospel is really a power of God unto salvation, it is something more than a power unto the rescue of individuals from a social order. It is the salvation of social evolution itself. And while this places upon the modern-minded Christian a heavier burden of faith than was borne by his predecessors, who looked for rescue rather than for salvation, it is not as heavy a burden as that which would seek to isolate God from his world and deny that his will which rules in the process of the universe has abdicated in human history. Here we face the true Christian philosophy of society: the

impossibility of the exclusion of individuals from the influence of their social environments leads to the deepened conviction that God must express himself in the life of society, as well as in the individual lives which are involved in society. For God is immanent in society.

6. The Power of the Gospel to Evoke Christlike Living

6. And finally it must be said that the gospel is impotent, except as it moves men and women to action in accordance with its ideals.

Here it finds its supreme test, for love means sacrifice. A gospel without the cross is a gospel without truth and without power. Only the cross must not be simply the cross of Jesus but that which every one of his disciples takes as he attempts to follow him. And this vicarious spirit which was revealed so triumphantly on Calvary and in the tomb in the garden must be expressed not only in individual, but in social, groups as well. The chief business of the church is not to make social programs, but to prepare men's hearts to organize social advance. No other institution is attempting to democratize privilege by insisting upon surrender of privilege on the part of those who possess it. Other organizations seek to *gain* justice. The gospel nerves its followers to *give* justice. Christianity alone insists that it is more blessed to give than to receive. It contains a call to a heroism incomparably larger than the call of war. True evangelicalism may or may not be theological orthodoxy, but no man or group of men is actually devoted to the cause of Christ until they practice the Golden Rule in the spirit of sacrifice.

It is an audacious proposal which the gospel thus makes. The lion of the tribe of justice-seekers becomes the lamb of the God of Love. But as we recall the years which have passed since Jesus first taught and embodied this message of Love which, in its impulse to realize itself in service, stops at no sacrifice, we are filled with self-condemning optimism. The blood of the martyrs has been the seed of the church, and the church which has so imperfectly, but steadily, embodied the principles of Jesus has in turn taught men how to apply those principles with ever-increasing extension to the social difficulties of the day. In this spirit it must continue to live. The certainty that it will thus live is the fruit of our spiritual loyalty to Jesus.

It is no spectacular service which it thus is called to render to the changing order. It is the service of love that has hatred and opposition only for that which is not born of love. It must carry to the world the ever-deepening conviction that love is the will of God, no matter what its embodiment must cost, and it must educate men into a

sensitiveness as to the rights of others, until instinctively they no longer look upon their own things but upon the things of others. And if such Christlike spirit shall lead them to some Calvary of economic renunciation or Christlike sharing of their goods with the multitudes, the gospel will be only fulfilling its divine mission. For the gospel stakes itself upon the supremacy of love. The church will fulfil its mission as it trains the regenerate life of its members to see the social implication of that regenerate life which is begotten of a Heavenly Father. And as it grasps this supreme mission it will increasingly exhibit the sufficiency of the gospel for social salvation, not by metaphysical creeds but by the test of the apostle himself: Men will be known to love God whom they have not seen as they love their brothers whom they have seen. And the power of social regeneration will be known to be something more than economic efficiency or mere humanitarianism. For it will be seen to be the superhuman might of God who is bringing in his Kingdom.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

V

THE MODERN CHURCH AND POLITICS

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It is not quite just to the historical situation to call the Thirty Years' War and the wars that followed the Reformation movement "religious wars."

Religion and even ecclesiasticism were only elements in an exceedingly complex situation. The struggle was with feudalism, and as the Roman Catholic

church was the most powerful and picturesque incarnation of feudalism, all the forces working consciously or only instinctively against feudalism were arrayed against her. And she in her turn was only the banner-bearer of the feudal forces. The struggle gave the Roman church new energy. She took up the work of internal reform begun by the Council of Constance (1414) and interrupted by the Reformation schism, and reorganized her life with most astonishing efficiency. The so-called Counter-Reformation rallied all the forces of feudal reaction, unified them, and made them distinctly conscious of the issues at stake. Over against this movement the new modern spirit was but feebly expressed. Protestantism on its theological side had taken refuge in a new and singularly inconsequent scholasticism. Its social activities were even less thoughtfully organized, and its political life was torn asunder by the internal conflicts between quite opposing interests and theories.

The Reformation Not a Mere Class Movement

To call the Reformation movement a "capitalist" movement, or a "middle class" uprising as is the habit of socialist criticism, and even of many who are not socialists, is too schematic. The political weakness of the Reformation was that it was a revolt of the modern spirit as yet but dimly conscious of its real meaning.

When, then, Bacon, Rousseau, Hobbes, Voltaire, Locke, Milton, Hume, and Kant began to voice the several interests implicit in the Reformation as an intellectual movement, the scho-

lastic Protestant church felt she was being devoured by her own children.

It must be confessed that the standard histories treat this period far too exclusively as a clash of opposing theories. It was a clash of opposing material interests as well, and these were no more conscious of their full significance than were the religious and intellectual elements. The rise of a commercial class; the gradual development of a town proletariat; the gradual transference of power from a landowning to a capital-owning class; the shifting of political powers from the few to the many were all factors in a complex situation still further confused by the tangled thread of colonial development.

Power over persons is based finally upon monopoly of what others must have. When, therefore, the free land of America and later Australia was opened up to immigration, to that extent the landed monopoly was broken and the power of the landowning class was to that extent undermined. Now, however, the state churches of Europe, whether calling themselves Roman Catholic or Protestant, were still linked in their fundamental interest with the landowning class. The Lutheran churches of the various German states, the established church of England, the state churches of the smaller European northern powers, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, etc., all instinctively identified themselves with the landowning and land-using classes. The rise of democracy could not but be distasteful to such established churches. In France, Protestantism had been well-nigh overcome, and here the rise of democracy

became almost equivalent to the decline of the church, and the final blow in the separation of church and state was the logical consequence of the triumph of Republicanism. In Spain, Austria, and Italy the Roman Catholic church was regarded by the power-possessing class as one of the most useful barriers against revolutionary radicalism, and as such she retained her power over many who had lost all intellectual interest in her theology, or religious feeling for her consolations.

It was in England where the use of coal and the invention of machinery, together with the fact of her insular position, saved her from the exhaustions of invasion, that the modern movement produced soonest its logical outcome. In the Evangelical revival the consciousness of interests opposed to the semi-feudalism of the Established church resulted in the great strengthening of nonconformity, and the rise of a religious radicalism. In Germany, however, an intellectual Protestantism was shaking itself loose from feudal tradition and ecclesiastical domination. Kant formulated the new spirit of Protestantism, with its main emphasis upon the higher ethical values, and its searching criticism of the foundations upon which authoritarian theology and ecclesiastical scholasticism rested, and thus prepared the way for a radical attack upon the political life and purpose of established Protestant churches.

The Struggle of Protestantism with Political Situations

Unfortunately these churches were bound hand and foot to the existing political situation. In the struggle for

freedom and constitutional government that tore the life of Germany from 1819 to 1870 the church played an ignoble and almost contemptible part. And as a radical socialism rose as the party of discontent and democracy, the church awoke to find herself completely estranged from the new democratic life in art, in thought, and in political purpose. The art of Germany, whether that of Schiller, Heine, Goethe, Wagner, or Nietzsche, is pagan through and through. The intellectual life of the university has become utterly estranged from the organized religious life of the church, and the greatest single political party in the Empire returns the exclusion of its members from the church by almost as sharply excluding members of the church from its numbers.

The woeful fact that in all ages religion is identified with its temporary organized form has left the Christian religion of the continent of Europe in a wild confusion. To be "religious" means to the average modern mind that one is caught in the political or intellectual reactionarism of Vatican obscurantism or the scholasticism of a lukewarm Lutheranism.

New Democratic Forces Now at Work

Happily a thousand new influences are at work, and the individual religious life has never been really identified with the formal organized church. The religious life of Germany has found a refuge in the home, and its center is there rather than in the church. But the effect of this divorce upon the radical and democratic policies of the state has been in the last degree unfortunate.

In France the same thing has happened, with, however, the Roman church being in the place of the Lutheran. There, also, democracy has swept away from all ecclesiastical influence. The "church" is either actively hated, or contemptuously ignored by the radical and democratic forces. Nor is the situation very different in Spain or Italy, save only that radicalism and democracy are in those countries less well organized and self-conscious than in France or in Germany. The demand for temporal sovereignty on the part of the Vatican is really only a part of her Middle Age claim to real responsibility for all government as God's representative on earth. And the existence of a Roman Catholic "Centrum" party in Germany is one of the most unfortunate political incidents in the history of the imperial parliament. It has sharpened the existing antagonism between democracy and established religion, and greatly lowered the parliamentary efficiency of the legislative body. The natural sympathies of such a party are of necessity with feudalism and aristocratic tradition, but in its struggle for power it is in constant danger of ignoble intrigue and utterly unworthy political bargaining with its consequent demoralization and prostitution of principle.

The loss of temporal power on the part of Rome goes on, however, steadily. The unification of Italy placed Rome in the unfortunate attitude of opposition to all the best national aspirations, and in the same way France was estranged, and lost to her through the separation of church and state now made more final than even in the United States.

The *Kultur-Kampf*, or struggle for state control of all education, cost Rome some of her most loyal followers in Germany, and the short-sighted policy of the Jesuit organization has produced a series of laws in the South American republics, where no Protestantism practically exists, more oppressive for the hierarchy than in any Protestant country.

Protestantism is in less danger than Rome of complete identification of her life with the fortunes of the stage of culture which gave her birth. This is in part true because Protestantism has touched all classes. The great divisions that exist have saved her from confining herself to any one group. At the same time a dangerous division is a constant menace to her highest usefulness. The industrial class, whose labor power is all it has to sell, may easily grow up in increasing estrangement from the expensively organized and prosperous Protestant churches.

In England the Evangelical revival saved the situation, and in the United States the Methodist and Baptist churches have rendered services of untold value. Yet it must be frankly recognized that there has never been a clear and self-consistent theory worked out by Protestantism of her relations to the political organization of the state. On the one hand, the churches have been inclined to treat salvation as an individual matter, unconnected with the political and communal life, or on the other to adopt the meddling and irritating attitude of the Roman communion in dictating to the political state courses of conduct deemed favorable to the church life.

The Pressing Political Problems of the Church

A thoroughly self-conscious Protestantism will have to realize clearly that political government is as divinely expedient as an ecclesiastical government. And that so far as lines can be drawn at all they must be drawn in the interests of the whole community. We must realize that organizations for promoting this or that type of religious life may demand protection of the community and no more. Whatever else is given is of grace and not of right. If the community cares to subsidize an art gallery or an orchestra or a religious denomination, it does so at the risk of some injustice to individuals; but it may choose to take that risk for the greater good. It is a matter of communal expediency pure and simple and only history and experience can give us a final answer as to the wisdom of such help.

The difficulty at present is that all too easily a powerful class in the community may tax the less powerful and less well-organized elements in the interests of their view of life. A really sturdy Protestantism, conscious of its real mission, will not want the support of any class, no matter how powerful, if that support is obtained by cutting it off from the weaker classes.

Nor again will a sturdy and self-conscious Protestantism desire to manipulate political parties for its own ends. It will recognize the fact that political parties follow, and should follow, lesser and more immediate ends than any religious organization should have in view. No religious organization is worth the name that does not realize its world-wide mission, and that

to accomplish that mission it must work with men of good will of many different political opinions. Anarchists, Socialists, Progressive Republicans, Democrats, Free-Traders, Prohibitionists, Single-Taxers, Syndicatsists, Standpat Republicans, Populists, etc., are in Protestantism, and the only legitimate demand upon them is that they are in these parties sincerely believing that they promote ends that make for the kingdom of God, and that they are in them unselfishly to promote righteousness. Nor must Protestantism permit itself to be prostituted to any lesser political ends no matter how legitimate they may seem. We must forever turn our backs upon the political compromises by which so often the church has been tempted to gain the whole world, only to lose its own soul.

Communal righteousness is the goal of the religious organization, but the economic and political means by which it is to be established must be left to individual and party decision beyond the control of the religious organization. The inspirations to self-sacrificing political and economic activity, the maintaining of organization for the promotion of this activity, service in every field in which no man is busy; these things the past shows the church most highly useful in promoting. There is no service she may not render until another organization better equipped takes her place; but just as soon as another organization can do anything better because of higher specialization than the sooner a religious organization abandons the field the better. Thus the schools and colleges are passing to the state, and much humanitarian en-

terprise will in the same way be taken over by the community.

Robust Protestantism knows no line between the sacred and the secular. It believes with Paul that all things are ours, and that all things are sacred. Its goal is not the capture of any political party but the spiritualizing of all. And by spiritualization it does not understand that the field of its interest is a future unseen world, but the present unseen higher values; the fruit of the spirit, love, joy, peace, long suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, and self-control: these things it seeks and promotes.

The difficulty with the Roman Catholic position in politics is its claim to infallible authority, and its consequent lordship over the minds of men. Any self-conscious Protestantism makes no such claim. It has discovered that it only knows in part and sees in a bronze mirror very dimly. Its unity is not of formulated truth but of purpose and spirit. It realizes that the social changes that have taken place are very great, and what may be in the future it cannot tell. Happily Protestantism is not committed to any political form, nor does it wisely commit itself to any type of culture. For such Protestantism

the church is only human life organized for the incarnation of God's holy will in all society.

Roman Catholicism identified herself not only with the intellectual forms in which she took over her gospel from the Hellenistic world, but with its politics and culture. The fact now is that Protestantism is both too intelligent and politically too active to be content with any existing intellectual world, or any present political form. Roman Catholicism looks to the past; increasingly Protestantism is consciously breaking with her historic past and recognizing the fact that she is the child of hope and a Far Future. Thus she may become one of the great creative factors in the new world dawning upon men's vision, and in her creative activity awake to the fulness of her potential strength. She will claim again all life not as her dominion, but as her opportunity for again rendering spiritual service, and organizing life for worship and fellowship in love and righteousness. She will have done for all time with compromises for the sake of power, and more particularly with all political compromises, and will become the unselfish and unchallenged inspiration to all good works.

THE HAND OF THE DEAD IN JAPAN

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Professor Clement is recognized as one of the few American authorities on Modern Japan. As a missionary teacher and now a member of one of the state institutions of college grade, he has had abundant opportunity to study the great nation of which he writes so sympathetically. His present article explains one of those Japanese traits which the Western world has never fully understood.

The tragic suicide of General Count Nogi and the Countess, on the eve of the funeral of their late emperor, now appropriately known as Meiji Tenno, was a great shock to the Western world. The feeling was, no doubt, largely due to misunderstanding of the moral purpose of the dreadful deed and of the motive which lay behind the whole social, political, moral, and religious world of Old Japan and has not yet lost its potency under the influence of occidental and Christian precepts. The Christian idea of the value of human life condemns such a deed as a terrible sin against self, mankind, and God, the giver of life. The oriental idea is that, under such circumstances, the spirit of the dead has even greater influence than the living man or woman. "It is because of this faith that the Japanese soldier in battle never surrenders in the face of apparent defeat, but freely offers himself in the name of his emperor, that, as a god, he may not only be the victorious avenger of his country, but the object of his people's unceasing worship and veneration." This illustrates what Hearn, in one of the chapters of his best work, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, has called "the rule of the dead over the

living." And he added that "the hand of the dead was heavy; it is heavy upon the living even today."

Moreover, only a few days before that tragic event occurred, there was issued from the press the second and revised edition of a book which is more or less of a commentary on the foregoing principle. This book is entitled, *Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law*, and has been written in English by Dr. N. Hozumi, for twenty-five years an active, now an honorary, professor of law in the Imperial University, Tokyo. He is also a barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple, England; and he was one of the compilers of the new Japanese Civil Code. A perusal of that book and of various newspaper and magazine discussions of the Nogi suicide has tempted me to take up the pen on the topic which heads this article, i.e., the despotism of the dead over the living in Japan.

It is, indeed, quite interesting, in entering upon this subject, to note that it takes us into many fields of human thought and activity—into the realms of sociology, political science, economics, law, ethics, and religion. It is, therefore, a socio-politico-economic-legal-ethico-religious topic; it is omnipresent and omnipotent.

The rule of the dead, especially through ancestor-worship as its chief formal manifestation, but even without such or any manifestation, is omnipresent. This word is used in a double sense, because the two single meanings can scarcely be separated in this case, of being always present and everywhere present. Unless the instances in which radical Christian missionaries have compelled the abandonment of this so-called idolatrous practice be excepted, there is hardly a place or time where or when the hand of the dead is not "heavy upon the living." This is true, not only in private, but also in public, affairs; as will appear evident from the few illustrations which follow.

It is true in private affairs, i.e., the affairs, not merely of an individual, but also of a family. In every Japanese house there are two sacred places: the Shinto god-shelf and the Buddhist altar (on a shelf); and before these the members of the household make daily obeisance according to rites prescribed by each cult. It must be kept in mind, that, while New Japan recognizes the rights of an individual under certain circumstances, in Old Japan the individual was swallowed up in the family, the clan, and the nation. Therefore, ancestor-worship was carried on, not by the individual, but by the family, the clan, or community, and the nation.

There are both regular and special times for ancestor-worship. The regular times included sacrifice-days, sacrifice-months, and sacrifice-years, which were not often the same in Shinto and Buddhist ceremonies. According to Shinto, house-worship should be celebrated on the anniversary day of the

death each month, especially the anniversary month, in the following anniversary year: first, fifth, tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, fiftieth, and hundredth years, and after that every fifty years. According to Buddhism, such ceremonies would take place every seventh day until the seventh seventh, or forty-ninth, day and in the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, seventeenth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, thirty-third, thirty-seventh, forty-third, forty-seventh, fiftieth, and hundredth years, and after that every fifty years. Moreover, there are three general ceremonial dates for offering sacrifices to the spirits of ancestors, both at home and at the graves. These are the festivals of the spring and fall equinoxes and the famous Bon festival of the seventh month; and they continue for several days. From this paragraph it will be quite evident that it is no small or easy task to keep track of the calendar of the dead.

But there are also special times for ancestor-worship, of which Dr. Hozumi has cited the following examples:

When a young student goes to Europe or America to pursue his studies, when a soldier sets out on a campaign, when an official is sent abroad on some government mission, or when a merchant undertakes a long journey on business, he invariably visits the tombs of his ancestors in order to take leave of them.

And, to do this, it may be necessary to spend much time and money on a long trip to a distant place. And Dr. Hozumi sums it all up as follows: "In fact, the worship of the spirits of ancestors forms a part of the everyday life of the people."

It is also true that the hand of the dead is heavy upon the living in public affairs. There are, for instance, thirteen great festivals and eight small festivals,¹ with fixed ceremonies of worship of ancestors, in the imperial house. Almost all of these great festivals and two of the small festivals are kept as national holidays; but they must be scrupulously observed as occasions for ancestor-worship by the members of the imperial family and by certain officials. Therefore, Dr. Hozumi infers that "it will be readily seen that the worship of the imperial ancestors is the national worship."

The rule of the dead is practically omnipotent in Japan. The regulations for the observances in honor of the deceased must be rigidly carried out in every little particular. To break one point of that law is a great sin. Moreover, such observances, whether domestic, communal, or national, must take precedence of all else, no matter how important or urgent. Personal convenience, pecuniary expense, value of time, business contingency, professional duty, considerations of health, everything, must be sacrificed to the demands of the ancestral rights and rites. "The happiness of the dead depends on the respectful and loving service of the living; and the happiness of the living depends on the due fulfilment of pious duty to the dead." Vergil's *pius Aeneas* could very easily find a place in the pantheon of national heroes in Japan. Although he lost his wife, he saved his aged father; although he basely deserted Dido, he carried his household Penates with him to re-establish his *familia* in Italy.

¹ See pp. 34-47 of Dr. Hozumi's book.

The political phases of this rule of the dead in Japan are quite interesting, because they set forth the strength in Japan of the old doctrine of "the divine right of the king." Although Charles I of England paid with his life the penalty of insisting too vigorously and practically upon the exemplification of that theory, no Stuart ever even dreamed of the applications to which it could be put in Japan. And, if Charles Stuart had been a Japanese, he might have saved his neck and still have satisfied the anti-Royalists!

The connection between ancestor-worship and government in Japan appears in several words. *Matsurigoto*, meaning literally "worship-affairs," is a common term for "government" or "rule," *Seiji-hajime*, meaning literally "state affairs—Commencement" takes place on January 4 and "consists in the emperor receiving from his ministers the report of the affairs of the Great Shrine [Shinto] at Ise." There is an old expression, quite common, *Saisei-itchi*, which means "worship [and] government-unity"; and an old Chinese expression is true also in Japan, that the great "affairs of state are worship and war." Even the modern constitution of Japan formally recognizes the imperial ancestors and has produced a "tripartite" system, which Dr. Hozumi calls "theocratico-patriarchal-constitutionalism." This is another instance of "the curious blending of the past and present" which "is one of the most striking phenomena of Japan." Dr. Hozumi presents still another illustration, as follows:

To the Western eyes, the sight must appear strange of a Japanese family inviting

their relatives through the medium of the telephone to take part in a ceremony of this nature. Equally incongruous may seem the spectacle of members of a family, some of them attired in European, and others in native, costume, assembled in a room lighted by electricity, making offerings and obeisances before the memorial tablet of their ancestor.

But, with reference to the constitution, Dr. Hozumi is able to state "from personal knowledge" that Ito was very careful in its preparation "to reconcile and bring into harmony the traditional character of the government, based on the cult of the imperial ancestor, with the most advanced principles of modern constitutionalism." When Japan adopts, she adapts.

It is rather interesting to note how the rule of the dead is still recognized in the new Civil Code, in which "the East and West, the past and the present, meet." In the revision of the Civil Code in those modern days, although recognition of individual rights¹ is granted under certain circumstances, it was not possible to break at once with the old customs. Therefore, while occidental or cosmopolitan influences were quite strong in the sections relating to the laws of obligations and movables, national customs influenced the laws of family and succession. For instance, the Japanese family law rests upon the two bases of house and kinship; of which the house "is a legal entity originally founded on ancestor-worship," and degrees in kinship are connected with not merely distance of blood-relationship but also family rank. This double standard has more or less affected the provisions of the new Civil Code

concerning adoption, succession, abdication, divorce, etc.

There is likewise an economic aspect to this rule of the dead in Japan. The despotism of the "family" (which has a broader meaning than in America or England) may be utilized to keep in hereditary labor or business or profession one who is not well fitted to continue therein. On the other hand, this same iron bend of the family may be useful in keeping unworthy individuals from becoming burdens on society. Again, family traditions may be so conservative as to hinder, if not actually prevent, the proper development of an occupation, a business enterprise, an industry, or some other economical institution. But the tyranny of the family may also be invoked to check injurious competition and either to establish or to check monopoly. And even the tendency to nationalize industries by establishing government monopolies seems to be an application of the same idea to the state; for the empire of Japan is really little more than a big family.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell at much length upon the social phases of this rule of the dead, as they have already been suggested by what has been written above. They are most evident in such matters as marriage, divorce, adoption, and the dissolution thereof, and succession. The rule of the dead appears also as the basis of the graded system of relationship. And, as Hearn says, "though ancient social groupings have been officially abolished, regroupings of a corresponding sort have been formed, instinctively, throughout the country districts." And that is where this form of despotism still remains supreme,

¹ The Japanese word for "right(s)," *kenri*, was coined in the year 1868.

where "family and public sentiment are still more potent than law." Moreover, the old patriarchal and hierarchical organization of society has left its mark in "prescribed rules for dress, diet, and manner of life" and the strict conventionalisms of language. Honorifics and humilifics have been multiplied and carefully graded; and this stern etiquette of language and deportment has descended to the present.

But "manners are morals and etiquette is ethics," especially in Japan. The ethical aspects of this ancestral domestic despotism are very significant. Moral standards become quite different. Filial piety naturally occupies a loftier position than in Western ethical systems: it is, for instance, considered a higher virtue than personal chastity, so that a daughter is not wicked but righteous who devotes herself to a life of shame to support her family. Reckless bravery, suicide rather than surrender, suicide like that in the Nogi case—all these are not vices but virtues. Politeness, likewise, may be a higher virtue than truth; so that to be rude is a worse sin than to tell a lie. And "the supreme crime" is to neglect or forget the duties owed to one's ancestors, domestic or national. The ancient morality, which has not yet entirely lost its power, "consisted in the minute observance of rules of conduct regarding the household, the community, and the higher authority." Therefore, the hand of the dead is heavy over the living in Japan even today in the field of ethics.

If we examine this subject from the religious point of view, we see, first, that the rule of the dead was an important element of Shinto (if that cult can be

called a religion). Next, we find that this rule of the dead, with its forms of ancestor-worship, was accepted by Buddhism in Japan. Thus domestic, communal, and national worship of ancestors became a kind of religion to the Japanese and is losing power chiefly or only where the most radical Christian influence prevails. This religion is a kind of "spiritualism," by which, according to Japanese ideas, "the spirits of our ancestors" are the guiding and ruling forces of the lives of the living. The suicide of General and Countess Nogi was not cowardly or immoral, but was a loyal and religious act, which has made them not only heroes but also "gods." There is a good deal of truth in the statement that "the combined forces of the living and the dead (but the living under the direction of the dead) are the rulers of modern Japan and the shapers of its destinies."

One natural inference from the foregoing discussion is that the Japanese are not so inclined as occidentals to distinguish carefully between the "secular" and the "religious." They need to have impressed upon them the profound meaning of Christ's wise instructions to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

And in this connection, a query arises concerning the meaning of the word "worship" in connection with ancestors. There is not much doubt that, in the minds of the uneducated masses, their ancestors are really "gods," whom they worship much as Christians worship only God. But it is not so with the educated classes, by whom the word is used in that connection much in the sense in which

Carlyle used it in "hero-worship." Dr. Hozumi says: "If ancestor-worship is, as maintained in this book, the extension of love and respect to distant forefathers, the manifestation of this love and respect in a certain harmless way may be regarded as a realization of the Fifth Commandment to honor the parents."

The points discussed in the preceding paragraphs might have been treated in greater detail; but they seem to be sufficiently established by what has been written. The hand of the dead is still heavy in Japan, because the family is the social unit and is dominated by ancestor-worship, formal or informal. Percival Lowell has said that "the

Empire is one great family; the family is a little empire." But the imperial despotism of the family has been weakened considerably by the increased and increasing power given to the individual. The unwritten law of long-established social customs may hold its own for some time against the written laws of the new codes. But the social customs are gradually changing under the influence of individualistic ideas and will come into harmony with the legal enactments. The individual will honor his father and mother and ancestors, and will also himself receive due honor. The dead will be found to be less useful than the living in Japan.

THE MYSTICISM OF JESUS AND OF PAUL

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Professor Buckham's discussion is timely. We are in danger of coming to regard the New Testament as a mere field of criticism. How vast a mistake that would be! Let us come back more earnestly to a vitally religious point of view and see that whatever we may learn about Jesus and Paul, they and their own experiences of God are immeasurably precious.

I

It is a question of very pressing and vital moment how far Christianity is a mystical religion. To answer it we must first go back to its founder and his earliest interpreters. Unless the spirit and principles of mysticism are found in Jesus we cannot rightly call Christianity a mystical religion. If mysticism is an alien strain inducted into the religion of

Jesus it cannot command the unreserved support of his disciples.

When we approach Jesus with the measuring wand of mysticism, we are not left long in doubt as to the positive character of the result. Evidences of the presence of the mystical in Jesus are undeniable, even in the Synoptic Gospels. One can hardly think of him at all without feeling his intimate mystic sense

of the Divine Presence. He seems to have lived enwrapped and infilled with the consciousness of God as the very habit and atmosphere of his mind. His hours alone on the mountain and in the desert and garden his disciples recognized as sacred seasons of communion with his Father. His words reveal the reality of this communion, in their very reserve as well as in their disclosures. Of all God-enveloped and impelled men, Jesus stands foremost, so close in his vital intimacy with God that generations of his followers have agreed with his immediate disciples in giving him the title, the Son of God, and have found that none too daring a saying: "No man knoweth the Father but the Son."

Jesus' attitude toward truth is also distinctly mystical. He teaches that God is known immediately, by inner vision. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." And, as if to show that the inner eye is to him only a symbol, he makes similar appeal to the inner ear. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." The childlike heart is requisite for entering the kingdom. It is a kingdom of mysteries, which it is given unto the disciple to know. Things hidden from the wise and prudent are revealed to its initiates. He has mystic visions—Satan falling as lightning from heaven—sudden floods and sunbursts of rejoicing; "In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit."

Nature is seen by Jesus in a mystical light. The seed, the tree, the flower, the bird are bearers of divine meanings and messages. Indications, sometimes clear and definite, sometimes subtle and suggestive, of Jesus' sensitiveness to the spiritual side of nature are giving rise to

such tender and beautiful interpretations of his nature mysticism as Lanier's "Ballad of Trees and the Master."

Parable and paradox, the two methods by which Jesus unveils the mysteries of the kingdom, are both essentially mystical methods of teaching truth. Both suggest a meaning "far more deeply interfused." With the importance of the parable in Jesus' teaching we have long been familiar, but the significance of his constant use of paradox is just beginning to make its due impression. Chesterton has emphasized it by means of his customary brilliant use of the same method. The late Professor Castor, one of the foremost of the younger New Testament scholars of America, left as his principal contribution to New Testament interpretation a striking paper upon this subject, published in the *Biblical World*, in July, 1912, in which, after quoting from Chesterton, he writes:

Through the very texture of the teaching of Jesus runs this paradoxical element. The gospels bristle with contradictions. Any careful reader who looks there, for moral guidance finds himself confronted with two radically different attitudes toward life. Side by side with a renunciation of the world, as stern as that of an Indian yogi, is a childlike joy in life as simple as that of which Wordsworth sang. . . . The example of Jesus is an everlasting witness to us that the two sides may be harmonized in personal experience without neglecting either phase. His life was, as Chesterton saw, a superhuman paradox where opposite passions blazed side by side. The moral supremacy of Jesus is not in any merely negative sinlessness but in the perfect balance of these great antinomies of character.

It is only the mystic who dares to trust paradox as Jesus trusted it, because it is only he who fully realizes the limitless and ultimate harmony of truth.

The central place of *love* in Jesus' character and teaching is the final evidence of his mysticism. He makes love the culminating commandment, as well as the spring and motive of his sacrificial life. Here, as Professor Castor points out, is the solution of his paradoxes. Here, too, is the secret of his power. He loved greatly. Mysticism can claim no monopoly of love, but it can claim reliance upon love, "the love of love," as a characteristic mystical doctrine and practice, and in this Jesus was pre-eminent.

That Jesus was deeply and vitally mystical, then, can hardly be open to question. As Burkitt has finely said, "It is not as a philosopher, but as a Prometheus that we worship Christ—the man who came down from heaven to give men the Divine Fire."¹ And yet, when the direct question is asked: "Was Jesus a *mystic*?" one hesitates to put the label upon him, just as one hesitates to put any label upon him. He is too great to be classified. He was quite as great ethically as mystically. One might call him an *ethic*, just as truly as a mystic, so intensely ethical was his life and teaching. Indeed here is one great secret of the supremacy of Jesus; he united, as no other has ever done, mysticism and ethics, morality and religion. And one should add that in him both were thoroughly rational. It was a mystic, yet far more and greater than a mystic, who being lifted up draws all men unto himself.

Thus Jesus affords us the most normal mysticism in the entire history of religion. It has a depth and strength and steadiness that cannot be paralleled. It is non-ascetic, non-speculative, non-ecstatic. One saying, alone, of his is sufficient to indicate the extraordinary poise and normality of his mind: "Be wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Here are parable, paradox, ethic, rationality, mysticism condensed in a single sentence replete with both common-sense and super-sense, sagacity and charity.

The eschatological strain in Jesus, if it were as controlling as Schweitzer and others would have us believe, would indeed enhance the mystical element in him but at the cost of sanity. It would yield not only an *interim* ethics but an *interim* mysticism, neither of which is true to the firmer lines of the portrait drawn in the gospels.

II

Since there was so much of the mystical element in Jesus it need not surprise us to find even more in his first and greatest interpreter. Paul was an amazingly many-sided man. It is not strange, therefore, that other sides, particularly the dogmatic and argumentative, have obscured that deeper quality in which we are now beginning to find the real secret of his personality—the mystical. The recent turning of New Testament students toward "Paul the Mystic" is perhaps the most significant step in New Testament study. It opens the way toward a profounder and more spiritual conception of Christianity than the church has ever reached.

¹ *The Interpreter*, IX, No. 1, p. 35.

The present emphatic recognition of the mystical element in Paul was anticipated by James M. Campbell in his discerning volume, *Paul the Mystic*, and to a certain degree by Weinel in his *Paul*, in which he quotes Nietzsche's comparison of Paul and Madam Guyon. Even Johannes Weiss, in his *Preaching of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God*, admits that in Paul "the eschatological tension is strongly counterbalanced by his Christ mysticism." But it remained for Reitzenstein, Adolf Deissman, Kirsopp Lake, and especially Percy Gardner, to bring out more clearly the mysticism of the great apostle, particularly in its relation to the mystery religions of his time. Deissman calls the apostle "ein Klassiker der Mystik und der nüchternste Praktiker zugleich." Lake, in his *The Earlier Epistles of Paul*, does not discuss the mysticism of Paul so much as that of Christianity itself, which he pronounces a mystery religion. "Christianity has not borrowed from the mystery religions because it was always, at least in Europe, a mystery religion itself."¹

Professor Gardner, in his *The Religious Experience of Saint Paul*, after tracing the relations of Paulinism to the mystery religions, concludes:

Thus the Christianity of Paul is impressed and deeply impressed by many of the marks which are regarded by modern critics as the most noteworthy characteristics of the mystic cults of the Hellenic world.²

He points out, however, the following important distinction:

We have no reason to think that those who claimed salvation through Isis or

Mithras were much better than their neighbors. They felt secure of the help of their patron deity in the affairs of life and of the future world; but they did not therefore live at a higher level. But in the view of Paul those who became part of the body of Christ put off all sin and evil doing. The spirit of Christ dwelt in them, leading them to all things pure and lovely and of good report.³

These brief allusions to the recent literature of Paulinism will serve to indicate how general and full of import is the present emphasis upon the mysticism of Paul. Not that the older insistence upon his intellectualism has been abandoned, or that eschatologists, like Sweitzer, have ceased to claim him. But Reitzenstein carries our conviction with him when, in reply to Sweitzer, he says of Paul:

In his mysticism, in the absolute surrender of his whole being and life, I feel there is a depth of personal love which I cannot explain adequately on psychological principles, by mere messianic hopes and an eschatological idea.⁴

III

Turning now to a closer study of the apostle for ourselves, we find in him three very striking evidences of mysticism. The first is his recognition of distinct grades, or stages, of spiritual truth. Beginning his work in Corinth, he determined not to know anything among them save Jesus Christ and him crucified. But this, he proceeds to state with all the clarity and vigor which characterize him, is not the deeper truth (wisdom) which he has for full-grown men. The higher wisdom is a hidden mystery,

¹ P. 215.

² P. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für neuestestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

foreordained before the worlds unto our glory. Then follows that remarkable passage on the nature and revelation of spiritual truth which will ever remain the most profound and luminous word upon the subject in literature, closing:

But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is judged of no man. For who hath known the mind of the Lord that he should instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.

The second evidence of mysticism is one of less intrinsic worth, but absolutely conclusive for the psychologist, i.e., Paul's susceptibility to vision, or "trance." Besides that of his conversion, the principal experience of this kind which the apostle relates is that found in the twelfth chapter of the second letter to the Corinthians. So typically mystical is this experience, with its loss of consciousness, its ecstasy, its unspeakable words, that it at once places Paul indubitably among the mystics. Yet we shall do well to remember that such "incursions" are far too subordinate and isolated in Paul's self-revelation to color very greatly the deeper and saner mystical experience of which they are but incidents.

Richest and most characteristic by far, as an expression of Paul's mysticism, is the experience, so fundamental and determinative in his life and thought, of the Christ "mystery."¹ What did the apostle mean by the gospel *mystery* to which he refers with so much confidence and reverence? Gardner interprets it as follows:

The mystery of Paul was a sacred but secret belief in the existence of a spiritual bond holding together a society in union with a spiritual Lord, with whom the society has communion and from whom they received in the present life safety from sin and defilement, and in the world to come life everlasting.²

Doubtless this is a true account of Paul's mystery as far as it goes. But is this all? The "mystery" is something more than a belief. The "bond" impresses most readers of Paul as more intimate than this and as primarily individual and only secondarily social. Dr. McGiffert comes nearer to the heart of the apostle's mystery when he says of it, "The result of the divine indwelling is not simply union but identity. It is not that the man and Christ are brought into intimate association, but that they become one."³ But even this interpretation fails to represent the full idea of mystery which is in the apostle's mind when he writes of what "has been hid from the ages and generations but now is made manifest, which is Christ in you the hope of glory." Does he not thus imply an unrecognized Christ indwelling in devout souls as such—the soul of goodness at the very core of their selfhood—now at last in the end of the ages identified, interpreted, fulfilled, in the revelation of Jesus Christ? At all events this is a conception which we find prevailing among many of the later Christian mystics. How far they drew it from Paul, how far from Platonism or Stoicism, how far from their own speculative insight, it is difficult to tell.

¹I Cor. 2:7; Col. 1:27; Eph. 1:9; 3:9.

²*The Religious Experience of Saint Paul*, p. 79.

³"Mysticism in the Early Church," *American Journal of Theology*, XI, No. 3, p. 407.

William Law, for one, connects this mystic conception of Christ with the teaching of Paul. In his *Spirit of Prayer* he writes:

It is the language of Scripture that Christ in us is our hope of glory, that Christ formed in us—living, growing, and raising his own Life and Spirit in us—is our only Salvation.

Contrasting this with the conventional idea he continues:

For this holy Jesus that is to be formed in thee, that is to be the Savior and new Life of thy soul, that is to raise thee out of the darkness of death into the light of Life, and give thee power to become a son of God, is already within thee, living, stirring, calling, knocking at the door of thy heart.

Doubtless there is a temptation, against which we should be on guard, to press the implications of this Christ mystery of Paul too far; yet we cannot blind ourselves to its limitless suggestiveness.

The mysticism of Paul differs from that of Jesus. It is less calm and clear and steady. It is less closely associated with nature. It is more speculative and vehement. But it shares the same spirit and principles. It is kindled at the same altar. In fact, it is so closely attached to Christ that it unites him, as a revealing personality, with the Father and Spirit as source and object of mystic knowledge and faith, and thus guides and influences the entire development of Christian mysticism.

THE SONG OF SONGS—A SECULAR POEM

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The fascination of Canticles for students of Hebrew literature is evidenced by the large library of expository works that has grown up around it, and the scores of interpretations that have been put forward in the effort to explain it. These many interpretations fall into two classes, allegorical and literal. The former are now given up by Protestant scholars, and need detain us but a moment. The allegorical treatment of the Song began among the Jews as early as the first century of the Christian era. They believed that it set forth the love of Jehovah for Israel, and ultimately

that the whole history of the chosen people could be discovered in its pages. I have tried to picture to myself the man who first devised this reading of the Song of Songs. He must have been something of a recluse, narrowly ecclesiastical in his mental habits, unused to secular ways of thinking, convinced that the Jews are God's favorites, habituated to the thought of God as Israel's wedded Lord and Lover, familiar with the subterfuge of allegorical interpretation, hopeless of accounting for the supposed Solomonic authorship of the book in any other way, and quite destitute of a sense

of humor. So fantastic an exegesis could have been taken over from the Jews by Christians only in an age when religion found expression through unreal and fantastic metaphors. It persisted through so many centuries because some kind of religious significance had to be given the book, and because there have always been enough people who can say after Tertullian, "Credo quia impossibile est." But it is astounding that many generations of Christian people have allegorized certain parts of the book without a shudder; for instance, that they have thought of Jesus as praising his church under the figure of a woman and saying to her: "The turnings of thy thighs are like jewels, the work of a cunning craftsman; thy navel is like a round goblet, wherein no mingled wine is wanting; thy belly is like a heap of wheat, set about with lilies; thy two breasts are like two fawns that are twins of a doe."

Within the last century or so it has been fashionable to regard the Song of Songs as a little drama that sets forth a love-affair of that much-experienced man, King Solomon. The hypothetical drama consists in the main of speeches that pass between the king and a beautiful young woman, a country maiden from the northern village of Shunem, who has been brought to the harem in Jerusalem. She responds to Solomon's flatteries and endearments by no word of denial, but emulates him in the extravagance of her speech. From time to time a Chorus of "daughters of Jerusalem"—harem ladies, it is supposed—interrupts with further praise of Solomon, or praise of the country girl, which may be construed as ironical.

It is assumed by some of the interpreters that the heroine loves a peasant, who is indeed unnamed and absent; that all her replies to Solomon are really meant for the invisible peasant. While she is at the court, she pines for her shepherd lover, recounts to the unsympathetic, jealous ladies of the harem her nightly dreams about him, indulges in reminiscences of her happy intercourse with him in the past, and holds imaginary conversations with him, heedless of the sneers of the "daughters of Jerusalem." The last scene, in which the Shulamite maiden appears, happy with her lover in her old home, points the convenient and desired moral of the tale: faithful love is a lightning-flame, indestructible and unquenchable; it resists the allurements of the royal court, and finds its happiness in a vine-embowered cottage.

There are insurmountable difficulties in the way of this explanation of the Song of Songs. No Semitic drama is known to have existed. From Palestine to Babylonia the Semites had no theater, no stage. The Song cannot be a primitive folk-play, for it is utterly unlike all known dramas of that kind; "closet-drama" is out of the question. The book contains no divisions into scenes, no stage-directions, no list of persons, and no indication of the speakers. Regarded as a drama, it is without action, without beginning, and without an end. The talk gives us no certain information about the *dramatis personae*, their relations with one another, or the issue of their talk. The book contains some 400 short lines, and can be read through slowly in Hebrew in half an hour, and yet it must be divided

into a large number of very short scenes. Grant a Hebrew stage, could the spectators have understood what was proceeding on the stage? The frequent changes of scene are, from our point of view, quite unnecessary, except that the "play" is meaningless unless so divided; but did the Hebrew stage supply the machinery by which such rapid changes could alone have been rendered intelligible?

The pretty story of faithful love which the dramatic interpreters of Canticles have imagined is itself quite impossible. It mixes with ancient customs of the East the most modern notions about the relations of the sexes. How strange a harem is this of Solomon's! The ladies of the harem, who, by the way, are anomalously called "daughters of Jerusalem," go in and out at will. The heroine, while an inmate of the harem, runs about the city streets, chats with her lover through the window, even kisses him in the king's presence; unless all these incidents are to be explained as dreams.¹ Indeed, half of the "action" passes in dreamland.

It is no more reasonable to moralize the Song of Songs by making a play of it than by treating it as an allegory. Not this way lies the justification of its place in the Canon.

The most obvious interpretation remains. Canticles is a collection of Hebrew love-songs. Herder and Goethe, in the eighteenth century, were so bold as to advance this view, and they have been followed by many scholars since.

"Wer der Dichter will verstehen, muss in Dichters Lande gehen."

To understand Canticles we must go to the East, where, in isolated communities, the customs of the people have remained stationary, with their civilization, for thirty centuries. There one may still hear the peasants singing by the fireside and at the taverns such songs as we find in Canticles, just as they used to do 2,000 years ago. Rabbi Aqqiba, in the second century, complained that the young men sang songs from Canticles at their merrymakings and over their wine. But without reason did he reproach them, for they were only doing what their fathers had done before anyone suspected that those songs were sacred. The lines quoted above for the sake of Dr. Gill's exegesis are a part of the description of a bride's beauty. There are three other similar songs in Canticles. The people of Palestine still have a technical name for a poem of that kind, so popular is it. They call it a *wasf*. Such poems, and others that resemble parts of Canticles, are still sung at rural weddings, and for weddings they were first composed.

Among the ancient Hebrews the celebration of a wedding was elaborate and prolonged. The distinctive wedding customs were very ancient, and from the earliest times the celebration properly lasted a week.²

Bridegroom and bride were king and queen,³ crowned on their wedding-day. During the week they were not supposed to work, and were served by their sub-

¹ Of course a Hebrew girl of the third century before Christ, or earlier, would not even have dreamt of such things!

² Judg. 14:11-17.

³ Isa. 61:10. Talmud, *Soter*, c. 9; Baba, *Gemara Gittim*, cl; *Pirke*, c. 16.

jects.¹ The young king was, of course, the pattern of kingly wisdom and grace, a very Solomon; the queen, the fairest among women. Among the Jews of the dispersion the practice was kept up: traces of it survive in many parts of the world.² To illustrate the realism of the custom comes this story of King Agrippa. Meeting a bridal procession one day in a narrow street, he turned aside to let it pass. His attendants remonstrating, he replied, "This bride is a queen only for this occasion; but I enjoy the honors of a king every day."³

The "friends of the bridegroom" set up a royal palanquin in the fields outside the city for the use of the king and queen. Of whatever rough material it was made, it was richly adorned, and in the eyes of the wedding party its splendor was princely. From this throne the royal pair ruled their subjects.⁴ The costume of the bride was elaborate, strung over with coins, ribbons, and jewels. The eastern bride still wears about her person as much of her portion as she can. "Adorned as a bride for her husband" became proverbial for elaborate beauty. When a girl was born, the parents planted an acacia tree. From its branches they made a chariot or chair for her use on her wedding day.⁵

Certain martial features of the celebration seem to have been a survival from a more primitive age, when the bride was taken by force. The king had his military guard, armed as if against surprise of enemies.⁶ They

accompanied him in procession at midnight when he went to take his bride.⁷ They greeted him on the morning after the marriage as a conqueror returning from a successful military campaign.⁸ The bride, too, showed her prowess by dancing the war-dance of her clan when she was taken by the bridegroom's men.⁹

The wedding was celebrated with songs, dances, games, jests, and riddles.¹⁰ Some of the songs must have been of a conventional pattern, especially those that were connected with the ancient institutions of the festival—the carrying-off of the bride, the sword dance, the royal bodyguard, the palanquin, the description of king and queen in their royal array. The wedding guests doubtless bore a large part in the singing, but in Jerusalem, and perhaps in other cities, there were guilds of professional wedding-singers, corresponding to the better-known guilds of professional mourners.¹¹ In accordance with Hebrew idiom, the singing guilds of the capital might have been called "daughters of Jerusalem." They must have owned a collection of songs appropriate for weddings. Such a collection, indeed, still exists. It has found its way into the Old Testament, where it is known as the Song of Songs.

If we take our place among the wedding guests at a typical Hebrew wedding, see what we can of the festival, and listen to a few of the songs, we shall the better realize the uses for which Canticles was first intended.

It is springtime, the most delightful

¹ Pirke, c. 16.

² E.g., in Germany, Poland.

³ Semahoth, c. 11.

⁴ Wetzstein, "Syrische Dreschtafel," *Ztschr. f. Ethnologie*, 1873.

⁵ Talmud.

⁶ 1 Macc. 9:37-47.

⁸ Wetzstein, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Judg., chap. 14; Wetzstein.

⁷ Matt., chap. 25.

⁹ Wetzstein, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Semahoth, 126.

season of the year. All the preparations for the wedding have been made. The bride's girl-friends have decked her in her finery—her coins, spangles, and jewels—and her elaborate toilet is finished. At midnight a cry is heard, "The bridegroom is coming! Go out to meet him!" In jubilant procession he is marching with his friends, who are armed and carry torches. Arrived at the home of the bride, they greet her as she ventures out of doors:

Who like the rosy dawn appears,
Fair as the moon, bright as the sun,
In glittering array, like bannered hosts?

Hesitating, as though to explain her situation, the bride sings:

I was just going down to the garden of
nuts,
To see the green plants in the valley,
To see if the grape-vines were budding,
If the pomegranate yet were in bloom:—
Lo! ere I knew how it happened
I was set in the car of my clan!

She makes as if to escape and they call out:

Return, return, oh Shulamite!
Return, we would behold thee,
Behold thee in the sword dance.

She hesitates, deprecates:

Nay! behold the Shulamite
Dancing the sword dance of her clan?

But she complies; and while she dances, brandishing a naked sword, the guests accompany her with their song in praise of her beauty.¹

Now the procession moves slowly to the house of the bridegroom's father,²

the virgins, crowded around the bride, dragging her forward; good form requires that the bride hold back, showing due maidenly reserve. The banquet follows, with music and dancing by the singers. The company join in the songs, and no doubt indulge in jests at the expense of the young couple. This is their last opportunity for practical jokes in that quarter; before the merry-making is over the mother of the bridegroom crowns the king and queen. Finally, the bride gives the signal for the ending of the feast. Her husband is so fine a fellow that she is sure all the girls were in love with him; but she is the lucky one, and it is her privilege to sing:

O that now he would kiss me!—
Caresses are better than wine.
Fragrant the smell of your perfumes,—
Perfume outpoured is your name:
The maidens all were in love with you!
Take me along! Let us run!
Take me, my king, to your chamber!
There find we our pleasure now!
Caresses are better than wine.—
No wonder they loved you!³

At sunrise of the second day of the "king's week" the friends of the bridegroom, a noisy crowd, armed with swords, are carrying the palanquin down to the threshing-floor, which is at this season of the year a green meadow fragrant with wild flowers. As they go, they sing the martial song of the palanquin:⁴

What is this that comes up through the
country in clouds of smoke!

¹ Remember how she is arrayed.

² Macc. 9:37-47. "The marriage of Samson is the only instance in the Old Testament in which the bride remains in her father's house."—Moore, *Judges*, p. 340.

³ Cant. 1:2-4. The text corrected by comparison with ancient versions. See Kittel's *Bibl. Hebr.*

⁴ Cant. 3:6-11.

Fragrant with myrrh and frankincense,
 and spices brought from far!
 Lo! the royal palanquin!
 Sixty mighty men surround it,
 Chosen, valiant Israelites,
 Swordsmen all, expert in war;
 Each one ready, sword on thigh,
 For the night-surprise of foes.

A palanquin the king hath made,
 Of cedar from Mount Lebanon;
 Its pillars silver, floor of gold,
 Adorned, inwrought with ebony;
 Its purple seat a gift of love
 From the Daughters of Jerusalem.

At the threshing-floor they set up a
 throne, and raise above it a white
 awning, "the curtains of Solomon."¹
 When all is ready, the company of
 women is seen approaching:

O daughters of Zion, come forth, with
 greetings for Solomon, king:
 Behold him, crowned with the crown
 which his mother set on his brow,
 Crowned as she crowned him king on his
 happy wedding day!²

Songs, dances, games, and riddles
 follow through the day, and well into
 the night. Among the most popular
 of the songs are those that describe the
 beauty of the bride and bridegroom in
 a series of metaphors from nature, like
 the accompaniment of the sword dance.
 To our ears, they are the most monoto-
 nous of all. Far more attractive are
 the love-songs, fragrant with the odors
 of vineyards and orchards, and the songs
 reminiscent of the courtship, or antici-
 patory of the pleasures of married life.
 Here is one of the songs of reminiscence:
 the bride is supposed to be singing; it
 is early morning in springtime:

Hark! my lover! yonder he cometh,
 Bounding down the mountain-side,
 Down the hill-side, eagerly.
 Like the swift gazelle, my lover,
 Like the mountain hart for lightness!

By the wall he standeth,
 At the gate he lingereth,
 Looketh in at window,
 Glanceth through the lattice.
 Hark! he speaketh, calleth:

"Rise, my love, my fair one,
 Come away with me, dear!
 Now the rains are over,
 Past and gone is winter,
 Blossoms in the meadows,
 Songs of birds, invite thee—
 Song of doves, enticing.
 Now the figs are ripening,
 Vineyards are in blossom,
 Fragrant are the gardens.

"Rise, my love, my fair one,
 Come away with me, dear!
 Oh my dove, shy hiding
 In thy rocky covert,
 Let me see thy face, now,
 Let me hear thee singing,
 For thy voice is music,
 And thy face is beauty."³

Here is a bit of song that seems to be
 the accompaniment for a romping game:

Let us catch the foxes,
 Little thieving foxes,
 Spoilers of our vineyards—
 For now our vineyards blossom.⁴

If the "daughters of Jerusalem" are
 the singers of the gild, the meaning of
 the following refrain, which has always
 perplexed commentators, becomes suffi-
 ciently clear:

I adjure you, oh ye daughters of Jeru-
 salem,

¹Cant. 1:5.

²Cant. 3:11.

³Cant. 2:8-14.

⁴Cant. 2:15.

By the hinds and by the wild roes of
 the wilderness,
 That ye arouse not love,
 Nor awake desire,
 Till its time be come.¹

Like the first day are all that follow through the week. Quickly it passes. The peasant king and queen step down from their throne as man and wife, to take up the long, monotonous drudgery of their work-a-day station. Their spring festival is ended. Their last song is at once the most serious and the finest in the collection. It is the song of the wife, who will be such a wife as is described in the last chapter of Proverbs, and desires all her husband's love and labor sealed to a deathless love:

Set me, as a seal on thy heart,
 As a seal on thine arm:
 For love is strong as death,
 Passion, as Sheol dark:
 A lightning-flash its fire,
 A very flame of God.
 Many waters cannot quench love,
 Nor can floods of ocean drown it.

Who should bring his substance,
 Love to buy—his purchase
 Would be utter scorn.²

It would be interesting to know how Canticles found its way into the Canon. Of course we have no information on that point, and can but bring together such indirect evidence as is available, and draw our inferences.

It is attributed to Solomon. "The choicest of all Songs, by Solomon"—so runs the title. But the title was affixed by someone who was ignorant of the origin and real character of the book.

It contains Persian and possibly Greek words, and cannot have been written before the fourth century at the earliest. Four times in the body of the poetry is Solomon mentioned, and in at least three of these instances the reference is to the wedding-king. That is not surprising, for even at the present time the wedding-king in Palestine is sometimes nicknamed after a famous monarch. When we recall the eagerness of the Jews in welcoming any book that seemed to come to them from the men of their heroic age, their diligence in attributing Psalms to David on the slightest internal suggestion, their practice of writing books in the name of Solomon, Enoch, Moses, and other ancients, we can understand that a scribe of the first century, finding in the old manuscript of Canticles these references to Solomon, would write above the text the title it now bears.

Nor is the admission of Canticles to the Canon very puzzling when we remember the character and methods of the scribes, as they are illustrated, for example, in the Talmud; their conviction that every book that they could credit to the fathers was religiously significant; their reverence for tradition; and their utter incapacity in historical criticism. They may well have recognized that the songs were of a familiar type, and have supposed that Solomon wrote these by inspiration after the familiar model, for religious uses, or even that the secular songs were the imitations.

The Song of Songs did not make its way into the Old Testament without

¹ Cant. 2:7; 3:5, etc.

² Cant. 8:6, 7.

a struggle. It is often assumed that the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures was fixed long before the Christian era. This assumption is, however, contrary to the fact. The limits of the Canon were not fixed until the Jewish Council of Jamnia, about the year 90 of our era, undertook to settle current disputes about a number of the minor books; and we know that for half a century longer there were leading rabbis who protested against the inclusion of Esther and the Song of Songs. In the Talmud we read of Rabbi Samuel, who doubted the canonicity of Esther, and of eighty-five others, among whom were thirty "prophets," who denied that Purim was a divinely instituted festival.¹ The opposition to Canticles seems to have been no less vigorous. Prominent Palestinian teachers of the first century rejected it, or questioned its value. How warm the dispute had been appears from the intemperate language of Rabbi Aqiba. Some of the rabbis having quoted these earlier scholars, he burst out: "No true Israelite ever questioned the inspiration of Canticles! All the days of the world are not to be compared to the day in which Canticles was given to Israel; for while all Scriptures (*Kethubim*) are holy, Canticles is the holy of holies."²

The writers of the New Testament seem to have agreed with those Jews of the first century who doubted the sacredness of Esther and Canticles. They never quote from them directly or indirectly; they never show the faintest influence of their thought or phraseology. The argument from silence is unusually strong in the case of Canticles, for in all the metaphorical references to the New Testament to Christ as the Bridegroom there is no trace of the influence of the language of the Song of Songs.

Although the little book that has been engaging our attention is destitute of religious value, its inclusion in the Old Testament may be accounted fortunate, for it illustrates for us certain aspects of Jewish life and custom of which we would otherwise have remained in ignorance, and its literary merit is, of course, unquestioned. So little of the secular literature of the Hebrews has come down to us, that our picture of their social and domestic life is incomplete. Canticles helps us to realize the people at play, to see them in their human relations. It illustrates more than one episode in the life of Jesus, and gives us a fresh commentary on the parable of the Foolish Virgins.

¹ *Megilla*, 7a; Wildeboer, *Canon*, pp. 66 f.

² *Yadaim*, 3, 5 (Mishna).

STANDARDIZING THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

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This is an age of standardization. Efficiency tests are being applied to education and to religious agencies, as well as to commercial enterprises. Over in Illinois they have begun the work of standardizing the one-room country schools of the state. The state superintendent of public schools has prepared schedules of requirements for "standard" and "superior" schools. The standards are considered reasonable, yet only 657 out of the 10,532 rural schools of the state have come up to the requirements of a "standard" school. State inspectors are employed, and bronze plates suitably engraved are placed on the doors of schools approved by the inspectors.

Bible-school workers should read carefully the requirements which Illinois has outlined for rural public schools:

Requirements for a Standard School

1. Ample playground.
2. Good approaches to schools.
3. Convenient fuel-houses.
4. Buildings sound, in good repair, painted.
5. Improved heating apparatus. Jacketed stove in corner of room instead of an unprotected stove in the center of the room.
6. Floor and interior of room clean and tidy.
7. Suitable desks for children of all ages properly placed.
8. A good collection of juvenile books, maps, and dictionaries.
9. A sanitary water supply.

10. School well organized, running at least seven months each year.

11. Teacher must have not less than a high-school education.

12. Teacher's salary not less than \$360 per year.

13. Teacher must be ranked by the county superintendent as a good or superior teacher.

Requirements for a Superior School

1. Playground one and one-half acres covered with grass and shrubbery.

2. Separate cloakrooms for boys and girls.

3. Room lighted from one side, or from one side and rear.

4. Adjustable windows fitted with good shades.

5. Furnace heat.

6. Good ventilating system.

7. Eighty library books, at least ten for each grade.

8. Two good pictures on the wall.

9. Provision for instruction in agriculture, manual training, and domestic science.

10. Teacher must be a high-school graduate with normal training.

11. Salary \$480 per year.

12. Work outlined in the state course of study to be well followed.

It will be noted that the above standards include physical equipment, an educational policy, and a trained teacher. It costs money, time, and energy to run even a rural school for the teaching of secular subjects. Over against the above standards place the standards for front-rank Sunday schools, and

compare the items carefully. The front-rank standards adopted by the Field Worker's Association, at Louisville, Ky., October 21, 1912, as the 1913 standard for the Bible School of the Disciples of Christ is typical of the current denominational standards. This standard is as follows:

Front Rank Standard for 1913

1. Worker's conference; following a prepared program at least monthly, and using a worker's library.

2. Teacher training class; either first or advanced course.

3. Graded school; conforming to the International standard of classification and using graded lessons.

4. Bibles; owned generally and used by the school.

5. Organized classes; all senior and adult classes organized for service, holding the International certificate.

6. Service: (a) evangelistic: instructing and inviting the pupils to become Christians; (b) missionary: a missionary committee promoting missionary instruction and prayer, annual offerings to state Bible-school work. American Christian Missionary Society, foreign missions and benevolences; (c) and seeking to enlist volunteers for the ministry and mission fields.

This standard makes practically no demands on the church. The workers are asked to rearrange their program a little, but practically nothing is asked of the church in the way of physical equipment. A "standard" rural public school costs the district some money; a front-rank Bible school is a cheap institution costing the church practically nothing. By leaving out those things that cost money, the front-rank requirements fail at the critical point. To demand teacher training, but to fail to

demand those conditions which make good teaching possible is absurd.

Many of the religious bodies are breaking away from the low and inadequate standards enumerated above. An example of the newer standards is given below. It shows how the Congregational church is including in its standards the elements really vital to successful teaching.

1. Attendance, 30 per cent.

Membership: aim 20 per cent, increase 10.

Average attendance: aim 15 per cent, increase 12.

Average attendance: aim 75 per cent of membership, 3.

2. Organization, 10 per cent.

Pupils grouped in departments, 1.

Pupils graded in each department below the adult, 1.

A competent head for each department, 2.

A regular teacher for each class, 1.

Annual promotion for all departments below the adult, 1.

A superintendent and council with regular meetings, 3.

Provision for complete and permanent records of the school and each pupil, 1.

3. Graded courses of study, 10 per cent.

While different courses are permitted, the content of the course may be considered. The presence or absence of missionary lessons should be taken in account.

4. Teacher training, 20 per cent.

5. Organized classes, 10 per cent.

Here are to be included Baracca classes, new movement classes, etc. Here are to be included organized intermediate and senior classes.

6. Home activities, 10 per cent.

Home department, 3½.

Parents' department, 3½.

Cradle roll, 3½.

7. Equipment, 6 per cent.

A separate room or allotted space for each department, 1.

Teachers' library, 1.

Bible, maps, pictures, blackboards, song-books, small chairs, etc., 4.

8. Benevolences, 4 per cent.

The church to assume the support of the school and take subscriptions from the membership of the Sunday school for the current expenses and benevolences of the church.

Total, 100 per cent.

Note especially points 7 and 8 in the above standard. Until equipment is provided and until the church assumes the support of the school from the regular church budget it will not be possible to do work worthy of a front-rank school.

The Dayton Standard

In spite of the desire for higher standards on the part of many churches, the following standards were adopted at Dayton, Ohio, January 19, 24, 1913, by the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations and the Executive Committee of the International Sunday School Association:

1. Cradle roll.
2. Home department.
3. Organized Bible class in secondary and adult divisions.
4. Teacher training.
5. Graded organization and instruction.
6. Missionary instruction and offering.
7. Temperance instruction.
8. Definite decision for Christ urged.
9. Offering for denominational Sunday-school work.
10. Worker's conference regularly held.

The following three affiliation or Association points were adopted as the minimum additional requirements for an International standard school:

1. Offering for interdenominational organized Sunday-school work.

2. Annual statistical report to county association.

3. Attendance at annual county convention.

It is to be regretted that the Dayton conference did not contribute more definitely to the solution of the problems involved in the standardizing of Sunday schools. At best the Dayton agreement is a compromise on the basis of things we now have; there is no attempt to provide the fundamental elements without which standardization is impossible. Merely uniformity of practice, and similarity of organization and nomenclature will not standardize the Sunday schools. It seems evident that neither the International Sunday School Association nor the Council of Evangelical Denominations can be looked to for scientific leadership in these matters. Already nine religious bodies have appointed commissions of religious education composed of the educational leaders of these bodies. There is evidence to justify the belief that these various commissions will soon propose programs of standardization which will be founded on scientific principles and which may be expected to raise the character of the Sunday schools which meet the requirements. At least four elements, absolutely fundamental to a standardized Sunday school, are entirely ignored in the Dayton standard. They are:

Relation to the church, involving provision for scientific educational leadership.

Adequate buildings and equipment.

Correlation of educational activities.

The element of time.

Instead of agreeing upon a standard which all can meet, the denominations must agree upon a standard which will *standardize*.

A New Standard Proposed

The following "Ten Point Standard" is proposed as a practical basis of standardization. It includes the elements essential to educational efficiency and the more secondary items which have been embodied in earlier standards. Schools meeting ten of these points may be called "Ten Point" schools; those meeting eight of the points may be called "Eight Point" schools, etc. The standard proposed is:

I. RELATION TO THE CHURCH:

1. The church board, vestry or session, as the case may be, shall sustain a standing Committee of Religious Education which shall have general charge of the school.
2. The church must assume entire financial responsibility for the Sunday school. All bills for the Sunday school shall be paid out of the church treasury, and all collections from the Sunday school shall be turned into the church treasury.

II. ADEQUATE BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT:

Buildings arranged for departmental assemblies and classes separated by screens or separate classrooms. Blackboards for each class; maps, charts, and illustrative material. Bibles owned generally and used by the school.

III. CORRELATION OF EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES:

Graded activities correlated with graded instruction. All young people's societies, junior societies, clubs, gilds, etc., under direction of Committee of Religious Education, so that one

committee shall control both sides of the teaching process, *impression* and *expression*. (See report of Committee on "Correlation of the Educational Agencies of the Local Church," published in the April, 1913, issue of *Religious Education*, 332 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.)

IV. GRADED CURRICULUM AND GRADED WORSHIP:

Departmental assemblies and adequate graded instruction in Christian knowledge.

V. GRADED ORGANIZATION:

The International Standard to be followed:

- a) Cradle roll (children under 4 years).
- b) Beginners' department (children 4 and 5 years of age).
- c) Primary department (children 6, 7, 8 years of age).
- d) Junior department (children 9, 10, 11, 12 years of age).
- e) Intermediate department (children 13, 14, 15, 16 years of age). Classes organized.
- f) Senior department (children 17, 18, 19, 20 years of age). Classes organized.
- g) Adult department (all persons over 20 years of age). Classes organized.
- h) Home department.

VI. TRAINING FOR SUNDAY-SCHOOL LEADERSHIP:

1. Teacher training class.
 - a) Taking course approved by the International Sunday School Association or by the Denominational Commission or Department of Religious Education.
 - b) Having library and equipment approved by the Denominational Commission or Department of Religious Education.

2. Worker's conference meeting regularly to consider problems of Sunday-school organization, management, etc.

VII. SPECIAL INSTRUCTION AND ACTIVITIES:

1. Evangelistic; instructing and inviting pupils to become Christians.
2. Missionary instruction.
3. Seeking to enlist volunteers for ministry and the mission fields.
4. Temperance instruction.

VIII. THE ELEMENT OF TIME:

1. Not less than one hour each week for worship and study, not included in church service.
2. Each pupil above the primary grade meeting not less than one hour each week for some form of expressional work correlated with the work of the Sunday school.
3. Some definite plan for cultivating the church-going habit in all pupils above the primary grades.

IX. BENEVOLENCES:

1. Offerings to state and national denominational Sunday-school boards.
2. Offerings to home and foreign missions and other denominational benevolences.
3. Local benevolences.

X. AFFILIATIONS:

1. With Religious Education Association; the school should be a member of this association and receive its regular publications.
2. With the International Sunday School Association.
 - a) Offerings for interdenominational organized Sunday-school work.
 - b) Annual statistical report to county association.
 - c) Delegate attendance at annual county Sunday-school convention.
3. With American Sunday School Union: receiving its reports and keeping in touch with work being done in neglected fields.

A PRAYER FOR THOSE WHO SEEK NEW TRUTH

O God, Father, Savior, and Revealer, sanctify all those who in the midst of truth seek more truth. As they question the authority of the past, increase their loyalty to the things which are eternal. May liberty of thought leave unsullied the simplicity of their trust in Thee. As the steep ascent of truth reveals the ever-widening horizon of thy thought, lead them in the narrow path of humble and sacrificial service. Enable them to share the joy of their emancipation without weakening other men's faith in the God of their own experience. May pride of learning never chill the warmth of prayer. May opposition and misinterpretation arouse within them no bitterness or plans for retaliation. As by thy grace they are led into deeper sympathy with their Lord may they give to the world their new assurance of the triumph of his kingdom rather than the agony of their struggle with doubt. And ever amid the clash of argument may they find the peace that passeth understanding in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE

A PROFESSIONAL READING COURSE ON THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. IV

The discussion of the Progress of Christianity in the great empire of India, by PROFESSORS BURTON and PARKER, begun in the March issue, is completed in the present number. The two great problems of Evangelization and Education claim chief attention. Each of them is rendered more complex and difficult in respect of India by the great variety of races, languages, and religions found in that empire, and, while in education the strong hand of the British ruler relieves the situation in some respects, in others it operates still further to complicate it.

Questions concerning the subject-matter of the courses should be addressed to the BIBLICAL WORLD. Inquiries concerning traveling libraries containing the books of the course should be sent to the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.¹

Part III. India (continued)

Evangelization

The vast extent of territory included in India, Burma, and Ceylon, the great variety of races and languages, the division of the people by religion and caste necessitating the employment of widely different methods of reaching different classes of the people, all combine to make the problem of the evangelization of these regions a most complicated one. The reader having before him the general body of facts furnished by the reading suggested under "General Situation" and a map, is advised to begin this study of the subject of evangelization by reading the very instructive chapters in the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, I, 135-67. From this he will naturally turn to the *Year Book*, and will do well to begin with

chap. vi, pp. 166-82, postponing for the present the special consideration of educational, industrial, and medical work, but remembering that the figures given in this chapter include missionaries of all classes. Chap. vi may be followed by the reading of chap. xxviii, to gain a more definite knowledge of the source and distribution of the forces summarized in chap. vi, and this in turn by a glance through the *Directory of Protestant Missionary Societies*, pp. 533-620. Chap. iv is not easy reading, nor can anyone be expected to remember its figures in detail, yet it ought to be read to give an impression of the extent to which India is an "unoccupied" field, it being remembered, however, that only a little over 40 per cent of the Christians in India are Protestants. The reading of chap. v may be reserved for

¹All readers in this course are requested to see that their names are enrolled as members of the Professional Reading Course at the office of the Institute.

a little later time, but meantime it will be well to fix in mind that about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the whole population of India and Ceylon is avowedly Christian; Protestantism having a little over one-half of 1 per cent, Roman Catholicism a little over five-eighths of 1 per cent, and the Syrian Christians making up one-tenth of 1 per cent; that Protestant Christians have increased in the last decade at the rate of a little over 40 per cent, the other two bodies each about 25 per cent. The increase in the population at large has meantime been about 7 per cent. To evangelize and educate the millions of India there are 5,200 Protestant foreign missionaries including men and women, or about one to each 60,000 of the people, and 38,458 native Christian workers, or one to each 8,200 of the population.

With these general facts in mind, the reader will be prepared to consider the methods of evangelization which are found necessary and effective in India. To a much greater extent than in China and Japan, the people of India act in masses. Individual consciousness is relatively weak, community consciousness very strong. Individual conversions of course occur, but of the obstacles in the way of such conversions we in this country can but faintly conceive, and the great majority of converts have come in groups or communities. Some experienced missionaries maintain that no large success of the Christian movement in India can be expected until, communities and castes having been gradually permeated with Christian thought, mass movements shall occur among the upper classes, as has already been the case among the lower

classes. How far are these men right, and what are and ought to be the lines of missionary effort and success in India? Is the answer for Hindus different from that for Mohammedans? Is it different in India proper from that which should be given for Burmah, and still different for Ceylon? With these questions in mind the reader should turn to the *Year Book*, and read chaps. ix, x, xix, xx, xxi.

Closely connected with this question is that of the attitude of the missionary body toward the non-Christian religions and their institutions, especially caste. A great change has undoubtedly taken place from the day when all non-Christian religions were thought of as the works of the devil, to that in which some are ready to maintain that "I am come not to destroy but to fulfil" holds in respect of Hinduism as it did of Judaism.

Of the whole subject of the message of Christianity to Hindus, the points of contact between the two religions, and the attitude of the missionary toward Hinduism, there is an informing discussion in *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, IV, chap. vi. Of the nature and extent of the change of feeling that has already taken place among missionaries and of the degree of difference of opinion that still persists one may gain a clear impression by referring again to the chapter on "The Religions of India" in *India's Problem*, comparing the attitude of that chapter toward caste with that of the article of Rev. Bernard Lucas in the *Year Book*, pp. 89 ff., and by again comparing the latter with the views presented by Professor Hogg and Rev. J. J. Lucas in chap. iii. Such differences of opinion, if not in themselves desirable,

are at any rate evidence of the fact, abundantly otherwise attested, that the missionaries are quite as much as any other body of Christian ministers openminded and ready to conform their conceptions of religious truth to the evidence of facts from whatever source derived. On the question whether such openmindedness diminishes or increases the zeal of the missionary, see p. 173.

But the most impressive discussion of the missionary attitude toward Hinduism is that found in the volume by Bernard Lucas, entitled *The Empire of Christ*. Mr. Lucas is a representative of the London Missionary Society, and writes out of a personal experience of the great problem here presented, namely, how to adjust the missionary enterprise to the modern mental outlook. The book assumes as a matter beyond controversy that if the old appeal is to retain effectiveness it must be restated. The reader will notice at once the frequent employment in this weighty little book of the term "modern." It is a study of the modern missionary enterprise in the light of modern thought. It also asks by what argument this enterprise shall address the modern man. It treats of "The Modern Problem" and "The Modern Standpoint." The book is entitled therefore to a candid hearing from that considerable class of Christian men who rightly or wrongly entertain a suspicion that the average missionary is lagging behind this century, and, endeavoring, in the foreign field, to reproduce conditions and furnish creeds which the church at home is outgrowing or repudiating outright.

But with whatever prepossessions the reader approaches this book, he

cannot but acknowledge its attractiveness and charm. It is not necessary to indicate significant passages that should receive particular attention; it is all significant. There are no superfluous pages. In one respect at least some, even of those who sympathize with Mr. Lucas' general position, are obliged to dissent. The student should weigh well the proposed treatment of Caste (pp. 110-26). It is a novel and a bold position. Equally at variance with the common conviction and practice is Mr. Lucas' protest against the publication of "reports" and "statistics." But does he not perhaps merely give open expression to the lurking misgiving of not a few devoted supporters of missions?

The Indian Church

In any country in which Christian missions achieve success, that very success must eventually raise the question of the autonomy of the native church. At first the missionary works alone and upon the native non-Christian community from outside. When converts are gathered and a Christian church arises it is at first dependent on the missionary for guidance and leadership. As it is developed and educated its members naturally desire a share, and that an increasing share, in the direction of its affairs. When the missionary effort is finally successful the missionary withdraws; his highest joy is to find himself no longer needed. India has certainly not reached this last stage, but is as clearly in the third. Both missionaries and Indian Christians have of late years given much thought to the question how much responsibility the Indian church is prepared to assume.

What Dr. Jones thought in 1902 appears in chap. x of *India's Problem*, and this should be read first, to be followed by chaps. viii, xxii, and xxiii of the *Year Book*. It is a noteworthy fact that the English Church has recently ordained an Indian bishop, Rev. V. S. Azariah.

Education

The presence of the British government in the countries which we are now considering, and the part which it has taken and is taking in the work of education have constantly to be borne in mind in considering the situation in respect of missionary education. It must be remembered, moreover, that the British government, long ago committing itself on the one hand to the policy of non-interference with the religions of the country, decided on the other hand to co-operate with and encourage the efforts of any and all elements of the community in the direction of education, without reference to the religious character of the schools. The government has indeed felt obliged itself to establish schools and colleges, which maintain an entirely neutral, not to say negative, attitude toward religion, and certain directors of education have at times sought to develop these schools in preference to those founded by religious bodies. But the avowed policy of the government has been to contribute to the support of schools established by voluntary agencies, whether Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsee, or Christian, supplementing these only as necessary by schools directly supported by the government. As all grants to voluntary schools are conditioned on the maintenance of certain standards in respect

to buildings, equipment, teachers, curriculum, and examinations, and as the missionary bodies, in common with the native Indian agencies of various kinds, have in general felt constrained to accept the aid proffered by the government, the result has been that nearly all of the mission schools in India are in a sense government schools at the same time that they are missionary schools. This is manifestly a very different situation from that which exists in China or Japan.

The Edinburgh Conference Report, III, chap. ii, will well repay careful reading. Special attention may be given to the statistics at the beginning of the chapter, to the discussion of the purpose and results of missionary education and to the Judgments and Recommendations at the end of the chapter. The reader who has at hand the *Atlas of Christian Missions* will find fuller statistics in the tables, p. 106.

From this general survey the reader will do well to turn to the *Year Book* chap. i, § 4 (pp. 37-48), and chap. xi. Here will be found later statistics than those referred to above and a discussion of the subject from the point of view, of the several types and grades of education. Chaps. xii and xiii present some of the problems with which the missionary educator has to struggle, chap. xiii dealing specially with the very important but relatively new and very difficult question of industrial education. It is an indication of the broadening of our conception of the scope of Christian missions that societies which a generation or two ago were closing up their ordinary schools on the ground that education was beyond the scope of mis-

sions are now considering how they can enlarge their educational work to include industrial training, and how they can contribute to the industrial and economic development of the Christian community. This is but one of many evidences that the mission enterprise today is inspired and controlled not by any narrow spirit of proselytism, nor by loyalty to any specific command but by the spirit of Jesus expressed in the words "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Those who wish to pursue the subject of education in India further will find help in the Blue Books of the British government, especially in the Quinquennial Reports of the Director of Education, published under the title *Progress of Education in India*. Reference may also be had to W. I. Chamberlain's *Education in India*, Macmillan, 75 cents, to Miss Cowan's volume, *The Education of Women in India*, and to an article by Mr. Burton in the *American Journal of Theology* for April, 1910, "The Status of Christian Education in India" and the comments on it in the issue for July, 1910.

Christian Literature

The use of the printing press as an adjunct of missionary work is well established in India. A general survey of the literature is given in the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, III, 350-55, and much more detailed information in the *Year Book*, chaps. xiv-xvi.

Medical and Philanthropic Work

As previously mentioned, these phases of missionary work received inadequate treatment in the *Edinburgh Conference*

Reports. The *Year Book*, chap. xvii, contains a summary statement of the work along medical lines in India. It is much to be regretted that it is impossible to refer the reader to any adequate report of this very important department of missionary work. The reader may gain some help from the *Atlas of Christian Missions*; Edwards, *The Work of the Medical Missionary* (St. Vol. Mov., 20 cents); Wanless, *The Medical Mission* (St. Vol. Mov., 10 cents); and Lowe, *Medical Missions* (Revell, \$1.50). See also the article by Dr. Wanless, "The Place and Policy of Medical Missions in India" in the *International Review of Missions* for April, 1913.

In an instructive article by J. M. Baker in the *Baptist Missionary Review* (1911), pp. 411 ff., it is stated that of fifty missionaries in India who answered the question whether missionary work should be purely evangelistic or include medical, educational, and industrial work, all but one wished to give it the broader scope. A clear majority gave the preference to medical over educational work, especially because it makes a stronger appeal to the caste people.

Co-operation and Comity

Partly because Christian missions have existed longer in India than in other countries, less progress has been made in the breaking down of denominational lines than in some other countries. Information concerning what has been done in these directions is scattered through various volumes of the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, but is found especially in Vol. VIII, pp. 38, 39, 111-14. Further information is found in the

Year Book, chaps vii and xxiv. It is a noteworthy fact that union in education has begun in the field of theology; see pp. 292, 293.

The Young Men's Christian Association has done a most important work in India, especially in connection with the students of non-missionary schools and colleges; and the Young Women's Christian Association has made greater progress in India than in any other eastern country. Chap. xxi of the *Year Book* gives a brief account, but an inadequate impression of the work of these societies.

In the autumn of 1912 Mr. John R. Mott, chairman of the Continuation Committee appointed by the Edinburgh Conference, held a series of conferences in various parts of India, followed by a general conference in Calcutta. As a result of this series of conferences, permanent Provincial Councils for the various parts of India and a National Council for India, embracing all Protestant denominations, were organized, and a definite program for the further progress of Christian missions in India was laid down. In all these conferences the Indian Christians took part with the missionaries.

Non-Protestant Christianity

Perhaps most American Christians commonly think of Christian missions in India as of recent origin, dating perhaps from the days of William Carey. Probably very few have any knowledge of the existence of an Indian Christian community which has had a continuous history from the second century to the present day. What has been learned from Jones's *India's Problem*, chap. vi, and from Richter's *History*,

may now be profitably supplemented by chap. v of the *Year Book*, which deals not only with these very ancient churches but with the extensive work of the Roman Catholic church.

Biographies

Attention is here called to three biographies of men who have made their mark upon the history of Christian India. They are selected out of a rich and abundant biographical literature on the ground that Martyn, Carey, and Duff had to do with the great enterprise at its beginning and when it was still looked upon as an experiment, and are inseparably associated with it. Without them, it would not have been what it is.

The reading of Henry Martyn's memoir, a book once familiar to evangelical households, has sent many a man into the missionary service, and though his fame has suffered eclipse of late through the rapidly waning sympathy with his introspective, not to say morbid, piety, his influence must still be taken into account in a study of the beginning of the missionary movement. In his life, too, will be found a very interesting picture of the Evangelical party of the Church of England at the close of the eighteenth century, from which the great Church Missionary Society sprang. Dr. George Smith's *Life of Henry Martyn* is a detailed and complete narrative of the man and his time. One wishes, indeed, that it were briefer, and a judicious reader will find excuse now and then for skipping a few pages.

Dr. Smith's well-known *Life of William Carey*, the standard and final book on its subject, is a history as well of the rise of modern missions, and at the

risk of encountering sometimes tedious minuteness and particularity, the missionary student should give it a careful reading.

A third biography, also by the indefatigable Dr. Smith, to whom we are all debtors, is the *Life of Alexander Duff*, with whose singularly fruitful career the history of Christian education in India begins. It is profitable, if not quite easy, reading. The question with which it deals is not so nearly settled as Dr. Smith supposed when he wrote this book. Discussions to which the attention of the reader is called elsewhere indicate a deepening dissatisfaction with the conclusions of Duff and Macauley, and the fact that their educational policies are now scrutinized afresh and seriously questioned should increase the interest of this notable biography.

Suggestions for Review

1. Compare India with China and Japan respectively as concerns (a) extent of territory, (b) number of population, (c) racial unity and racial characteristics, (d) languages, (e) religions, (f) political independence, and capacity for self-government, (g) national educational system, (h) probable place in the world in the near future.

2. Compare the Protestant Christian community of India with those of China and Japan respectively, as concerns (a) absolute number, (b) number in relation to population, (c) size relatively to the period in which missionaries have been working.

3. Compare Christian education in India with that of China and Japan respectively, in respect to (a) relation to government education, (b) adequacy

and adaptedness to meet the needs of the situation.

4. Does the history of missions justify the limitation of missionary work to evangelism pure and simple? If not, which of the following additional lines of work seems to you legitimate to include, viz: educational, medical, industrial? And of those which you regard as legitimate which seems to you most important?

5. How is the relative importance of different forms of missionary work affected by the difference in local conditions? Compare in relative importance the three forms of work, medical, educational, and industrial, in the three countries India, China, and Japan.

6. Throughout the East in China, Japan, and India, there is much less individualism, much more race and community feeling, than on the West. What is the bearing of this fact on the spread of Christianity, and in which country is it of most significance?

7. What is and what ought to be the attitude of the missionary to caste among the Hindus?

8. What part have mass-movements played in the spread of Christianity among the lower classes in India, and what part are they likely to play in respect to the conversion of the higher classes?

9. What proportion of the missionary work done in India is carried on by the English-speaking nations? How much by Americans and Canadians? (See *Atlas of Missions*.)

10. In respect to which of the three great countries already studied have American Christians the greatest opportunity and responsibility?

[This discussion will be concluded in June "Biblical World"]

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

Every month from October to June there will be presented in this department of the BIBLICAL WORLD suggestions to leaders of Bible Classes, desiring to use as a basis for class work either the outline Bible-study course on "THE LIFE OF CHRIST" prepared by ERNEST D. BURTON, or that on "THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST" by WILLIAM R. HARPER. Suggestions are prepared by GEORGIA LOUISE CHAMBERLIN, Secretary of the Reading and Library Department of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, who will be glad to consider any questions which club leaders may choose to address to the INSTITUTE.

The Life of Christ¹

In continuing the study of the events of the closing week of the earthly life of Jesus, we should keep in mind the whole week. We shall recall its beginning in the popular demonstration of enthusiasm attending the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on Sunday morning, and continuing in conspicuous exhibitions of authoritative acts and words on the part of Jesus, who clearly intended the people to understand that he regarded himself as the Jewish Messiah.

Important events crowded upon each other so rapidly in these closing days that the leader is tempted to dwell too fully upon details. In the private study of the members of the class, there is ample time for the consideration of details. At the sessions of the classes, the effort should be made to keep before the students Jesus as a dominant personality, to all outward appearances defeated and driven to the wall by his enemies, but in reality strong and triumphant in his consciousness of having completed a great work for the Father. Were not all things in the hands of the Father? If it was his will that Jesus should die, then it followed in the philosophy of Jesus that his work was finished, and there remained now on the one hand last messages of warning for those who were too blind to see the truth, and on the other, the task of fortifying for the

future, and comforting, in their coming bereavement, those companions who had most nearly been able to look upon life through the eyes of Jesus.

Whether the gospels give us the exact order in which the events of these days occur, or whether we know precisely the day of the week with which each was associated, matters little to the student who is seeking to gain inspiration for his own life from the deeds and words of Jesus. The emphasis should be placed upon the man who, in his acute intellectual battles, his righteous indignation, his avoidance of unnecessary danger, and his loving intercourse with his friends, shows himself essentially human. Not the less do we recognize the divine personality which finds its expression in an infallible insight into the nature of God and the hearts of his friends, in unerring ethical judgment, in the triumphal recognition of his mission and its accomplishment, and in his ability to see his life as an achievement rather than a failure, and to rest peacefully in the confidence that the whole world would one day recognize his teaching and follow it.

In a general way, the material which may be studied gathers around the following topics: (1) the astuteness of Jesus in questions and counter-questions with the Pharisees and Sadducees; (2) his final

¹The textbook of this course is *The Life of Christ*, by Ernest D. Burton; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address The AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

pronouncement against them because of the lack of correspondence between their teaching and their lives; (3) the constructive teaching of the Twelve regarding the future and the necessity of preparedness for persecution and disaster, as well as for his own ultimate return; (4) the establishment of a permanent memorial, the farewell messages, and final commitment of the disciples to the care of the Father in prayer.

Specifically, programs may be as follows:

Program I

Leader: Jerusalem in Passover week, and its significance to Jesus.

Members of the class: (1) Three dialogues with Jesus: the Pharisees, the Sadducees, a lawyer. A reading of each in dialogue with a discussion of its significance and Jesus' manner of reply. (2) An analysis of Jesus' final arraignment of the Scribes and Pharisees. (3) Jesus' farewell to Jerusalem. (4) Three parables teaching the apostles the gospel of preparedness. (5) The conspiracy and its causes.

Subject for discussion: Was Jesus ambitious to teach people outside of his own nation the principles of the kingdom of God? If so, why did he not make his escape to some foreign country?

Program II

Leader: The Eucharist in the belief and practice of different churches.

Members of the class: (1) An interpretation of Jesus' motive in washing the feet of his disciples, and its message to modern life. (2) The problem and character of the betrayer. (3) The memorial of bread and wine and its significance to Jesus and to the disciples. (4) A selection from the choicest phrases of the farewell discourses of Jesus.

Subject for discussion: A study of the groups of figures in Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper," and the works of other more modern artists. (Use Perry pictures.)

REFERENCE READING

Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, II, 380-532; Weiss, *The Life of Christ*, III, 233-318; Rhees, *The Life of Jesus*, pp. 172-87; Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, pp. 139-70; Andrews, *The Life of Our Lord*, pp. 438-97; Stalker, *The Life of Christ*, pp. 108-17; Gilbert, *The Student's Life of Jesus*, pp. 320-54; Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. li-lvi; Stalker, *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, chaps. v, vi, vii; Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus*, pp. 421-67; Burton and Mathews, *Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ*, chaps. xxx-xxxiii.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, four-volume and one-volume editions, and Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*.

The Foreshadowings of the Christ¹

The history of Israel following the Exile was never glorious. It consisted in a series of successive persecutions, and a bandying-about at the hands of successive masters, which, except for the fact that the Jews were in their homeland, would have been as difficult to endure as the Exile. The remaining literature of prophecy, relating to the messianic king and kingdom, has always this background of suffering. The prevailing

note of appeal to Jehovah for deliverance is, however, offset by the glorious prophetic promises of a redeemed city, and peace and prosperity under the continuous blessed reign of Jehovah, who would himself come to reign over his people, either in person, or through a representative whom he would send.

Much difficulty has been experienced by scholars in placing the different passages

¹The textbook for this course is *The Foreshadowings of the Christ*, by William Rainey Harper; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

which constitute the work for this month. The consensus of opinion has dated several of the passages much later than the Exile, especially those from Daniel. The data on which these opinions are based is difficult to handle, and for a popular class it is better to place the emphasis upon the spirit of the passages—the fact that they reflect suffering and the analysis of the ideal of the messianic kingdom as here portrayed. Briefly, we have: (1) the free invitation to all to unite with the Hebrew nation, and so to come into relationship with Jehovah; (2) the expansion of this invitation into a universal message to all men; (3) the wonderful city of promise; (4) the ministry of the “Servant of Jehovah” to the poor, the sick, and the afflicted; (5) Jehovah’s imminent coming and universal reign; (6) the future honorable place of the Hebrew nation among the nations of the earth; (7) universal peace; (8) universal worship of Jehovah; (9) the necessity of sincerity in the worship of Jehovah.

Many of the passages are beautiful as gems of literature, and so universal in spirit that they should be memorized. Members of the class will be stimulated to memorize these passages if they are expected to recite them rather than to read them in the programs of the class.

Program I

Leader: Examples of great literature (not biblical) which had its birth in times of revolution and national disaster.

Members of the class: (1) The prophetic picture of the ideal ruler. (2) The prophetic picture of the new Jerusalem. (3) Reading or recitation of the “Great Invitation,” Isaiah, chap. 55. (4) Reading or recitation,

the “Chapter of Comfort,” Isaiah, chap. 40. (5) The message of Isaiah for men of today.

Subject for discussion: How much nearer are we today to universal peace than in the days of Isaiah?

Program II

Leader: Rapid review of the development of the “foreshadowings,” up to this period.

Members of the class: (1) Prophetic ideals which were too lofty for an earthly city. (2) Reading or recitation and discussion of passages from chaps. 40–56, which represent Jehovah as the creator and ruler of the world. (3) The prophetic ideal of conditions upon which Jehovah’s promises might be accepted. (4) The visions of Daniel.

Subject for discussion: In what sense have all these prophecies been fulfilled in the coming of Jesus, and the establishment of the kingdom of God upon the earth?

REFERENCE READING

Smith, *Old Testament History*, chap. xv; Kent, *History of the Jewish People*, I, 3–98; Wade, *Old Testament History*, pp. 389 ff.; George Adam Smith, *The Book of Isaiah*, Vol. II; Goodspeed, *Israel’s Messianic Hope*, chap. vii; Addis, *Hebrew Religion*, chaps. vii–viii; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, chaps. xii, xiii; Woods, *The Hope of Israel*, chaps. v, vi, vii. Cornill, *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 125–44, 174–79; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, pp. 351–410.

Volumes on Isaiah in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, the *Century Bible*, and the *Bible for Home and Schools*. Consult Hastings’ *Dictionary of the Bible* for articles on “Messiah,” “The Book of Daniel,” and selections from the article on “The Kingdom of God.”

CURRENT OPINION

God and Modern Democracy

A new democratic conception of God, which regards him as less an objective autocrat and more a fraternal helper, is gradually being formed by modern civilization, according to Professor H. A. Overstreet in the January *Hibbert Journal*. There are many signs which point to a more or less general dissatisfaction with the traditional world-view. In religious circles it expresses itself in a vague unrest and incipient skepticism, a feeling of the unreality of the accustomed religious ministrations. Up to recent years, the typical point of view of society, in its legal and social regulations, its morality, religion, and art, has, in greater or less degree, been determined by the thought of class differentiation. From the Code of Hammurabi to the common law of England in the nineteenth century, the interpretation of human values has in greater or less degree been in terms of class status. For a class-constituted society, there was but one possible thought, namely, that the mass of beings must be directed by superior ones who are not of their number. Society was regarded as, in the main, passive material to be molded by the heaven- or blood-favored few.

On the other hand, the spirit of modern thought is democratic. Human society is not passive material, molded to the will of the few. It is active, self-sustaining, self-advancing. The present change in social and scientific outlook is gradually effecting a modification of our idea of God which, in the accomplished result, will be as profoundly momentous as any of the great changes of the past. We are today witnessing the transition from the last of the oligarchic views of the universe to a view of the world consistent with the spirit of evolutionary democracy. Professor Overstreet quotes approvingly from Robert

A. Wood's recent work on *Democracy* as follows:

The deistic conception of an age now completely past, that God is some distant monarch, will fade into the darkness with the social system which gave it rise; and society as a federal union, in which each individual and every form of human association shall find free and full scope for a more abundant life, will be the large figure from which is projected the conception of the God in whom we live and move and have our being.

Judaism and Modern Biblical Scholarship

The approach of modern critical scholarship to the Bible should not be feared, but should be welcomed, by the devout Jew. So writes Rev. Dr. J. Abelson, in the March number of the *Jewish Review*. To shut out from our study the modern critical literature which now encompasses the Bible upon all sides is to make ourselves immeasurably the losers. For, quite apart from the question of the truth or untruth of the new material, it is undeniable that so many fresh points of view are brought into being, so many unexpected vistas of thought and knowledge are opened up, that if the study of the Bible were a pleasure hitherto, it is more than a pleasure now. We all know that one of the basic contentions of the higher criticism is that the books of the Old Testament are the result of processes of compilation and combination, and in modern phrase, "editing." It is maintained that the hand of a "reviser" is visible in many of the narratives, that many an episode or biography is taken from some older source of which very little or no trace has come down to us; and that a book which bears the name of an author often contains matter which must be attributed to some other author or authors. Tidings like these are, to say the least, very upsetting

to some Jews, and positively painful to some others. But though some feel much, and are very much outraged, it seems that there are compensating advantages which are great and numerous enough to oust all sense of danger. The higher criticism of the Bible is the order of the day. Much of it is brilliant and true. Much of it is audacious and fallacious and "not proven." But the fact that it has come to stay need not make the devout and loving upholder of Judaism feel that he is on the horns of a dilemma in having to choose between the old standpoint and the new. It is not a question of being forced to make a choice at all. The Bible is far too great a book to be dismissed with one, and one only, school of interpretation. By all means let the light fall on it through all sorts, and any number, of windows.

Religious Need of Sacramental Feasts

Writing on "The Lord's Supper" in the January number of the *Reformed Church Review*, R. Leighton Gerhart seems to take somewhat of a mediating position between the views that the Supper as observed by the church is a synthetic composition of elements derived from various sources and that it is strictly an innovation by Jesus.

He contends that one way of arriving at truth is through the sacramental meal. This is true of the meals of paganism as well as of Christianity, but what the sources are for the implication that pagan meals were sacramental is not mentioned. These pagan observances went part of the way in arriving at truth. In the Lord's Supper we find the journey completed. This is equivalent to saying that Jesus took over an established religious institution and gave it an improved and fuller meaning.

The author is especially emphatic in insisting on the vital relation between religion and religious eating. He claims that the needs of pagan worshipers brought into existence pagan religious meals. So

great is this need in all religions, maintains the writer, that, if Jesus had not instituted a Lord's Supper, one would undoubtedly have been created by the church to supply the want.

The relation of the "broken" body and the "shed" blood of Jesus to the Supper on the one hand and to the believer on the other is thus described:

Jesus gave us his broken body and his blood poured out because he could not give himself as the food of man in any other way. There is no such thing as the giving of moral nourishment, spiritual food, except by way of sacrifice. . . . Therefore it was not simply his body and blood that he gave, but his body broken and his blood shed.

The Gospel of Peter

"Is the Gospel of Peter an independent witness to the Resurrection?" asks C. H. Turner in "The Gospel of Peter" in the January *Journal of Theological Studies*. His answer is in the negative. After an extensive examination of the four canonical gospels and a comparison of them with the newer "Peter" he finds that the latter is not independent. His conclusion is as follows:

The attempt has been made to show that, due regard being had to the circumstances and the time when "Peter" wrote, comparison of the documents makes it infinitely more probable than not that he was acquainted with, and in his own gospel used, all four gospels of the church. It would be difficult to say what conception could survive of literary contact, if its cogency was not admitted in this case. But once it is admitted that "Peter" used the Fourth Gospel as one of his sources, then again it seems at least much more probable that, in the story introduced by the closing words of the extant fragment, he was depending on that gospel rather than on the lost end of Mark, which there is not the least reason (from any other point of view) to suppose had survived as late as the second century A.D. Therefore "Peter" adds nothing to the witness of the earliest tradition of the Resurrection.

Paul the Author of the Pastorals?

The pastoral epistles are the work of Paul, concludes Rev. T. Herbert Brindley, D.D., writing on "The Pastoral Epistles" in the *Interpreter* for January. He first argues that there is nothing un-Pauline about them, or, at least, that there is nothing about them that may not conceivably have come from Paul. The vocabulary employed contains words not used by Paul elsewhere, but this is due to his addressing a different situation. The figures of speech, such as word-play, metaphor, etc., are all Pauline. The author is at no loss to find a place in Pauline chronology for locating the letters. Luke, who wrote Acts, skips over great stretches of Paul's life, and the pastorals can be placed in any one of several of these gaps, concerning which Luke left us no definite data.

Co-partnership and Industrial Unrest

The failure of co-partnership as ordinarily carried out in business to solve the question of the relation between labor and capital is the theme of "Co-partnership and Labor Unrest," by H. Sanderson Furniss, in the January *Economic Review* (quarterly). The root cause of labor unrest, says the author, is that there is something radically wrong with the system under which industry is carried on today, "a system which cannot, no matter how hard a man works, give to a working man more than \$500 a year" (the figure applies to England).

Will co-partnership remedy this state of affairs? It will not, answers the author, if the employer says to the employee, "Work harder and earn me more profit, and I will divide the profit with you." This, it is maintained, is the usual course followed in co-partnerships as they now exist in most manufacturing centers. The master does not give anything to the workman; he simply makes the workman work harder

to earn more and then takes from him a part of the additional earning. If co-partnership is to be a success and is to settle prevalent labor troubles, there must be some sort of sacrifice on the part of the master in favor of the laborer. This will have a large influence in rendering conditions more stable.

Mind Cures Scientific

That so-called "mind cures" can be satisfactorily explained by science and in no other way is the contention of Sir Thomas Clouston, M.D., writing in the January *Quarterly Review*.

The writer is quite willing to admit the reality of such cures. The position which he takes is that the scientific explanation of them is the only possible explanation. His own words follow:

Modern science claims to study and explain the occurrences of so-called "mind cures" in diseased and disordered conditions of body. It admits the existence of such cures, but calls in the brain as the direct agent through which they are brought about. It is now able to point out that there are in the brain machinery and activities sufficient to explain them. The mind comes in by setting the brain to work. Science emphatically repudiates the mystical, miraculous, and superstitious views of such mind cures as being unreasonable and degrading. Such views, hitherto common, result from ignorance and lend themselves to all sorts of quackery and deceit. Science now includes mind as well as life and matter within the scope of its investigations; and by this means only will humanity derive the full benefits which a study of the effects of mind, acting through the brain, will enable us to effect in curing diseased and abnormal states.

The Sufficiency of the English Bible

In the *Bible Magazine* for April, 1913, there is an excellent article by Dr. Louis Matthews Sweet on "The Study of the English Bible," with the subtitle, "The Study of Biblical Words." The possibility

of doing exact and scholarly work on the basis of a translation is the question at issue. While some are ever ready to insist that versions cannot satisfy the demands of original scholarship, it is to be noted that there are comparatively few original scholars, philologists to whom grammar and lexicon are not ultimate facts; that, while in the interpretation of the original languages of the Bible creative work is for the few, to the man of average sound scholarly ability who, humbly recognizing his debt to many workers in many fields, makes proper use of the English Bible there comes opportunity for the attainment of genuine worth as a scholar.

The English Bible in itself, aside from questions of relationship to original documents, is great enough and complex enough to appeal to the highest scholarship. The mastery of this peer of English classics demands literary and spiritual appreciation and calls for the exercise of one's best powers of observation and analysis. "So great is it, in its complexity of structure, in its majesty of idea and form, in its sweep of thought and varied richness of content, that contact with it and the attempt to master it are a broadening and educative process of unparalleled value."

Moreover, the ripest results of learning are embodied in the English translation. For English versions have kept pace with the development of the English language on the one side, and, on the other, with the development of oriental philology and archaeology. New material is constantly appearing, like the recent Aramaic documents from Elephantine, Greek and Roman papyri from Egypt and elsewhere, and is steadily being embodied in discussions, in commentaries, and finally in translation.

But the decisive factor in the determination of the meaning of words is to be found in the biblical usage itself. It is possible,

therefore, for the careful student of the English Bible to undertake the accurate study of words. Derivation, root-meaning, in the extra-biblical usage of a word, are only partial guides to the meaning which that word has within the Scriptures themselves. As a word is used by different writers to convey combinations of ideas, a rather definite body of characteristic meanings will gather about the word. Hence the light upon the meaning of words gained from biblical usage cannot be neglected.

Now, undeniably, the method is that of original scholarship dealing with the sources. We admire and envy the ability of such men to handle their materials, to sift, analyze, and interpret complex masses of facts. But strangely enough, in this present instance and in others, the actual, positive results in the way of assured knowledge, by a method of handling complex materials equally direct and original, are attainable for the student of the English Bible.

Making Temples Schoolhouses

The *Peking Daily News* suggests that the present need of the new Chinese republic for quarters in which to conduct schools could be met by transforming abandoned temples in various quarters into buildings for purposes of public instruction. Especially could this be done in and about Canton and Hunan, where there is a large number of temples to the memory of numerous deities about whom nothing or very little is known. In some places the plan has been tried and has met with little opposition on the part of the people. The only real clamor against the move came from a number of lazy priests in charge of certain shrines, who were compelled to go to work for a living. With the abolition of the temples went also the abolition of various feast days, which hereafter are to be devoted to Confucian celebrations.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

FOREIGN MISSIONS

Higher Criticism and Foreign Missions

The effect of the higher criticism of the Bible upon modern missions is the theme of "The Scientific Method and Missions" in the February *Homiletic Review*. The article is written by Rev. George K. Grice. The author states that it is his opinion that the application of the scientific method to Bible study has greatly aided in giving the missionary impulse a forward impetus. Biblical criticism has shown us, he maintains, that the history of Israel was not a digression but a progression, contrary to the older view. The direct effect of such study upon missions is to give the enterprise a "more balanced theology," to "unravel difficulties in the Scriptures," and to make the missionary "better fitted to preach" the faith to the heathen mind.

Missions in Russia

The *Missionary Review of the World* (March) gives the following facts about Russia bearing upon missions: The country is larger than all the rest of Europe put together; less than 10,000,000 of her 163,000,000 population have ever heard a sermon; more than 25 different languages are spoken within the empire; Methodist missionaries are preaching in St. Petersburg in 6 languages, and are conducting a Sunday school of 300 which meets in a room 20×60 feet; the country contains 17,000,000 Mohammedans, some of whom are at present building a \$3,000,000 mosque in St. Petersburg; many of the peasants are anxious to attend religious service and often will travel 20 or 30 miles on foot to be present at such a meeting.

The Gideons in Turkey

The report comes from Harput, Asiatic Turkey, that Armenian Christians, hearing that the "Gideons" in the United States were placing Bibles in many hotels to reach and influence the traveling public, have decided to imitate the example by installing Bibles in the so-called hotels of their country. Hotels in that country contain no furniture, and one sleeps on the bedding which he brings with him. Food, travelers must secure for themselves. The Bibles to be placed in these empty rooms will be in either the Turkish or the Armenian language. Owners of hotels are reported to have nothing to say against the plan, except that, if Bibles are installed, they will have to be hung on the wall, since they are "holy books" and it would be a desecration to lay them upon the floor.

Russian Missionaries in China

The missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox church in China is almost at a standstill, states the *Missionary Review of the World* for February. It bases its conclusions on figures presented by certain Russian papers in calling attention to the fact that the church soon will celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of its mission station in the Celestial Kingdom. At present there are 3,000 members, a rather small showing as the result of two hundred years of endeavor. About \$15,000 per year is spent by the mission. A theological school has been established and this contains only twelve students. Twenty monks, eight Russian and twelve Chinese, and about the same number of nuns are in residence.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Graduate Courses for Ministers

The efficiency and leadership of the church is practically the efficiency and leadership of its ministers: and leadership cannot be maintained except by a constant increase in efficiency.

This lays constantly enlarging demands upon the training-school; but certain features of its work cannot be greatly changed. Students cannot remain longer and cannot study more; and however important the study of the conditions and methods of church work may be felt to be, the attention of the student ought to be devoted chiefly to the study of the essence of the Christian religion, as the basis of all church work.

There is, however, one line in which the work and influence of the seminary can be indefinitely extended to meet the reasonable demands made upon it. It appears to be suggested by the logic of the present situation, and to be justified by its easy availability and practicability.

The institution that is to survive current criticisms and do the training of men for efficient leadership in the church and world must lay the foundations well while the men are students in residence, and must continue its influence over the young minister after his graduation until he becomes a master in his profession.

All concerned, students, instructors, and churches, should recognize that a minister's training is never completed, certainly not in three years of theological study in a seminary, and certainly not by a course of study of any length which is completed before the beginning of the practical work of the pastorate. The possibility of religious work, now real and practical, as an agency for the continuation of that training should be recognized and developed, and there is no institution so well equipped to do this as the divinity school. The service of the school

to the churches should be conceived of as divided into two parts, the first that which is rendered by instructing the candidate for the ministry for three years while he is in residence, and the second that which is rendered by the continuation of the instruction in the years after his ordination and settlement. And the sequence suggested should be rigidly maintained; for there is no reference here to the assistance which the seminary may conceivably give to men who enter the ministry without a seminary training. The three years of residence should be given primarily to the work of foundation laying, to a thorough and deliberate and frank study of the fundamental subjects which every minister ought to know, and know well. The student will select for later work under the direction of the instructor such attractive, advanced, commonly elective courses as he is unable easily to include in his undergraduate years.

Note in a word the relief that such a conception of the relation of the seminary to the minister would offer to the regular curriculum. The natural sequence of study could be insisted on to a greater extent, or, rather, it would follow automatically. The fundamental quality of all truth, that it is constantly enlarging and growing, would be happily matched by the method in which it is presented. The student would quietly and unhurriedly choose the basal studies, in the full confidence that in the years to come he will still be in receipt of the valued help of the instructor. The instructor would have the inspiration of knowing that he is to have other opportunity to influence the student, after the preparatory course is completed, and in the classroom work both would be preparing to continue the fellowship, rather than to separate. The ghostly complaint that the seminary course is not practical would be finally laid. It would not be necessary to force the

beginning of practical work back into the seminary years, in order to insure the helpful aid of the instructor for the student as he passes through that critical period.

It cannot be claimed, of course, that the work thus postponed could be done as well later as in the classroom, but by a fitting choice of subjects, and by a wise adaptation of method to the new conditions, much of the difficulty could be removed and there is reason to hope and expect that the system would be successful. Even as now conducted, the advanced courses permit of great diversity in method, the student being free to adopt largely his own plan, and it often happens that the real work is done privately, upon different branches of the common subject. The proposed plan would differ greatly from such procedure.

In the carrying out of the scheme the chief reliance would of course be the correspondence method. Surely this method has justified itself already, and the conditions involved in the plan as outlined are ideal. The student is a graduate, fully trained in the schools for the best use of his mind in intellectual work. The instructor is not some anonymous clerk or reader, performing perfunctorily a routine of labor for all alike. He is the seminary instructor himself, who has learned the pupil intimately during the seminary course,* and who is in this later work building on his own foundations. Both apply themselves to the work as a part of a continuous purpose, without interruption, and not as a make-shift or afterthought. Certainly, if correspondence work can ever prove valuable, it will under these conditions.

In addition to the correspondence, there would be involved for the best results stated conferences with the instructor. There should be a visit once or twice a year to the seminary—is it too wild a thought that a visit of the instructor to the pupil's parish might profitably be arranged?—with an informal review of the work and perhaps an

examination, and especially a careful planning of the new work to be undertaken. Every divinity school does well to secure, even at considerable cost, the return of its alumni now and then in a sympathetic and receptive frame of mind. The enthusiasm and social intercourse of commencement time is good, but the quiet visits of graduates, earnestly bent on work of the kind suggested, would be far from unprofitable to the institution.

There would also be involved the provision of the necessary books by the seminary. At first thought this may seem to offer a serious difficulty. But observation of the number of books actually used by men in the several seminary courses makes the writer bold enough to say that they could easily be provided in the case of most courses. Many seminaries already have a liberal policy as to the circulation of library books among the alumni, and doubtless all would be very quick to furnish them as a part of a serious plan for continuous connection between school and graduate, with all its attendant advantages.

There should be also some certification of the work accomplished. This should be done in perfectly plain and straightforward terms, specifying that the pupil has pursued certain courses *in absentia* under the supervision of certain instructors. No degree should come into consideration and no "credits" be given which could later be advanced as a plea for a degree, or for a shortening of the regular sojourn at any seminary in pursuit of a degree. There would doubtless be some complications at this point, but that is not an unheard-of trouble in connection with degrees. The degree question greatly complicates the whole seminary curriculum.

Without doubt the plan would involve additional labor for the instructors. It should, however, be borne in mind that, in the announcements of courses at present, the professors often undertake to assist the

qualified and earnest student in the investigation of any suitable subject. The suggestions here made find some precedent in the practice. Moreover, the method of study of advanced subjects, by assigned readings, discussions, reports, and quizzes, is very similar in character. Even if the instructor should confine the work of his department to the courses already scheduled, a fine beginning could be made in the establishment of a company of pastors carrying forward their studies during the first years of their field work. But the instructor would not stop with these existing courses. From the very love of teaching and from the pure love of working with men who are in a position to test theories in practical life, and to bring out of their lives fresh problems and new data for solving old problems, they would give themselves freely, and in the giving find themselves the gainers, in the freshening and intensifying of their classroom work.

Not the least attractive feature of the suggestions that have been made is their absolute elasticity. Without doubt there are many instructors and pupils engaged together in precisely the kind of work here outlined. And the number is bound to increase. The success of such work does not depend upon numbers or organization or official recognition of school or denomination. It can be undertaken, with every promise of success, by anyone who thinks he can see in it the promise of greater efficiency in the service of the Master.

O. H. GATES

The Overemphasis of "Method" in Teacher-Training

The graded Sunday school, as an educational movement, is sweeping the country, and, to the casual observer, seems to be the solution of the whole problem of the efficiency of the Sunday school. Those who are dealing at first hand with many schools have discovered that here and there, and in in-

creasing numbers, are schools which have tried graded work, have found it unsatisfactory, and have gone back to the simple and uniform idea.

Does this mean that the graded Sunday school is a failure, or does it rather point to that insurmountable obstacle, the untrained teacher, who is equally incompetent in the graded, as in the ungraded Sunday school? Is it not true that there is but one straight path to efficiency in religious education, and that is efficiency in the teachers who are charged with the religious education of the young?

This brings us face to face with the problem of the right sort of training for those thousands of lay-workers who, with Christian self-sacrifice, are attempting to do a work for which they are but ill prepared. The church has been studying the problem, and associations and organizations which are interested have been studying the situation, and numerous teacher-training courses issued by denominations, by the International Sunday School Association, and by private individuals, as well as other organizations, are now available, and it would seem that no person who really desired to be trained for service in this direction could fail to find a course which would do the work.

A few years ago, it was understood that the one essential for preparation for Sunday-school teaching was Christian character. Then came a period in which both Christian character and knowledge of the Bible appeared to be desirable. A little later came the wave of interest in child-study, which swept through the whole field of religious education, and naturally was seized by those interested in religious education as a part of their essential program. So strong and so fascinating was this current of interest in the child and in his religious development, that teacher-training courses suddenly swerved from the old paths, and became almost exclusively courses in child-study. Many

books were written, some of which have had enormous sales—books which more or less effectively presented the religious life of the child. Today no teacher is considered prepared for work who is not familiar with one or more of these volumes.

As we look over the training courses current at the present time, we wonder if the pendulum has not swung too far in the direction of psychology and pedagogical method. In the average church, a group of teachers meet for a training course through a period of one year. Almost invariably that year will be devoted to child-study. The second year perhaps the interest has waned, and the class is abandoned or disintegrates for some other important reason. Are the teachers who enthusiastically pursued the course in child-study, and who have some notion of the psychology of religion prepared to teach in the Sunday school? How about the subject-matter?

If one were engaging a teacher of Latin, and such a teacher might say, "Yes, I can handle a class, I am familiar with the best methods of teaching language; I understand the psychology of intellectual development"; if she were asked, "How much Latin do you know?" she would stand small chance of the opportunity to teach Latin if she were to say, "Oh, I can study that as I go along."

An examination of the average Sunday-school teacher who has taken the popular teacher-training courses does not reveal a knowledge of the Bible adequate for teaching, either historically or in principle, the Christian religion, which has its basis in the development of fundamental conceptions of God and the chief end of life as it is revealed in the history of the Hebrew people and the more direct founders of Christianity.

Is it not time that we laid more emphasis upon this question of subject-matter, and, if we are to continue to use the Bible as the chief basis of instruction in the Sunday school, that we should so shape our training

courses that a first-hand intelligent knowledge of the Bible, of the history that lay back of it, and of the forces which produced it shall be the predominant element of the training of those who are to handle this important material of religious education?

G. L. C.

Polyglot Education

The School of Oriental Languages in Berlin has just celebrated its semi-jubilee. The school gives lessons, both theoretical and practical, in Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Amharic, Ethiopic, Persian, Turkish, Swahili, and numerous other Indian and African dialects. In each language there is a regular resident professor who is on occasions assisted, especially on the practical side, by a native tutor. The school includes in its curriculum in addition to instruction in languages such subjects as tropical hygiene, practical geographical knowledge, the arts, customs, ideas, commerce, etc., of the peoples whose languages are taken up. Missionary experts frequently are called upon to give courses in the school.

High-School Credit for Bible-Study

Considerable publicity has been given to a plan originating in North Dakota for giving to high-school students credit toward graduation upon biblical study. A carefully prepared outline of selections, important from both the historical and the literary point of view, forms the required foundation for the examinations which are set by the state. The work can be done at the pleasure of the students under the guidance of the teachers in the church or outside it, or even independently by the student himself. The examination is the test of efficiency. In North Dakota the plan has worked well because it has been carefully supervised by intelligent people who claim for it only an attempt to recognize the cultural value of the study of Hebrew history and literature, and

the necessity for including it in a well-rounded high-school course.

A few years ago a state normal institution in Colorado began to promote the study of biblical history and literature as a cultural subject among its pupils. The example of North Dakota and the stimulus given by the successful work done by churches in co-operation with the state normal school have led to the development of a high-school plan in Colorado. In this state the Sunday School Association is taking a conspicuous part in the promotion of the plan. A tentative course of study has been prepared which includes in its themes for the first year, the study of biblical heroes, heroines, and ideals; for the second year, the life and teachings of Jesus; for the third year, social institutions—the home, the school, the state, and the church; and for the fourth year, biblical literature. The details of this course of study have not yet been announced. It is expected that students will receive one full credit for the four years of work. The Sunday School Association is actively promoting the training of teachers for the course, which will be offered to students in the churches, and is now organizing a system of graded training schools in the chief centers.

While this active interest in the study of biblical history and literature promises much from the point of view of culture, it should be guarded against a too vigorous promotion by enthusiasts who feel that simply because it is biblical study it will go far toward solving the problem of religious education for our young people. The teaching of the Bible as history and literature requires the same quality of preparation as that which is demanded of a teacher of English history and literature, or Greek history and literature. Such teachers cannot be trained by the quick method, but must grow through the colleges and normal schools. To move more rapidly than a teaching force can be well prepared is not advisable.

It must be remembered that this study is not given to the boys and girls in the day school itself, but it is, in most cases, substituted for the regular work in the Sunday school. That being the case, the quality of the course of study and of the teaching has the same importance that it always had in the Sunday school, and no more. The conspicuousness of the plan will doubtless stir people to study more carefully the question of the ideal curriculum for the Sunday school, for high-school boys and girls, and to a more vigorous attempt on the part of Sunday-school forces to raise the standard of teaching. When the state offers credit, it demands standards. Whether the ideal biblical course, from the point of view of the state, and that from the point of view of the church, for high-school grades is, or should be, identical, is a question, and if a state course must be substituted for a Sunday-school course, doubt as to the outcome may be raised in the minds of some who are trying to develop a curriculum for the Sunday school which will meet the religious as well as the cultural needs of our boys and girls.

By all means let the state encourage the students in the high schools to broaden the course by the inclusion of biblical history and literature. So much is clear gain to the student. Let it also, if it will, train teachers for the task in its normal schools. It does not follow that there is less need of a careful study of the ideal curriculum for the high-school grades of the Sunday school by those who are leading in religious education. When that result is approximately attained the church will need to keep in mind the fact that its Sunday schools are avowedly aiming to train young people in the religious life, and that the study of biblical history and literature is but one means to that end, and that even the study of biblical history and literature which will enable students satisfactorily to pass a state examination may not be the only study of the Bible de-

sirable for high-school grades from the standpoint of religious teaching.

Progress of the Denominational College

President Thomas C. Blaisdell, of Alma College, Michigan, discusses "The Renaissance of the Denominational College" in the *American Educational Review* for January. Today's educational renaissance is forcing the denominational college to face forward, or to remain satisfied with the deadening hand of convention. This renaissance will not be simply a revival of learning. It must be a triumph of "progressivism" over conservatism. It must be a breaking-away from educational orthodoxy and Middle Age despotism. It must mean a new vision of the education of man and his relation to his world. Tradition and educational authority have laid down certain

narrow boundaries within which the youth who would enter college must keep during his high-school days. These limits must be enlarged, if not overthrown. The modern renaissance has put behind us as an educational requirement the study of Greek; and as a condition for college entrance or graduation, Latin also must soon pass. The renaissance of the denominational college must result shortly in admitting boys and girls to college on the basis of power. Every young man and woman will be studied as an individual and will be trained to do the work for which he shows that he is best fitted. A new and better type of education for women will be developed. A new force will be put on the value of preparing the youth for worthy citizenship. College extension work has only begun; and presently there will be a wonderful development of this type of service.

CHURCH EFFICIENCY

The Church and the World

Taking the church to the people is the idea behind the recent establishment by the Archdiocese of New York of bureaus to care for Catholic immigrants. The work is described in the *Ecclesiastical Review* for February.

The immigrant is taken in hand as soon as he lands and, if he is going out of the city, is aided on his way as far as circumstances will permit. This phase of the work, however, does not constitute the entire object of the bureaus; they attempt to concern themselves chiefly with those who make New York their home. The nationalities especially cared for to date are Italians, Slavs, Ruthenians, and Asiatic Catholics. Each nationality is assigned to a particular bureau. After the foreigners settle in the metropolis, they are conducted to a mission carried on in their own language; and if such a mission does not exist, an attempt is made to establish one. The

priests in charge of the various missions are selected as far as possible from the nationalities to which they are expected to minister.

The work is claimed to be assuming vast proportions, despite the fact that a beginning was made but a year ago. This is due not only to the activity of those in charge of the bureaus but also to the fact that Catholic immigrants from the countries mentioned land daily in New York to the number of thousands.

Closely akin to the work outlined above is that which the church is called upon to do for immigrants by Professor Edward A. Steiner in "The Melting Pot of the Nations" in the *Missionary Review* for March. Professor Steiner begins his discussion by calling attention to the problem facing the American nation in relation to the immigrant—the problem of assimilating the foreigner or of being foreignized. After

stating the problem, the author points out that if America is to remain American, certain things must be done for the foreigner. Some of these things must be done by the church. Among other things he suggests that the church act consistently on the theory that God is the Father of all men and that therefore all men are brothers, and that it look after the immigrants' welfare not only at the ports of entry but along the route to their destination. But even then the church's duty does not cease. The question of their religious well-being in their new homes must then be dealt with.

Why the Church Must Educate

That the freedom of organized religion from taxation has made it necessary for the church to provide for its own religious education is the conclusion of Professor George A. Coe of Union Theological Seminary, in *Religious Education* for December. He writes under the caption, "The Nature and Scope of Church Leadership in the Field of Education from a Sunday School Point of View."

He implies that, inasmuch as the church, as such is not compelled by law to support the public-school system, it has no right to demand that specifically religious subjects be taught. If such instruction is to be given, the church must provide for it itself. The object of such a provision is to "provide an adequate system of religious education for the children of the country . . . not for a child here and there . . . not . . . to maintain a religious society . . . but to produce a religious civilization."

The state, argues the author, has no system of education. The most that can be said is that it has a system of schools, which constitutes one factor in education. The other factors are such institutions as courts, municipal enterprises, the family, and the church. Church education is mainly through the Sunday school and this ought to be thought of as parallel with

state leadership in secular instruction. "In short," says Professor Coe, "we must have a national system of schools of religion strictly co-ordinate with our governmental system of public schools."

To accomplish this end, two sorts of leaders are needed: first, great denominational leaders, and second, leaders for the work in the various parishes. To expect the local superintendent to meet this demand is to impose a large burden upon him. In many places he is doing it and is doing it well. But in general, thinks the author, there should be a teaching specialist for each school.

The Progress of the Negro

The advance of the southern Negro since the war along economic and educational lines is succinctly set forth by Booker T. Washington in "Fifty Years of Negro Freedom" in the January number of the *Review and Expositor*.

The method pursued by the writer is that of describing the helpless, poverty-stricken state of the Negro at the close of the war and contrasting it with his present condition. The comparison is illuminating. Washington says he himself well remembers how awe-struck and helpless the colored people were when first the announcement of their liberation came to them. He describes how all the Negroes on the plantation on which he was a slave were gathered at the "Big House" when the news that they were no longer in bondage was given to them. Everyone was at a loss what to do. Heretofore the whites had done their thinking and planning for them. "In a few hours," he says, "the Negro was placed face to face with questions the white man had been trying to solve for centuries"—questions of a home, a living, the rearing of children, education, citizenship, and the establishment of churches.

How the Negro met the problems before him on the economic side is shown by the

fact that, from owning no land or property at that time, he now claims title to 20,000,000 acres and possesses other property valued at \$600,000,000, all acquired since the war. On the educational side his advance has been equally consistent. He has learned the dignity of labor, he has discovered that work is not "synonymous with ignorance, poverty, and degradation, but that it goes hand in hand with progressive enlightenment and all that makes for the general uplift of a people." At present the southern Negro has over 500 industrial and normal schools with Negro teachers. Over 70 per cent of all Negroes have some book-learning and at present there are over 2,000,000 Negro children in the public schools who are being taught by 30,000 Negro teachers. They raise over \$1,000,000 yearly for the support of their schools.

Community Spirit

Rev. W. Closson McGarvey, in *Assembly Herald* for April, 1913, tells of an interesting experience which a small eastern community had in the matter of church federation. It was an industrial center of about eight hundred population just outside of Buffalo and thus forming a part also of the larger similar community. There had been a small, struggling church for several years other denominations had tried to effect an entrance, divisions, competition and strife had come, and finally it seemed as if religious work in the place must cease entirely. At this juncture the suggestion was made for a survey of the community and a house-to-house canvass for the purpose of organizing, not another church in the ordinary meaning of the term, but a community church. The suggestion was timely, and at two or three largely attended mass-meetings plans were formulated and put into operation, resulting in the organization of a relatively strong community church. Representative members of the previously existing denomina-

tional organizations acted wisely when the question of affiliation with one of the great denominations was raised. Funds were secured, a minister was called, and soon nearly the whole population was enlisted in the movement for the social and religious uplift and betterment of the community.

Child Protection

The only organized society in the world for the prevention of cruelty to children is described by H. P. Fairchild in the January number of the *American Journal of Sociology* under the caption, "Preventing Cruelty to Children." The society is the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and was incorporated in 1878. At present it has headquarters at Mt. Vernon and Joy streets, Boston.

The object of the society is thus stated in the charter: "Awakening interest in abuses to which children are exposed by the intemperance, cruelty, or cupidity of parents or guardians, and to help in the enforcement of existing laws on the subject, procure needed legislation, and for kindred work."

The organization of the society consists of a secretary-general-agent, an organizing secretary, sixteen agents who do investigating and prosecuting, three clerks, four stenographers, an examining physician, a matron, and an assistant matron. Besides these, there are resident agents in Worcester, New Bedford, and Northampton, and three of these spend about half-time in Brockton, Beverly, and Fall River, respectively. In addition there is a large number of voluntary agents and helpers.

The society is ready to send an agent anywhere in the state at any time. The work done by the organization is inadequately represented by court records, as out of the 7,368 children dealt with in 1909 only 2,058 were taken to court.

In each case brought before the attention of the society a special plan is formulated and followed out. As much assistance as

possible is always secured from existing institutions and agencies before any independent action is taken.

The Status of the Greek Church

"The voice of one crying in a wilderness" seems a fitting phrase with which to describe a demand for reform in the Greek church voiced by George Zacharoulis, who describes himself as an "orthodox preacher," in *St. Polycarp*, a Greek paper edited by the metropolitan bishop of Smyrna. The reform asked for is that of more spirituality in religion as over against magic, and is the more striking on account of its coming apparently from within the ranks of the Greek church itself. The appeal sounds a note of despair, in that doubt is expressed as to whether anyone will be found to begin the movement. That such views should be set forth in a publication apparently under ecclesiastical control is significant.

The writer calls attention to the decline in the religious and ethical life of the church, and says that, while holding the "Evangelical truth," the faith of the church is "a dead and empty faith because it is a faith without works." He continues:

Our religion is empty and vain, because "pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world." While sticking to

the letter we have fallen from the spirit we are named by the name of Christ, but we have not Christ abiding in us, and therefore have neither the Truth nor the Light nor the Life. We have turned to the "weak and beggarly elements" paying attention to the lifting and moving of tables, calling on evil spirits and inquiring of the dead, and all but reviving the ancient oracles. . . . Christianity has become for us an empty word and an abstract theory thus furnishing a cause why the name of God should be blasphemed among the nations! We are sick we need healing, that is, religious reform; but what is the means of healing, and what the method of reform? Who will undertake the study and the examination of the above questions until the day dawns when the church herself will take up their solution?

Anti-Vice Victory in Japan

The *Michigan Churchman* reports the "cleaning-up" of the town of Fushu by one of the deacons in the diocese of Tokyo. With the consent of the bishop this deacon began a campaign against vice. He found that the mayor owned the largest number of licensed houses, and succeeded in arousing public opinion against the official to such an extent that he was forced to resign. A new mayor was chosen, and the campaign for a better Fushu was carried to a successful close. This is regarded by the *Churchman* as one of the direct results of mission activity.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN MODERN CULTURE¹

LOUIS WALLIS

Author of "Sociological Study of the Bible"

There are several distinct types of religious literature. The most common type is, of course, the devotional, which aims to promote and foster the life of companionship with God. Examples of this variety of literature are to be found in many parts of the Bible, and in countless writings which have given expression to the piety and faith of the ages down to our own times. The characteristic of devotional literature is that it takes the religious experience for granted, without trying to criticize its primary elements. It assumes that we may share in the life of God, and become copartners with the Divine. If it paused by the wayside to inquire into the nature and basis of religion, it would become something other than devotional literature and would utterly fail of its aim. One of the lessons that modern students of religion are learning is that this most common type of religious writing is valid for its own purpose, and based upon correct psychological principles. The devotional work, and the devotional attitude, as such, have their normal place in healthy-minded human life.

Yet religious devotion raises an objective problem: Whence came religion in general? How shall we account for the different religions in the world? Why do varieties of experience appear within the field of a single religion? How did the religion of the Old Testament become distinct from the faiths and cults of ancient Semitic paganism? How did Christianity arise in the midst of Judaism, and conquer its

unique place in the gentile world? The attempt to answer these queries has produced in modern times another kind of religious literature, which is called the *scientific*. This type of work approaches the subject from an entirely different standpoint than that which characterizes the literature of devotion. It is just as valid in its own way, and for its own purpose, as the other; and it comes into being in response to the operation of principles exactly as natural and correct as those which led to the birth of the earlier and more common type of literature.

Yet, along with the rise and progress of scientific investigation into religious phenomena, there has been much tension and misunderstanding. Devout persons have looked suspiciously upon attempts to treat religion from the scientific point of view. Their tendency has been to regard the scientific interpreter of religion as not only profitless, but impious and even blasphemous. On the other hand, those who have worked upon the basis of the newer standpoints and methods of research have tended to treat religion coldly, as an interesting phenomenon, much as the anatomist lays open the human body with his dissecting knife. Moreover, it is a curious but explainable fact that until recently many scientific investigators of religion have been guilty of treating the subject in a way which has gone far toward justifying the devout in their opposition to science.

But we are now entering upon a new period of thought, which is correcting the

¹ *Religion and Life*. By Thomas Cuming Hall, Professor of Christian Ethics in Union Theological Seminary. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1913. Pp. xiv+161. \$0.75.

errors of saint and scientist, and giving us a new and wider vision. A third variety of religious literature is in process of creation. It is neither devotional nor scientific, in the foregoing definitions of these terms; nor is it a mechanical blend of the earlier types. It looks at religion in the light of all that we have learned about human life and history; and it may therefore be called the *cultural* type. One of its finest examples is found in Thomas Hall's *Religion and Life*. Professor Hall writes from the standpoint of good introductions to all forms of modern knowledge, with an erudition that is amazing. He is in easy possession of his material; his touch is light but firm; and his literary style and method of treatment are adapted to the needs of the wayfaring man and woman. He did not hunt for a title: the book named itself. It is a frank talk with serious people about the subject of religion, in view of what scholarship has learned about life, to the end "that some help may be rendered to those whose own faith may have been shaken, or, if not, to those who are in contact with thoughtful and earnest doubt" (p. xiii).

Professor Hall treats the present religious awakening as the sign of a transition from an older to a newer stage in the moral and spiritual life of humanity. Certain external and formal aspects of religion have changed or disappeared; but the actual substance out of which religion is made is still with us, "as important as it probably ever was in human history" (p. 11). He points out that at the basis of religion, as thus viewed, there stand certain general assumptions, or postulates, upon which the religious life of man is founded. He shows the nature and necessity of these postulates, as a part of our spiritual equipment; and he points out that all human attitudes and enterprises—whether practical, scientific, or aesthetic—are likewise based upon assumptions. He then proceeds: "We

will try to objectively study and weigh history, to master as far as possible the psychology of the religious reaction, to understand amid the complexity of its character the various elements that constitute religion both in its inner life and its outward manifestations"; and he reaffirms the great truth, which the present age is gripping with new power, that "in the long run the ultimate test mankind will apply to the various religious forms and claims will be the outcome in personal and social character" (pp. 23, 24).

Having shown the necessity for historical study of the problem, Dr. Hall turns to the time relations of his theme, and asks what are the earliest forms of the religious life. "It is possible," he writes, "broadly to sketch the religious attitude of earlier humanity. As Robertson Smith has made clear, it was essentially a group attitude. Unauthorized non-group religion became magic, and was generally soon condemned and dreaded" (p. 29). In other words, religion at the outset is predominantly a sociological thing—an affair of the social mechanism. All early religion is bound up with the welfare of the state. The author's consistent avoidance of the term "sociology" is only a foible.

Setting out from this point of view, Dr. Hall shows that religion has everywhere been under the control of a double, or two-fold, interest: the priestly and the prophetic, the former having to do with the forces of order, sequence, unity, and conservation within the group life; the latter being concerned with the forces that disrupt obsolete social practices and initiate new stages of group development. While thus pointing out that both interests have their place and function in history, he shows that the priestly element always tends to become identified with abuses which it is the especial office of the prophetic element to correct. And since religion is chiefly known in its organized,

or priestly, form, it follows that many of the religious difficulties of intelligent people have a moral and not an intellectual basis. "Practically all developed priesthoods, wherever they are found, whether in primitive religion or in modern Protestantism, are Tory and reactionary, for conservation has been the function of the priestly interest so long that it almost inevitably over-functions, and thus brings upon religion the reproach of being non-progressive and antagonistic to new currents of feeling, thought, and action" (p. 53). On the other hand, the prophet formulates a new message; but when this has been accepted, and become a part of the group life, people forget how novel the message was, and so the way is prepared for a new conservatism.

Emphasizing the value and dignity of both priestly and prophetic interests, Dr. Hall does not idealize them, for he admits that neither has a full-rounded outlook on religion and life. But he goes on to show that in the spiritual and material achievements which make up the story of human life, the priestly and prophetic interests have constantly functioned "in a thousand ways hidden from the ordinary and superficial onlooker" (p. 91). It is the profounder aspect of religion which Dr. Hall seeks to bring especially to our attention.

Study of the subject in this way brings up the matter of religion as a present-day problem. "It is easy," he writes, "to raise the question whether religion has not fulfilled its function, and now hands over its work to other and more modern interests" (p. 97). He points out that the union of Church and State has always put the priestly element in the foreground, and that religion itself has never been wholly identified with ecclesiasticism; and he continues: "The function of a priestly church almost inevitably brings it sooner or later into

conflict with religion on its prophetic revelatory side" (p. 97). And while the thought of religion as the exclusive group bond has more or less passed away in our own times, and while the older conception of the priestly state is really gone, even in Roman Catholic countries, there is no evidence to show that religion has less hold over us than it had over the past. "If religion is a vast illusion, it is one that shows no signs at present of abatement, but, rather, is manifesting its vitality in a way even more striking and dramatic than in the time of Mohammed or the Crusades" (p. 104).

Having conducted us up to this result, Dr. Hall pauses to consider various types of religious development, somewhat after the manner of Professor James in *Varieties of Religious Experience*, his main thought being that religion appears under different forms. The remainder of the argument turns around the relation between religion and ethics, and the place of religion in the modern state.

Some of his final thoughts are these: "Religion has not explained our universe any more than science has, but it has co-ordinated it, and in ever more satisfying form enabled us to conceive of it as rational and purposeful" (p. 131). "Faith interpenetrates all life. Its meaning for life is all-important and all-embracing. Those who turn away from the subject in ignorant indifference know no real history and miss the clue to man's deepest psychology, and the key to the mystery of life and death" (p. 155).

It is not our purpose to set forth in detail the arguments employed nor the conclusions reached in this book, but rather to herald the book itself. It is full of homiletic suggestion, scientific insight, and real devotional value; and it is welcome as giving expression to the newer thought and feeling of the age on this high theme.

BOOK NOTICES

Persistent Problems of Philosophy. By Mary Whiton Calkins, Professor in Wellesley College. New York: Macmillan, 1912. Pp. xxvi+577. \$2.50.

This noteworthy and useful book has now gone into its third edition. It has proved to be of large service to students of philosophy, and has been widely commended by specialists. It is an introduction to philosophy through a study of the *problems* which have engaged the attention of great modern thinkers, such as Descartes, Hobbes, Leibniz, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Spinoza, Fichte, Schelling, Schopenhauer, and Hegel. It has a valuable appendix, of more than one hundred closely printed pages, containing biographies and bibliographies of modern philosophers, together with summaries and discussions. Written in a clear and attractive style, the book is adapted both to the needs of general students and of clergymen who seek to familiarize themselves with the religious phase of modern thought. It sets forth, directly and vividly, the opening out of the human mind in breaking away from the dogmatism and scholasticism of mediaeval times. The biographical studies heighten the attractiveness of the volume.

Training the Boy. By William A. McKeever, Professor of Philosophy in Kansas State Agricultural College. New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. xviii+368. Illustrated. \$1.50.

This is another good sign of the present awakening to the boy and his needs. The book is not a product of theory, but of practical experience. The author has already published a book nearly as large on *Farm Boys and Girls*; and the present work is dedicated to his "third son." Professor McKeever looks at the boy not only from the standpoints of scientific and practical investigation, but with the eye of fatherhood. His volume is really a kind of boy-encyclopedia. It approaches the subject from apparently all points of view; and includes full bibliographies, together with thirty-five illustrations. It ought to find its way into the hands of ministers and social workers who are interested in this vital theme.

The Word and the World. Pastoral Studies for the Modern Preacher. By Rev. John Wakeford, B.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912. Pp. xii+211. \$1.20.

As its title-page indicates, this is a book on pastoral theology. It is English, and is written from the standpoint of the "Establishment."

On taking it up, our first impulse is to say that the American minister, or even the British Non-conformist minister, can glean but little from the volume. Yet religious leaders, like workers in other spheres, can always profit by "cross-fertilization of culture." One who is not a member of the official English church, and whose activity lies in a different part of the religious field, can find stimulus and inspiration in this treatise, looking at the world as it does through the eyes of an earnest Anglican priest. The book turns out to be quite a study of the social changes now sweeping over English religion; and in this respect, the appended questionnaire, addressed to men engaged in active parish work in various parts of England and Wales, is particularly interesting. The answers of these men form one of the most instructive features of the discussion. No one who will go carefully through the book can fail to derive much benefit.

Victory in Christ. By Robert F. Horton, D.D. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1912. Pp. 116. \$0.50.

A devotional study which undertakes to show "how to make the daring venture of the victorious life." Dr. Horton's tender message will comfort those who are discouraged, and will increase the faith of those who already know the victory in Christ. He unites appreciation of modern scholarship with a sane realization of the meaning of Jesus Christ and the Scriptures. In the chapter on Bible-study, he testifies that criticism has given him nothing but help in the reading of the Bible for practical and religious purposes; that it has removed far more difficulties than it has created; that it has got rid of traditional interpretations and views which were a real hindrance to the living truth; and that it seems to have given new life and freshness to parts of the Bible which had seemed lifeless or meaningless. Emphasizing a fact which can hardly be insisted upon too often, he points out that, whether the Scriptures are looked at from the old or the new standpoint, they have the unique quality of bringing us to God and of bringing God to us. More and more the religious leaders of today are seeing this truth. As a result, books like Dr. Horton's are multiplying, and must gradually but steadily replace the older type of devotional literature.

Prayer and the Human Problem. By Rev. W. Arthur Cornaby. New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912. Pp. viii+306. \$1.50.

How can man achieve actual, personal comradeship with God? This age-old problem of religion is treated in a fresh and original way

by the author. He tells us that the volume "has grown out of early morning quietude, during some months of enforced holiday spent upon a mountain in central China, and later upon the Canadian shores of the Pacific, when sacred thoughts came almost unbidden." Although the book establishes nothing new, its manner of approach, suggested by an experience not common to Christians, gives novel hints and insights into the subject of prayer.

Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt. By James Henry Breasted. New York: Scribner, 1912. Pp. xviii+379. \$1.50.

A number of scholarly and able treatises on Egyptian religion have appeared in recent years, notably those of Erman, Steindorff, and Wiedemann. This new book by Professor Breasted, however, marks an advance on previous work of the kind, not only because it makes use of sources not so fully available to earlier expounders of Egyptian religion, but because its general conception and method bring the treatment of the subject into line with modern sociological and psychological interpretations of history. Egyptian thoughts about the gods, duty, the spirit-world, and life after death are correlated with the great process of Egyptian evolution as it moves forward magistically out of the dim, prehistoric age and finally merges in the wide stream of world-history. The book is adapted to the needs of both scholar and layman; and it is of special interest and value as a comparative study for the use of those who are following out the development of Hebrew-Christian religion from the standpoint of historical criticism. Some of the chapter titles are: "Nature and the State Make Their Impression on Religion—Earliest Systems"; "Life after Death—The Sojourn in the Tomb—Death Makes Its Impression on Religion"; "Realms of the Dead—The Pyramid Texts—The Ascent to the Sky"; "The Earliest Celestial Hereafter"; "Emergence of the Moral Sense—Moral Worthiness and the Hereafter"; "The Social Forces Make Their Impression on Religion—The Earliest Social Regeneration"; "Popularization of the Old Royal Hereafter—Triumph of Osiris—Conscience and the Book of the Dead—Magic and Morals"; "The Imperial Age—The World State Makes Its Impression on Religion—Earliest Monotheism"; "The Age of Personal Piety—Sacerdotalism and Final Decadence."

The Christian Conception of God. By Walter F. Adeney. New York: Revell, 1912. Pp. 273. \$1.00.

The author is principal of Lancashire College, Manchester, and has done high-grade work in biblical introduction and in church history before writing this treatise. His book

on *The Greek and Eastern Churches* in "The International Theological Library," and his volumes on Christ and the New Testament are ample proof of his ability, and of his preparation for work in the field of Christian theology proper. He treats the subject under such heads as the following: "Christ the Source"; "Other Sources"; "God as the Father of All"; "Personality"; "Immanence and Transcendence"; "The Incarnation"; "The Holy Spirit"; "The Trinity"; "The Mystic, the Church, and the Creed." Without indorsing the entire treatment, we have no hesitation in saying that it will be welcome to ministers and students who have been somewhat perplexed by recent tendencies in theological scholarship. Principal Adeney writes in view of modern scientific results, and his spirit is that of the constructive liberal. The book inevitably suggests comparison with the late W. N. Clarke's *Christian Doctrine of God*. Both Clarke and Adeney are modern in standpoint; but they approach the subject of Christian theology from different angles. Dr. Adeney's treatment of the problems, clustering around the terms "immanent," "absolute," "infinite," and "personal," in connection with the idea of God, will probably satisfy more readers than do the corresponding sections in Clarke.

It is a matter of much significance that a book of this kind should be published as a number in "The Christian Faith and Doctrine Series," which carries with it in some sense the moral, if not the intellectual, prestige of the British National Free Church Council, in spite of the disclaimer in the note facing chap. i. The general editor, Rev. F. B. Meyer, has not been identified with the type of scholarship indicated by the treatise; and we seem to find here another of the many signs of growing co-operation between different schools of Christian thought in the awakening church of today. It is becoming more difficult every year to produce religious literature of a kind that will command the respect of the rising generation of students, and the attention of thoughtful and scholarly men, without working in view of the standpoints represented by such writers as Principal Adeney and several others whose names appear on the list of contributors to this series.

The Religion of Science. The Faith of Coming Man. By James W. Lee. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: F. H. Revell, 1912. 2d ed. Pp. 307. \$1.50.

This volume proceeds from the author's appreciation of the vast practical achievements of modern science, upon the one hand, and from his experience of the satisfying practical values of the Christian religion upon the other. He seeks, therefore, to validate Christianity as *the* religion

of science, by showing that it answers to the demands of the ethical and spiritual life, with the same practical conclusiveness as do the doctrines of science answer to the needs of the material, animal life. Hence the doctrines of Christianity in their organic unity constitute a spiritual, religious science, just as truly as do those of natural science constitute one of material, sensible things.

The author has arrived, somewhat prematurely perhaps, at the conviction that "The science of religion" has completed its labors, and has discovered *the idea* underlying all religions. Christianity, he thinks, is also shown to be the perfect realization of this fundamental idea. What the author considers this idea to be, and what, therefore, constitutes essential Christianity upon the doctrinal side will be apparent from the following citations: "The essential Christ, who in the beginning was called the Word (or the Logos) is the Eternal Center of every man's life. He was, and is, the One through whom the many come into being, and he gives to each the qualities that make him an individual and also the collective relations that make him a part of a wondrous human whole. . . . Christ is the universal burning reality underlying all religion. . . . But for him at the core of all human life, the peoples of the earth would have never sought the Lord, . . ." (pp. 265, 266).

Thus does our author affirm the Logos Christology as the essential foundation of an interpretation which is to satisfy the thought of an age which is "speaking and thinking in accordance with standards erected by the scientific method" (p. 48). Many will think a much stronger case could be made out for Christianity as the religion of science, by the use of a more scientific method, as distinguished from one essentially dogmatic and dialectical.

The book is rich in illustrative material, and manifests a fervent religious spirit.

Rudolf Eucken's Message to Our Age. By Henry C. Sheldon. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1913. Pp. 55. \$0.35.

Professor Sheldon quotes characteristic passages from Eucken's works, interweaving comment and criticism of his own. The booklet will be wanted by ministers and others who wish to know what Eucken stands for and why he has made such a noticeable impression. After be-

coming acquainted with him through this introduction, many will want to go farther, and familiarize themselves with his writings. This is a good exhibit of the outstanding aspects of Eucken's thought, showing how he points out and emphasizes the remedy for the spiritual deficiency of the present age.

Professor Barton's little volume, *The Heart of the Christian Message* (Macmillan, \$1.25), is one of those little volumes that exhibits compactly, and in capital literary style, the result of wide reading. Starting with the message of Jesus, Professor Barton sets forth the Christian message, as preached by Paul and John, the Eastern church, the Western church, the reformers, the early friends, and the twentieth century. The central message is the great privilege of personal union with God, of becoming his fellow-worker in completing the evolution of humanity. It is a valuable little book for one who wishes to study the forest of Christian thought without getting lost among the trees of histories of doctrines. And, after all, the more one studies Christian doctrine, the more one is convinced that behind all its theologies and institutions, Christianity has really had this one great aim—the bringing of the soul into inward relation with the actual God of the universe.

The Macmillan Company has recently issued a volume by R. Fulton Cutting, entitled *The Church and Society*, consisting of last year's lectures on the Kennedy Foundation at the New York School of Philanthropy. The volume concerns itself with demonstrating the part which the church has played, is playing, and should play in the progress of present-day society. A perusal of these pages goes to show that the church deserves more credit for social altruism than the hostile critic is sometimes willing to give it. The volume is the result of a very elaborate first-hand investigation on the part of Mr. Cutting and his secretary of the work which the church is actually doing. It therefore has the advantage of not being in theory as important, but is an induction from actual facts. The partial list of the books will show the range of treatment—"The Church and the Public School," "The Police," "Public Health," "The Children," etc. In addition the various social enterprises of the individual churches are treated in the second part.

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GOOD PEOPLE AND THEIR VACATIONS

Vacation may be a blessing or a task, something to be hoped for or something to be dreaded. To many of us it means only being uncomfortable in a new way; to others it means rest and recreation; to still others it is a source of spiritual debility.

The philosophy of vacation is simple. We leave our usual interests and ways of living, our duties and anxieties, and find rest for our tired nerve centers in other ways of living, in other places, and in play.

Really, different sorts of vacations should be prescribed to different sorts of people, as physicians fit their doses to men's ills. City people ought to go into the country; country people ought to go into the city. People who usually have no time to think ought to go to summer schools and chautauquas. Those who think too much ought to turn farmers, or go fishing, or even vegetate. The reformer of society should become acquainted with his wife and children and practice domesticity.

But just how far can this reversal of life in the interests of more effective living be carried? Shall men who devote themselves sincerely and actively to religious work during eleven months in the year grow frivolous on the twelfth? Unfortunately, many of them seem to think it necessary. It would be difficult to overestimate the frivolity into which good people go in the name of rest only to have their ideals cheapened upon crowded bathing-beaches, in dance halls, and on gossiping hotel verandas. For far too many good people vacation periods mean the vulgarizing of life.

It is bad enough for this to come to people without ideals, but it is worse when it spreads to church members. We have to organize rally days and set in motion special machinery for generating enthusiasm before the rank and file of our church members overcome

the inertia of vacation. Barring ministers who have to preach in order to pay their expenses, few good people need fear nervous prostration because of moral overstrain in vacation.



If religion is needed for death-beds it is needed for vacations. For it is not one of the conventions we leave behind when we go into the country. There is no burglar policy for shut-up souls.

And yet the requirements of the vacation season are not very strenuous and are so elementary that they seem to be axiomatic.

Good people should at least go to church on their vacations. There is many a little community that would gain markedly in moral vigor if its summer visitors attended church services.

Christians on vacation ought to maintain their Christian principles. There is many a country village whose morals suffer because of the carelessness of good people from the city.

Christians ought not to do on vacation what other people ought not to do the rest of the year. An earnest life cannot excuse itself if because of its moments of relaxation other lives lose something of the sense of righteousness and purity and the seriousness of life.

A man does not need to become a pagan on vacation in order to become a more efficient Christian during the rest of the year.



The moral order knows nothing of half-holidays, week ends, and of the calendar generally. If good people are to keep their moral virility they will not yield to the seductions of the "silly season." Even though, like the apostles, they go apart to rest awhile, they will have the Master for their companion. And it is amazing how much fun good people can have without losing their principles.

ONE CONTRIBUTION WHICH ART MAKES TO RELIGION

WALTER SARGENT

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"All things are yours" should be the motto of religion. There is no field of human interest which it does not touch; there is no realm of human endeavor from which it cannot be approached. In the April number of the BIBLICAL WORLD we published an article by Professor J. M. Coulter on the "Contribution of Biology to Religion." The present article by Professor Sargent is in a very different field, but serves to illustrate the same great principle that life is one and that its interests both serve and are sanctified by faith in God. Protestantism has never approved of the large use of art in religion which marks the services of the Roman Catholic church, but Professor Sargent shows that it is an ally of religion in that it gives men the assurance of a world of spiritual realities which science, with its strictly intellectual standards, sometimes fails to recognize.

Art has made a direct contribution to religion by developing forms of architecture and of decoration which constitute a suitable setting for religious ceremonies, and by embodying certain spiritual experiences in material form, as in pictures and music. While in these ways art tends to reinforce a religious experience already active, investigation leads one to doubt whether it often directly awakens religious experience or raises ethical standards. It appears to be unmoral, and to quicken and make less gross whatever emotional life is present regardless of whether that life is good or bad. It is a subtilizing but not necessarily an uplifting influence.

It is not the intention of this paper, however, to deal with this obvious contribution, but to present some considerations upon another, of a more indirect nature, which art makes to the problems which confront one who believes that science and religion are supplementary rather than competing factors in human

experience, and who endeavors to reconcile the two points of view without a compromise which robs either of its vitality.

The Difference between the Scientific and the Religious Point of View

The following discussion assumes that, beneath all minor considerations, the fundamental difference between the scientific and the religious points of view is this: that the scientific point of view regards as knowledge only those matters which have been conclusively demonstrated by an impartial analysis of all the available facts, while the religious attitude regards the dynamic element in the universe, which we call life, to be of such a nature that man can come into sympathetic relations with it, and can receive, by way of more or less direct response, forms of insight that cannot be gained by intellectual analysis. The scientific point of view may make full allowance for the limited range of its

data, and the possibility of errors in conclusions, which must be revised in the light of new facts, but it insists that in the building-up of this method of procedure by intellectual analysis lies the only possibility of man's escape from mental confusion and from slavery to his surroundings. The religious outlook may realize fully the tendency of its belief to harbor dark superstitions and empty or positively harmful vagaries, but it insists that a degree of authority must be allowed to the voice of inner assurance, this mystic response in the presence of reality. The young person in whose early life religion has been a prominent factor, but who comes later to recognize the necessity for a scientific attitude of mind, is obliged to face these apparently rival claims with perfect frankness if he is to hold a religious point of view and at the same time maintain an intellectual scrupulousness which will not allow him to overlook the full significance of facts.

The complexity of the increasing flow of his impressions and experiences has always threatened to overwhelm man in mental confusion unless he could find some rational interpretation of them and some plan for clarifying and dealing effectually with them. The religious and the scientific approach represent the two methods of procedure which have been tried. One is emotional and personal; the other intellectual and impersonal. The results have differed so essentially that their variations throw a good deal of light on the problem. The first of these methods, which was the most primitive type of explanation, was to consider all phenomena as the work of personality akin

to his own, whose good will was to be cultivated and whose wrath was to be appeased. One marked tendency of this interpretation in terms of superhuman personalities, was toward resignation of responsibility for conditions; a cultivation of contentment with the existing situation, on the ground that it was expressive of divine will, not to be questioned. This view, therefore, often proved to be a sort of intellectual opiate. On the other hand, it was an emotional stimulant which led to a range of activities extending from the sublimest self-sacrifice to the most revolting cruelty and oppression.

When science approached the problem of interpretation and classification, its method was radically different. It assumed responsibility and set about systematically to master circumstances. It examined conditions to discover their nature and the laws which govern them, in order that it might deal with them intelligently and effectively, unhindered by the fear of offending any higher intelligence. It was a powerful stimulus to the intellect but tended to put the emotions in the background.

As scientific methods developed they proved capable of contributing to many needs which religion was supposed to meet. For example, science furnishes a joy and peace in everyday life in place of that which religion essayed to give. A woman struggling with the burden of household affairs might turn aside to invoke relief, to pray or sing a hymn or read a poem, and return refreshed by this brief escape from dull routine into a realm of different and inspiring experiences. Modern domestic science, however, enables her to handle her daily

problem systematically and effectively and introduces elements of pleasure and interest into the work itself. Incidentally it allows her more time for the so-called spiritual pleasures if she still feels the need of them. In house and farm and factory scientific methods promise to lift burdens and bring freedom and pleasure. Railroads and telephones sometimes appear to promote brotherhood more rapidly than do church services, and commerce promises to do away with war.

These results are universally acknowledged to be good. They co-operate with religion and do not contradict its essential affirmation, namely, that at heart the universe is intelligent and beneficent. The modern scientific method is increasingly likely to appear, on first view, as the only procedure justified by facts, and as fairly adequate, potentially at least, to deal with all human conditions. The real problem presented for religion appears when it is discovered that, in the fields already analyzed, science shows that the workings of nature seem to be wholly mechanistic. Whatever opinion we may hold regarding the source of natural forces, we know that we can use them, and that they will serve us impartially for good or evil. This compels one to face the fact that things appear to occur by law unmodified by any overruling sympathy or interest, except where the human intellect takes the situation in hand. When one contemplates the wonderful development of life-forms, admirable from a human point of view, he is obliged to remember the equally wonderful development of noxious insects and of deadly disease germs. For example, one views with astonish-

ment the ingenious and elaborate perfection of the mosquito to act not only as a common pest but as a carrier of mortal disease.

The Religious Inefficiency of the Scientific Point of View

As one, however, listens to the explanatory suggestion that these things may be challenges to call forth man's best intellectual powers in overcoming them, he is tempted to feel that many of the challenges are liberally supplied with seemingly unnecessarily exasperating features. The argument that law must be impartial to be relied upon calls to mind incidents where apparently law need not be infringed in order to save suffering, and yet the suffering occurs. The loss of a great ship may be needed to teach men caution, but the lesson would seem to be sufficient if an overruling Providence should place the rescuing ship a few miles nearer. There seems often to be an irony of the elements when flood is followed by fire and fire by bitter cold. The fact that every beneficent event has been led up to by an indefinitely long series of preparatory causes gives slight satisfaction, because the same is true of every destructive event, or of any event whatsoever. Scientific experience soon hints that feelings of reverence and worship are survivals of primitive attitudes toward the yet unknown, and that these feelings will retreat before the advance of analytic methods. The only religious hope which the intellect appears to have left lies in the fact of the vast ranges of unexplored reality, which may reveal an explanation as to why the universe is managed in a manner so different from that by which we would order it, were we to do so

according to the best light of human judgment. When, however, one reluctant to give up a religious attitude argues with himself that science is still in its infancy and indefinitely far from a discovery of the source of things, and that the source will forever defy analysis and claim reverence, his intellect replies that, so far as science has gone, the retreat of any material sign of sympathy on the part of the universe has been sufficiently uniform, and the range of material tested has been sufficiently typical to justify a probability that similar results will continue to characterize the whole course of intellectual progress.

These materialistic suggestions are, of course, not conclusive. In view of the inconceivable vastness and complexity of the universe, one sometimes feels that we are justified in saying that as yet we know nothing. When trying to conceive why an omnipotent intelligence should allow progress toward what we consider as better conditions to be so slow, one may find some suggestions from history. Today we ourselves consider that it is ultimately better to allow laws to continue effective even though they fall into bad hands, than for any body of citizens, however capable of doing so, to transcend for the sake of some immediate good the laws they themselves have made, or to invite a benevolent despot to take matters into his own hands. One may then be willing to substitute, with all it implies, the term republic of God for the kingdom of God.

Nevertheless, unless we can find some confirmation of a type radically different from that gained by conclusions from an impartial examination of appearances,

the following situation is evident. On the one hand, religion will appear to be looking for its intellectual justification to what may be found in the fields yet unexplored by science, while science, on the other hand, is presenting a steadily increasing accumulation of facts which suggest an impersonal mechanistic interpretation of events. The universe appears deaf to direct appeals and responsive only to management by intellectual processes. To remain a believer in any other than scientific methods of approach to truth and still maintain a genuine intimacy with facts is not a simple problem.

Throughout its history, however, religion has put forward claims that a way essentially different from that of scientific processes is open to direct knowledge of certain relations of the universe to the individual—a way which consists in an immediate sympathetic response between the individual and his surroundings. Religion insists that this inner assurance is a positive experience awakened by a spiritual life wider than that of the individual who responds to it. Instead of feeling any necessity of awaiting the possibility of future confirmation by scientific discoveries in the range of the yet unknown, it frankly claims that there are highly significant ranges of experience which are closed to approach by methods of analysis and must be revealed, if at all, by the sympathetic response they awaken. It is the claim of the prophets who say that God speaks to them.

This claim marks the essential difficulty in reconciling the religious with the scientific point of view. At this point they appear to many earnest students to

part company, to challenge each the other's method, and to demand renunciation of the one as the price of any genuine hold upon the other. The antithesis between the two points of view may be summarized as follows.

The scientific point of view tends to the conclusion that all that can seriously be regarded as knowledge is the result of rigid and unimpeachable lines of demonstration. The only trustworthy approach to the problems of existence is that of patient and exact intellectual analysis. Objective proof should precede acceptance of any belief. The religious point of view claims that there are realms of reality where intuition is authoritative and will stand the test of later intellectual analysis. These realms, moreover, cannot be entered by analytical methods. Acceptance because of inner assurance must precede objective proof. The boundaries of what has been analyzed do not always extend to, or coincide with, the boundaries of what is known.

How Art Authenticates Religious Experience

An instance, capable of concrete proof, where ranges of experience apparently closed to scientific approach had been opened up by immediate emotional response would help to authenticate the kind of experience which religion claims, and thus would have a significant bearing upon the question in hand.

Now the fine arts do furnish such an instance. For example, good proportions, fine curves, and harmonious color relations are determined by being felt out. Scientific methods can analyze the results and discover some of the prin-

ciples involved but these methods could not have taken the initiative in projecting those results. The ranges of experience which have found expression and embodiment in the fine arts would probably have remained undeveloped, had scientific methods been the only valuable methods at human command for dealing effectively with experience.

The assurance with which the scientist announces that typhoid fever is caused by a certain bacillus appears to have been reached by an avenue wholly different from that which brought to the artist Whistler the assurance on the basis of which he pronounced certain combinations of colors and forms to be true art. Both, however, announced facts that were later demonstrated to be of practical value. One pointed the way of progress from primitive to effective ways of battling with disease; the other showed how more effectually to quicken those aesthetic emotions which tend, with each new refinement, to reinforce higher levels of consciousness.

The Basis of Assurance of Art

It is a matter of considerable interest to compare the confident statements of great artists and musicians with those of great spiritual prophets. Whistler, realizing that what he felt to be aesthetically right was not generally accepted, and knowing the hopelessness of trying to prove scientifically what he felt artistically, is credited with saying: "I am not arguing the matter, I am simply telling you." He was at work exploring a field where the assurance based upon the direct reaction of a finely attuned organism has been proved to be the safest guide and the ultimate authority. Job,

in the face of an aggregation of adverse facts and opinions, said: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him." Whitman asserts, "I know I shall not pass like a child's carlecue cut with a burnt stick at night," and again,

Wisdom is of the soul, is not susceptible
to proof, is its own proof. . . .

Something there is in the float of the sight
of things that provokes it out of
the Soul.

The history of music, painting, and architecture demonstrates that the arts furnish concrete objective proof that there are ranges of experience which cannot be entered by processes of intellectual analysis, although they may later be reinforced by them, but where immediate emotional response must be the guide, and where the final outcome of its leadings will stand the test of analysis.

When facts of this sort are examined, one feels intellectually justified in concluding that the tendency of the scientific point of view, to regard the significant division of reality as being, on the one hand, the already analyzed and classified, and on the other, that which still awaits analysis, must be supplemented by another, namely, that of the analyzable and the unanalyzable—that which can be approached and understood by processes of analysis, and that which can be approached only by being directly experienced.

In other words, one finds two valid methods of dealing with his experiences, methods which are not competitive but supplementary and each of unique importance in its own field. One eliminates emotions so far as possible and proceeds by processes of relatively

impersonal analysis and conclusion. The other depends on direct response and sympathetic insight. Each method has its proper functions, its limitations, its possibilities, and its peculiar pitfalls. One is likely to content itself with post-mortem examinations and mechanistic interpretations; the other is in danger of being led away into vagaries and vaporings. Neither appears entirely disengaged from the other. They are distinguished, not absolutely, but in proportion as one in any particular situation regards himself as a dynamic instrument to be intelligently and effectively directed, or as a vibratory instrument to be finely attuned. The intellect grasps, and can grasp, only part of experience. The whole contains other elements which must be laid hold of, if at all, in other ways. These other elements might be disregarded, as indeed an extreme materialistic point of view sometimes does attempt to disregard them, were it not for the fact of their actual pressure in experience and their very definite influence upon behavior.

We all recognize that in the past men have attempted to deal emotionally with many things that should have been handled intellectually. For example, religion has attempted with disastrous results to settle by invoking direct personal intervention of supernatural powers problems that lent themselves to scientific solution. An opposite mistake is possible, to seek to approach by processes of detailed dissection those matters which, to be known, must be experienced.

While art may not contribute directly to higher ethical standards, it does furnish an interesting objective proof

that there are ranges of significant experience which cannot be entered by processes of intellectual analysis, but where direct emotional response is authoritative and will stand the test of later criticism. The fine arts also tend

to quicken a highly complex type of emotional life and thus to refine those powers of sympathetic response which alone are capable of knowing God, but will know him only crudely unless they are attuned.

EZEKIEL'S HOLY STATE AND PLATO'S 'REPUBLIC'

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There are some people who are foolish enough to believe that all ideals of the past are outgrown and worthless. Particularly are we tempted to think that Ezekiel, if not Plato himself, belongs to an age that has become merely archaeological. But nothing could be farther from the truth. The great problems of the past are still the problems of today, and the teachings of men like Ezekiel and Plato, when once they are understood, still have inspiration. Professor Baldwin's comparison of the social ideals of these two great men of the past is something more than an antiquarian discussion. It is a study of the originators of much that is idealistic in our modern world.

That Plato's *Republic* was one of the most epoch-making books of the world there can, of course, be no question. Few books have been more influential. Almost every, if not every vision of "a world unrealized" written since, has owed more or less to that philosopher with the soul of a poet, who, as from some "tower of speculation," looked into the future, and saw "the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would

be." He it was who suggested such treatises as St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, and More's *Utopia*; and through the latter, Campanella's *Civitas Solis*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Harrington's *Oceana*, Hobbes's *Leviathan*, Sir John Eliot's *Monarchy of Man*, Hall's *Mundus alter et idem*, Filmer's *Patriarcha*, Butler's *Erewhon*, and Bellamy's *Looking Backward*.¹ Moreover the list is being continually supplemented by additions from

¹ Besides the speculative treatises mentioned above, we find another large group obviously inspired by the same original, but less speculative, and more playful in tone. To the latter class belong Barclay's *Argenis*, Bishop Goodwin's *Man in the Moon*, Bishop Wilkin's *Discovery of a World in the Moon*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Paltock's *Peter Wilkins*, and Lytton's *Coming Race*. A fairly complete bibliography may be found in the *Nova Solyma*, edited by Rev. Walter Begley, London, 1902, II, 36 ff. Probably the most complete discussion of the whole subject is to be found in the *Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus* by Dr. Robert Pöhlman, professor of ancient history in the University of Erlangen, two volumes, Munich, 1901. Many of the more playful Utopias are included in the *Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions, et romans cabalistiques*, 37 volumes. Paris, 1787.

the pens of men dissatisfied with things as they are, and dreaming of things as they think they ought to be. Indeed, so great has been the literary influence of Plato's book that there seems no reason to question the statement in a German work upon the ideal commonwealths,¹ in which the author says regarding the Greeks: "Sie bemühten sich, dem taumelnden Gange geographischer Träume eine festere Richtung zu geben, und auf sie ist irgendwie fast alles zurückzuführen, was in den letzten vierhundert Jahren in dieser Richtung geleistet worden ist."

While we may not question the value and influence of Plato's *Republic*, we may be justified in voicing a protest against the claim so often put forth that the book antedates all other ideal commonwealths. Such a claim has become almost a commonplace of criticism. Richard Garnett, for example, in his introduction to the "Everyman" edition of the *Republic*,² says of it, "It was probably the first in which full expression was given to the longing which must of necessity arise in the human heart when the cosmos and the individual appear

at odds, so tersely expressed in Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyám*:

Ah Love! could you and I with Fate conspire

To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would we not shatter it to bits—and then
Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's Desire?"

In making this assertion Richard Garnett simply echoed what has often been claimed. In the *Schlaraffia Politica* just referred to, we find in the beginning of the chapter on Plato's *Republic* (p. 7):

Auch hier, wenn wir die Staatsgebilde der Phantasie betrachten, muss sich das Blick zuerst auf Hellas richten. Gewiss ist die Vorstellung einer idealen Welt eine allgemein menschliche, und man kann die Gestellung der Gedanken darüber in altindischen Erzählungen, in arabischen Reise-romanen und bei allen Völkern verfolgen.³ Aber die Griechen waren es, die jene Vorstellungen tiefer durchdachten.

Such statements are entirely misleading, for they fail to take account of an ideal commonwealth that preceded Plato's by some hundred and seventy-five years.⁴ This is Ezekiel's plan of a holy state which is embodied in the last

¹ The German work referred to is the *Schlaraffia Politica*, published anonymously at Leipzig in 1892.

² *The Republic of Plato in Ten Books Translated from the Greek by H. Spens, D.D.*, Introduction, p. xii.

³ The expression of a longing for a better state of society, and an attempt to delineate an ideal social condition is certainly as old as literature itself. We find it in the Greek epic, in Homer's account of the island of the Phaeacians, who are described (*Od.* vi-viii) as living a life of undisturbed happiness far from the turmoil of the world, and from the madding crowd's ignoble strife. It is a kind of maritime Utopia, and is, probably, the source of the later legends of Atlantis.

⁴ The exact date of Plato's *Republic* is uncertain. We know that he died in 347 B.C. The book seems to have been known in 393, for in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, a play acted in that year, some of the ideas found in the *Republic*, such as the community of goods and of women, are mercilessly ridiculed. Yet this evidence as to the date is inconclusive. For a discussion of it, see James Adam's edition of the *Republic*, I, 351 ff.

eight chapters¹ of the book that bears his name.

The neglect to take account of Ezekiel's holy state is the more amazing because its influence has been so great. Influential as Plato's *Republic* has been on literature, its effect upon the thought of the modern world is negligible in comparison to that exerted by Ezekiel's holy state, for the latter is the source of those ideals of Christendom associated with the phrase "the kingdom of God."² It is to him that the world owes the idea of a theocracy—the idea of a state in which God is the supreme ruler exercising his authority through the priests or ministers. It is an ideal that has appeared repeatedly in human history—in the rule of the popes in the Middle Ages, and in the Puritan sects of the seventeenth century like the "Fifth Monarchy Men" of the period of the Commonwealth in England. Indeed the Puritan commonwealth itself was, in part, an attempt to realize the ancient hope of Israel of a kingdom of the saints, a kingdom of God on earth. Such attempts have invariably failed, as the Puritan "kingdom of the saints" failed when the return of the Stuarts caused it to pass like a dream away, and as such schemes must always fail so long as human nature is what it is. For the

realization of Ezekiel's dream there is required such a citizenship as he assumed of men on whom God has bestowed a new heart and a new mind, who sin only unawares, and on whom, therefore, no punishment save an ecclesiastical penance need ever be imposed.

Though, of course, there is no connection between Plato's *Republic* and Ezekiel's holy state, there is, broadly speaking, a remarkable resemblance between them. Though it is to Ezekiel and not to Plato that the world owes the long-deferred hope of a kingdom of God on earth, such a hope was not peculiar to Ezekiel, but was Plato's also. His city of the perfect is, like Ezekiel's, a *civitas Dei*. It is a celestial commonwealth, a *παράδειγμα ἐν οὐρανῷ*,³ he calls it, a likeness of a celestial city. And the object of its corporate life is to furnish to every citizen the maximum of opportunity to grow Godlike. To Plato the crowning glory of human life, the process by which our mortal nature puts an immortality, is by becoming like to God, *ὁμοίωσις τῷ θεῷ*. And such an ideal in its political application means the establishment of a kingdom of God on earth—a kingdom wherein dwelleth righteousness, *ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ*.⁴

It is this transcendentalism, common

¹ These chapters belong to the second period of the prophet's ministry, that is, they were written some time within the period which opened six months after the fall of Jerusalem (January, 585 B.C.) and 570 B.C.

² See Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, pp. 80 ff.; Montefiore, *The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (Hibbert Lectures, 1892) pp. 321 ff.; Skinner, "Ezekiel" (*Expositor's Bible*); Kraetzschmar, *Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament*; Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 123.

³ *Rep.* 592.

⁴ By "justice" Plato really means righteousness. It is not a pale abstraction but the root and source of all virtue—the condition and the means of growing like to God. See Nettleship, *Lectures and Remains*, II, 221; and Adam, *The Vitality of Platonism*, pp. 66–67.

to Ezekiel and Plato, this faculty of making us

. . . . breathe in worlds

To which the heaven of heavens is but a veil,

that is responsible for a further resemblance between the two commonwealths. Both are ideal pictures, impossible of realization, and were so regarded by their authors. It is significant that most authors of "Utopias," such as More, Bacon, and Campanella, represent their ideal commonwealths as already existing, and needing only to be described, whereas both Ezekiel and Plato present their conception of a perfect state as existent only in thought. Each is content to remain wholly an idealist; neither makes the slightest claim to be a practical politician. Ezekiel's vision of a restored and happy Israel has been called "a sort of Messianic apocalypse, an ideal picture of what ought to come to pass, intended to suggest broad lines of progress rather than to indicate exact details."¹ Professor Cornill has pointed out² that Ezekiel's plan of a theocracy was entirely impracticable; in other words, was possible only when the Jews were a conquered and subject people, governed by a foreign power. Ezekiel tells us³ that he saw the plan of the holy city "in the visions of God," and Plato⁴ also speaks of his city of the perfect as one that exists in idea only, "for I do not think," he adds, "that there is such an one anywhere on earth. In heaven . . . there is laid up a pattern of such

a city; and he who desires may behold this, and beholding, may govern himself accordingly. But whether there really is, or ever will be such an one is of no importance to him; for he will act according to the laws of that city and of no other." "Nothing actually existing in this world," says Professor Jowitt in his introduction to *The Dialogues*, "at all resembles Plato's ideal state, nor does he himself imagine that such a state is possible." When asked how the ideal could be realized, he replied ironically,⁵ "When one son of a king becomes a philosopher," referring to his famous paradox in the *Republic*,⁶ "Until kings are philosophers, or philosophers are kings, cities will never cease from ill." Yet to think of the *Republic* as a mere exercise of fancy without any practical purpose is wholly to misunderstand Plato and his work. Plato, no less than Ezekiel, was trying to "suggest broad lines of progress," even though he did not expect that his own generation would travel very far along the road he had indicated. Asked whether there is any way of making the citizens believe in a certain theory, he answered, "Not in the present generation; I do not see any way of accomplishing this; but their sons may be made to believe, and their son's sons, and posterity after them."⁷

In their theoretical construction of a perfect state of society, and in their attempt to formulate the governing principles that ought to be regnant in that society, both Ezekiel and Plato

¹ Sanders and Kent, *Messages of Later Prophecy*, p. 114.

² *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 123-21.

³ Ezek. 40:2.

⁴ *Rep.* 591.

⁵ *Laws*, Book v.

⁶ *Rep.* 501.

⁷ *Rep.* 415.

wholly ignored existing conditions.¹ Both presupposed a change in the spirit and temper of the citizens who are to form the body politic. Ezekiel assumes that the members of the holy state will, at its beginnings, be people upon whom God has bestowed a new heart and a new mind, so that they will walk in the way of his commandments, and observe his laws. Though he does not assume that they have attained perfection, he does presuppose a citizenship of forgiven and sanctified souls, who err, if at all, only inadvertently. There is no mistaking his meaning:

For I will take you from among the nations, and gather you out of all the countries, and will bring you into your own land. And I will sprinkle clean water upon you and you shall be clean from all your filthiness; and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and you shall keep mine ordinances, and do them.²

This purified citizenship was to be the spiritual charge not of a king, for the function of the king was to disappear with the removal of war, and of the need of a supreme judge, but of a high priest and his subordinate ministers. These were to constitute a priestly caste,³ whose divinely sanctioned office no earthly king could take away. For the preservation of their ritual purity, Ezekiel provides most carefully. They are to wear no woolen garment; they must not approach a corpse, unless it be that of parent, child, brother, or

unmarried sister.⁴ On passing from the inner courts of the Temple, they are to lay aside their garments,⁵ "that they sanctify not the people with their garments," in other words, lest they mingle the sacred and the profane.

Plato, also, assumes that the citizens of the perfect state are to be, in Descartes' famous phrase, "on the side of the angels." Though they are not thought of as having yet attained even to the measurable sanctification assumed by Ezekiel as preliminary to the inauguration of his holy state, Plato does represent them as in a process of becoming lovers of justice under the leadership of philosophers who have themselves passed through a rigorous course of self-discipline. Plato pins his faith to the best instincts of an ethical aristocracy, just as Ezekiel had pinned his to the best instincts of an ecclesiastical aristocracy. Each believed in the collective sense of the most cultivated, most delicately perceptive, most spiritually minded people in the state. The fact that in Ezekiel's thought such a "remnant" meant a priestly aristocracy of morally educated men; and that in Plato's thought⁶ it meant an aristocracy composed of men educated physically, mentally, and morally is due merely to a difference of racial ideals.

But the idealism common to Ezekiel and Plato not only shows itself, in their evident belief in the perfectibility of human nature, but is even more apparent in their formulation of the principles that are to govern the new society.

¹ There is a striking difference in this respect between Plato and Aristotle, whose *Politics* is a practical discussion of the best form of government possible under existing conditions.

² 36:25-29.

³ See W. E. Addis, *Hebrew Religion*, pp. 230 ff.

⁴ 44:25.

⁵ 44:19.

⁶ *Rep.* 537-40.

The laws governing the holy state, as they are given in the last nine chapters of Ezekiel, are wholly ritual, and concern (a) the temple,¹ (b) the priests,² (c) the sacrifice,³ (d) times and seasons, the Sabbath, the new moons, and the three feasts.⁴ This very meager equipment of legislation was not, however, to be the only code possessed by the holy state. Although Ezekiel provides no code of laws for the guidance of the civil life of the community,⁵ because, obviously, with such a citizenship as he presupposes, none was needed, he evidently does assume that the regulations he gives will be supplemented by those embodied in the so-called "holiness code" contained in Leviticus.⁶ Again and again, as when he prescribes the laws that are to govern the life of the priests in the holy state, he expresses himself in terms so nearly identical with those of the Holiness Code as to prove not only that he was familiar with it, but that he regarded it as an authoritative basis of moral and religious life.⁷

A glance at the Holiness Code reveals its uniqueness. No legislation among other peoples, either ancient or modern, in the least resembles it. From them it differs in the fundamental conception

that underlay it, and, consequently, in the spirit of its enactments. The basic idea of Roman law, as expressed in its earliest code—that of the Twelve Tables—is the equality of rights of Roman citizens—"omnibus, summis, infimisque, jura aequare." The fundamental conception of this Hebrew law, on the other hand, was not one of rights, but of duty. Members of the new commonwealth of Israel were not to be, in the eyes of the law, citizens with rights to be conserved, but members of a family with mutual obligations to fulfil; and the obligation that included all the others was that of mutual forbearance and love. It is stated expressly in the Holiness Code:⁸ "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart. . . . Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy brother as thyself: I am Jehovah."⁹

Plato's scheme, though less ecclesiastical than Ezekiel's, is no less moral. Baron Bunsen is said to have remarked that the *Republic* is not so much a state as a church, or at least, a state and a church, and that the church is the superior and dominating element. At all events, Plato recognized that no per-

¹ 45:1-8.

² 44:4-10.

³ 42:13; 43:13-27; 44:24, 27; 45:17-46:11.

⁴ 44:24; 45:17-46:11.

⁵ No law in the modern sense of a body of enacted rules, recognized by a community as binding, existed in ancient Israel. The word the Hebrews used for law, *torah*, meant instruction, guidance, direction. It was a word of far wider application than our word "law," for it included both oral and written instruction, and was a general rule of life.

⁶ Lev., chaps. 17-26.

⁷ For a full list of these correspondences, see Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of Old Testament*, pp. 146-47. These are so numerous as to have led many to believe Ezekiel to have been the author of the Holiness Code.

⁸ Lev. 19; 17-18.

⁹ Some account of the debt of the modern world, both institutional and ethical, to the Priestly Code is given in my article in the *Biblical World* for July, 1912.

manent social life is possible except it be based on morality. Accordingly, we find the necessity of justice between man and man proved in the first of the ten books into which the treatise is divided.

And Plato's idea of justice is as remote from modern notions as Ezekiel's. It is not embodied in a concrete system of law. Indeed Plato's aversion to law is a constant and well-recognized feature of his political thought.¹ It is not surprising, therefore, to find Plato in the *Republic* considering the state as an ethical society, and its life as a moral life. The corporate life of the state he does not think of, any more than Ezekiel did, as based on a conception of rights, nor does he conceive of justice as the maintenance or correlation of the rights of its citizens. Impressed, as the Hebrews had been, with the truth that only the law written in the heart is really binding,² he would have the ruler as unfettered in his action as an artist in his creation. Consequently, both ruler and citizen are amenable to only one law—the law of justice. And justice is the will to concentrate on one's own sphere of duty (*τὸ αὐτοῦ πράττειν*)³ and not to meddle with another's sphere. Justice code not reside, therefore, in an external code, but in the heart of every member of the body politic who does his duty in his appointed place. In other words, the justice of the state is based upon the citizens' sense of duty. Nor is this sense of duty a mere *lumen siccum*, a dry light of reason. It is

inspired by the same inward principle that Ezekiel thought of as regnant in the hearts of the citizens of the holy city—the sense of brotherhood. The three classes into which he would divide society—rulers, soldiers, and workers—are each to be taught that their country is their mother; "they are, therefore, bound to advise for her good, and to defend her against attacks, and her citizens they are to regard as children of the earth, and their own brothers."⁴

So long as duty, that "stern daughter of the voice of God," speaks in the heart of each member of the community, both rulers and governed, the legislative function of the state wholly disappears in Plato's scheme, and only the executive function remains. Even this is confined to enforcing certain broad outlines of education. Ezekiel had placed implicit confidence in a "holy" priesthood; Plato relied in turn upon an intelligent board of education. The problem of Ezekiel's state was to make Jerusalem so "holy" a city that Jehovah would feel at home there; the problem of Plato's state was to carry out unchanged the scheme of education laid down by its founder.

Education, according to the Platonic ideal, had the same ultimate goal as Hebrew education—namely, the knowledge of God. Again and again did the Hebrew wise men formulate their belief that growth in wisdom meant a knowledge of God's works and ways here on the earth, and the turning of that knowledge to practical account. To the Hebrew

¹ See Barker, *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, p. 118.

² See Psalm 19.

³ See *Republic* (433): "You will remember the original principle of which we spoke at the foundation of the state, that every man . . . should practice one thing only, that being the thing to which his nature was most perfectly adapted; now justice is either this, or a part of this.

⁴ *Rep.* 414.

wise man the beginning and end of wisdom was the fear of the Lord, and to depart from evil was understanding.¹ That is, the Hebrew ideal of education was an ethical ideal, and its ultimate goal was righteousness of life.² No less ethical was the Platonic scheme of education, for its purpose is the knowledge of God, and its consummation is the growing like to him, *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ*.³ To Plato, no less than to the Hebrew sage, education meant a growth in righteousness. Speaking of Plato's scheme of education, Barker says:⁴

It is to gain the master-key of conduct and action, since all right conduct and proper action will be conformed and directed to the end which is the end of all things. This is the real sense in which virtue is knowledge. If this conception be personalized, we may say that the end of education is the realization of God: it is knowing that all things are one in Him, and doing in the light of that knowledge.

It is in the seventh book of the *Republic*⁵ that Plato outlines most clearly the stages of this growth in a "knowledge which shows the eternal nature in which is no variableness." One after another, he here enumerates the virtues that will be added, and the vices that will, like soiled garments, be laid aside, till finally the learner becomes ready "to raise the eye of the soul to the universal

light that lightens all things, and behold the absolute good; for that is the pattern according to which they are to order the state, and the lives of individuals, and the remainder of their own lives also."

In view of the fact that Ezekiel's holy state preceded Plato's scheme by nearly two centuries, a protest against designating the latter as the first book of its kind seems entirely justifiable. The reasonableness of such a protest becomes the more apparent upon a brief comparison of the two books, which reveals certain fundamental resemblances between the authors and their work. We find that both Ezekiel and Plato were transcendentalists, that they ignored existing conditions, that they believed in the perfectibility of the social organism through an educated aristocracy. Nor do we find that the resemblance ends with the idealism of the two authors. Each distrusted the efficacy of external law as a means of social betterment; and each substituted a moral principle, to be written, not on tables of stone, nor in the pages of a statute book, but in the fleshly tables of the heart of each loyal citizen. The Hebrew citizen was to be loyal to the ideal of holiness; the Greek, to the ideal of duty; and each, in his relations with his fellows, to the ideal of brotherhood.

Both Ezekiel and Plato have exerted, in somewhat different ways a powerful

¹ Prov. 1:7.

² Pictures illustrative of the Hebrew ideal of the perfectly educated man and woman are found in Job, chap. 31; Prov., chap. 31; and in several of the Psalms.

³ See Adam, *The Vitality of Platonism*, p. 33; Barker, *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, pp. 125-27; Nettleship, *Lectures on the Republic of Plato*, pp. 217 ff.; and Pater, *Plato and Platonism*, pp. 238-40.

⁴ *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, p. 127.

⁵ 485 ff.

influence upon the world's thought. To attempt to decide to which our debt is the greater would be a thankless task. The direct effect upon literature of Plato is probably greater than that of Ezekiel; but the latter has certainly

influenced more vitally the thought of common men. So potent has been his influence, that to continue to ignore the source of it would be blindness; and to continue to discredit it, in comparison with Plato's, would be folly.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND VITAL RELIGION

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The science of historical interpretation, during the last few decades, has made the Old Testament a new book for most of the present generation of cultivated folk. We do not expect to obtain from it guidance of the same sort as our fathers did, nor do we seek guidance in the same way. We understand perfectly that the Old Testament must be treated exactly like any other piece of literature, in that it must be allowed to tell its own story without let or hindrance. But some of the larger results of the adoption of the historical point of view seem to have failed thus far to find very general recognition. The purpose of the present paper is to lay emphasis upon one or two of these neglected issues.

One of the most significant things in the Old Testament is the attitude toward truth therein reflected. The Old Testament worthies respect the past; yea, reverence it. They never tire of reference to it; they glory in their history. It is to them a never-failing fount of

information and inspiration. They never dream of such a thing as ignoring their traditions. They could not and would not make an absolute break with the accumulated experience of preceding centuries. But, on the other hand, they did not blindly worship the past. They did not allow it to take such complete possession of them as to render them incapable of appreciating the present, or of making progress toward the future. They valued the past for what it had to teach them about God and about life; but they never regarded it as being the repository of all knowledge, or the full and complete guidebook for all time to come. They did not turn their backs toward the future, with their eyes glued upon the past. Their attitude, indeed, was quite the reverse; it was one of expectation, anticipation, hope. They were ever looking eagerly, longingly, confidently for new light to flash forth from above. They were decidedly receptive toward

new ideas. They did not attempt to open "the future's golden portals with the past's blood-rusted key."

The history of Hebrew literature clearly demonstrates this. It is a history of revisions. New editions of the old truths were constantly in demand. We have only to call to mind the three great editions of the Hebrew law, each of them practically a rewriting of the old lawbook. In between these great editions there was constantly going on a process of correction and expansion in preparation for a new code. All this was in response to the growth of knowledge and the ever-changing needs of the time. The law of Israel was not the cold, dead thing that it is so commonly conceived to have been; it was a vital organism, in closest touch with the growing life of the nation. It was not too sacred and holy for the touch of human hands. Its promoters never conceived of it as having reached the stage of finality. It grew under their hands up to the very last. There were not wanting men who even dared to look forward to the time when the written law would be outgrown, a thing of the past, having fully accomplished its mission. And all this notwithstanding the fact that they held it to be a revelation from God. They knew better than to think that the revelation of one age could satisfy the needs of every age. Each age must have its own revelation from God. Jesus did but incarnate the old spirit of Israel's best thinkers when he dared to set aside certain phases of the law of Moses, and substitute for them great, far-reaching principles of truth and right.

The same spirit of independence and

progress is manifested in the prophets, and even to a greater degree than in the law. The very foundation of prophecy lay in the conviction that God was ever ready to speak to his children, that he had not yet exhausted his message to Israel. Consequently, with every fresh crisis in the history of Israel there appeared great prophets with the necessary message from God. They conceived it to be their task to interpret the world as they found it, and not as their fathers or grandfathers had known it. They utilized the experience of the past for the interpretation of the present; but ear and eye were ever open and alert for the divine message in the new, in the experiences of today.

Prophecy and progress are synonymous terms; and apart from the free, open attitude of mind that characterized prophecy there can be no true progress in religion or in theology. To the man, or to the church, that is not looking for new light, not expecting new visions of truth, such light and such truth are not likely to come. We have come to see that the Old Testament grew out of the *religious experience* of Israel and to realize somewhat the significance of that fact. It is the fragmentary record of a growing religious life. It is a library in which are deposited the products of a thousand years of religious experience. Or, to change the figure, it is a geological formation in which the outcropping ledges of the successively superimposed strata reveal the history of an age-long process. The religious life of Israel was continually changing for better or worse. Changing environment, growing experience, the coming and going of towering personalities, kept it from

becoming fixed and rigid. No two centuries presented the same type of religious thought and experience. That experience grew in richness from generation to generation. Thus it was that the convictions of one generation of prophets were at times condemned by the prophets of a later generation. Thus it was that the same event or situation was differently interpreted by contemporary prophets. Thus it was that in so fundamental a matter as the conception of God, tremendous advance was registered, so that the relatively insignificant deity of one of the smallest and weakest Semitic nations grew to be the God of the universe, and the only God in that universe. David is represented as having lamented, when he was driven by Saul from Judah into Philistia, that he was being expelled from the land and presence of Yahweh. A post-exilic psalmist says:

Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?
Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there;
If I make my bed in Sheol, behold, thou art there.
If I take the wings of the morning,
And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;
Even there shall thy hand lead me,
And thy right hand shall hold me.
If I say, Surely the darkness shall overwhelm me,
Then the night shall be light about me;
Even the darkness hideth not from thee,
But the night shineth as the day:
The darkness and the light are both alike to thee [Ps. 139:7-12].

Jephthah acknowledged readily the claim of Moab that its territory had been given to it by Chemosh, the god of Moab, and was satisfied with the

counter-assertion that in like manner Yahweh had won Israel's territory for his own people. A psalmist near the other end of the thousand years' record says: "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof: The world and they that dwell therein." Solomon sacrificed 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep at the dedication of the temple and thought he was verily doing God service. An exilic or post-exilic writer says:

Wherewith shall I become before Yahweh,
And bow myself before the high God?
Shall I come before him with burnt offerings,
With calves a year old?
Will Yahweh be pleased with thousands of rams,
Or with ten thousands of rivers of oil?
Shall I give my first-born for my transgression,
The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?
He hath showed thee, O man, what is good,
And what doth Yahweh require of thee,
But to do justly, and to love kindness,
And to walk humbly with thy God?

In ethical and theological ideas growth was manifested and progress was made; so that, at the end, the religion of Israel was immeasurably richer and more spiritual than it was at the beginning. The religion of Israel was not a static quality, but a dynamic spirit. It was not a gift from above, bestowed upon Israel at the beginning of her career to be carefully treasured in earthen vessels. Nor was it a series of gifts, imparted from time to time in some way wholly unrelated to the natural and normal life of the people. It was an achievement, wrought out with heroic faith and courage and marvelous persistence.

Israel was girded for this task in no

way that was not available to her fellow-workers in that age or to her successors in the present age. The story of her religious progress is not one of unbroken success and steady advance. She labored under the same limitations that beset religious men today. She encountered the same opposition and was subjected to the same sorts of temptation and trial. The whole record is intensely human and, for that reason, intensely interesting. Her good men did not always think alike or feel alike. One set of prophets tells Ahab to go up to Ramoth-Gilead and conquer; Micaiah ben Imlah warns him that he will go up only to die. Isaiah of Jerusalem, at the time of Sennacherib's invasion, is reported to have said, concerning Sennacherib and his army:

He shall not come unto this city nor shoot an arrow there; neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast up a mound against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come unto this city, says Yahweh. For I will defend this city to save it, for mine own sake and for my servant David's sake.

At the same crisis, Micah of Moresheth, the peasant prophet, says:

For your sake shall Zion be plowed as a field,
And Jerusalem shall become heaps,
And the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest.

Shortly after the first deportation of Jews to Babylon, Hananiah the prophet declared to the people in the house of Yahweh that the exiles, the captive king, and the temple treasures would all be returned to Jerusalem within two years because the speedy downfall of

Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon was assured. Jeremiah, interpreting the situation altogether differently, replied to Hananiah that the yoke of Babylon upon Israel and the other dependent peoples would become heavier and that it was useless to resist Babylonia or hope for speedy release.

In the light of such radical differences of opinion as these and others on record, it is quite clear that there was no royal road to truth and power in Israel. The men of Israel had to struggle toward the truth and agonize for it even as men must now. There is no discharge from that war. It is man's heritage.

Nor was the task of faith any easier then than now. The Hebrew faith insisted that godliness ought to be profitable for *all* things. Prosperity and piety were almost interchangeable terms. But the actual facts of experience seemed to contradict such doctrine at every turn. The national history is one of successive disasters. The greater nations of the Orient, one after another, conquered and exploited Israel. The people of Yahweh were almost continuously trodden under foot of the Gentiles. The more zealously Israel strove to please her God, the less did he seem to do for her. No severer test of faith than this could have been devised. But Israel held fast to her God. Forced to abandon hope of relief in the present dispensation, she took refuge in the thought of a new dispensation. The nation's goal of faith became the establishment of a messianic kingdom upon earth. This expectation involved the coming of a golden age comparable to that once represented by the Garden of Eden. All the wrongs of the present were to be righted in the

new world; and Israel, the chosen people, was to be exalted to the place of honor and power, as the representative of God upon earth. It was almost tantamount to saying that, in the messianic age, all conditions would be exactly the reverse of what they were in the historical Israel. But the time of the fulfilment of this dream was continually deferred. Out of the midst of what looked like the national grave, Ezekiel saw clearly the coming of the longed-for kingdom and went so far as to prepare an outline of the regulations that should control its work and worship. The Isaiah of the Exile saw the dawn of the messianic age upon the horizon when Cyrus started his career of conquest. When the Persian Empire was shaken to its foundations upon the death of Cambyses, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah were certain that Yahweh was about to intervene and to introduce the messianic kingdom. They were so sure of this that they confidently identified Zerubbabel as the expected Messiah. This hope was again aroused by the personality and work of Nehemiah, whom some declared to be the Messiah. So Israel went on from age to age believing in God, surviving shock after shock of disappointment and disillusionment, and, through this severe process of training, coming ever into a clearer and better conception of God. Theological dogmas were modified or abandoned in order to make place for new ones; but through it all, faith endured. The trial and triumph of faith as it affects the life and religion of the individual are depicted with marvelous skill in the Book of Job. This affords us a view of the kind of problem that

was of vital importance in the Hebrew religious experience and of the unflinching courage and the loyalty to truth, to facts, and to God of which the Hebrews were capable. Their religion was not a gift; it was a prize. They fought for it; they suffered for it; they died. But through their struggle, endurance, and death, they have incalculably enriched the religious life of all ages.

The record of this great religious experience was written for our learning. The story of a thousand years is spread before our eyes. That experience was wrought out under ordinary conditions, such as are common to men. The Hebrews were given no extraordinary or abnormal aids or advantages not within the reach of other men, then as now. God did not show favor toward them in any such way as to render them exempt from the temptations, weaknesses, failures, and sins that beset us all. Nor were they endued with power or grace that was not accessible to other men. Having the same opportunities and possessed of the same faculties as other men, no more and no less, the Hebrew prophets and saints threw themselves heart and soul into the task of interpreting the world about them in terms of God. The Old Testament is the record of their success.

This means that the Old Testament has become for us, as compared with our ancestors, a more human document and consequently a more helpful one. It has become, that is to say, more definitely applicable to the conditions of modern life. We learn from its pages how the Hebrews wrought out their own salvation. In this record of their religious experience, we have the story of

the making of a religion. The thousand-year-long process is portrayed before our eyes. It reveals much of inestimable value to the historical student of religion. The Hebrew religion was always "in the making"; it was never a finished product. Each generation exercised the right to make its religion for itself. Not that they started out afresh each time by casting overboard all the accumulations of preceding generations. But they did not hesitate to "prove all things," in order that they might "hold fast that which was good." They changed their theology from time to time; they reorganized their religious institutions as changing circumstances and changing views required; they accepted materials from every hand and used them for the enrichment of their religious faith and hope. They were never satisfied with present attainments. They were constantly striving toward something better. In spite of reaction and relapse, they persisted in pushing forward. They were by no means making a religion to order for later generations; they were rather making one for themselves, something to live by as they went along. What they had to do, every age has to do for itself. They made their religion in the full light of history. They made it out of their daily experiences in the great currents of the world's life. A vital religion is always in the making; it is never made. Satisfaction with present achievement spells death here as elsewhere. Religion is under the same law as every other product of the human spirit. We too must interpret our own world religiously; we must be making our own religion.

We may learn from the successes of the Hebrews and profit by their failures.

The words of Mathew Arnold on the relation of modern poetry to that of the ancients apply with special force here, viz: "The present has to make its own poetry, and not even Sophocles and his compeers, any more than Dante and Shakespere, are enough for it. That I will not dispute. But no other poets so well show to the poetry of the present the way it must take."¹ No matter how much we may learn from Israel, we cannot rest content with that. We cannot shirk the task of making a religion for ourselves. Ready-made religion, from whatever age it may come to us, will not fit our spiritual needs, however well it may have fitted the age in which it originated. The twentieth-century world needs a twentieth-century religion and it is part of its task to make that religion for itself.

The Hebrews, with far less of inherited privileges and educational and social opportunity than we, carried the torch of truth and piety far up the heights. Material civilization and culture have moved far since their day and are still advancing with giant strides. Religion and morality too, upon the basis of the achievements of the Hebrews, have added greatly to their attainments. But progress cannot cease at any point, if religion is to remain a vital force in the lives of men. As long as progress is characteristic of other phases of human activity, religion too must grow. It cannot remain static, while all else is dynamic. "An unchangeable Christianity would mean the end of Christianity itself. There has

¹ From the closing paragraph of the essay on *The Pagan and the Christian Sentiment*.

never been such an unchangeable Christianity and never can be so long as it belongs genuinely to history."¹ It is the task of the leaders of the religious life of today to see to it that the religion they teach and embody shall be one suited to the needs of the *modern* world. If they can meet the demands of the present age, the future may be trusted to look out for itself. If they serve their day and generation faithfully according to the will of God, they will hand on a heritage to their successors with some increment of truth and power.

For the historical student who treats the Old Testament as a record of Israel's religious experience, the old conceptions of its authority and infallibility are hopelessly shattered. This is in every way profitable. It removes from the apologete the necessity of explaining away all the inconsistencies and the ethical problems to which the Old Testament gave rise. When viewed as the record of a special revelation from above, which should be in all things "sans peur et sans reproche," it leaves the student of religion untrammelled and free. The Old Testament becomes his great sourcebook. It takes its place alongside of other sources ready to contribute its share to the formation of a working creed and religion. It is no longer a collection of proof-texts or utterances *ex cathedra*. It is simply the witness to the nature and power of Israel's religion, as it was worked out in successive generations. Such authority as inheres in the Old Testament is now recognized as due, not to any particular theory regarding the origin of the Hebrew religion and religious literature,

but solely to the fact that there are here found great truths which have demonstrated their value in the lives of other men and come with compelling force to the mind and conscience even of the twentieth century. In so far as the Old Testament is the repository of self-authenticating truth, and only so far, can it make any direct contribution to the religious life of today. The student of religion may ignore no phase of the religious experience of mankind; it is rather his duty and privilege to learn from all. As the record of a long period of the religious experience of a people that achieved supreme distinction in the pursuit of their religious ideals, the Old Testament is indispensable to the intelligently religious man.

This modern attitude toward the Old Testament brings a sense of freedom and the realization of a creative opportunity to the true preacher. He discovers himself to be in the line of the prophetic succession, at least, even if he dare not lay claim to "apostolic succession." He is released from the necessity of merely repeating, in parrot fashion, the messages of men long since dead. His work at once is seen to be of the same kind as that of his great prophetic predecessors. They had no Bible from which they must preach, or from which they might learn. Equipped with a knowledge of a few traditions regarding their people's history, they studied closely the social and political conditions of their times and poured forth words of scathing denunciation of wrong, or glowing assurances of Yahweh's purpose to deliver, as the situation might demand. They preached to the people

¹ Ernst Troeltsch in *American Journal of Theology*, XVII (January, 1913), 21.

of their own day, and about the things in which the nation was most deeply concerned. They applied their highest ideals of religion and ethics to every phase of contemporary life. When Jerusalem was split into contending political parties, one pro-Assyrian and another pro-Egyptian, Isaiah preached politics. When the rich were grinding the face of the poor and swallowing up widows' houses, men like Amos and Micah became the champions of the poor and preached social justice. Such men did not fritter away their time upon the exposition of abstract and dead issues, nor upon the contemplation of iridescent dreams. They used the raw materials of contemporary life in the structure of their religion. They were not content with pointing out the dealings of God with past generations or dwelling upon his purpose for the future; but they took the events and movements of their own day and gave them religious significance. Hence their words have great and imperishable value for all time; not because they set out to write great books, but because, being great men, they grappled fearlessly and effectively with the real problems of their own day. The history of Greece and Rome furnishes us a familiar analogy here. A well-known classical scholar,¹ speaking of the new education, has said:

I have tarried a moment with the ancients, instead of beginning much later

in the history of Europe, expressly to suggest that the best things in ancient literature were not written solely from the artistic, but often from the social motive as well. Letters, and originally, men of letters, were not sundered from public life, but actively contributed to it. If the classics have molded later history, it is not merely because of their great qualities as literature, but because they are involved in the history of their own times.

It is such wrestling with the social, political, and religious problems of one's age that makes intellectual, moral, and religious fiber strong. No greatness ever came as the result of a mere slavish doing over again of the things that have already been done, or thinking over again of the thoughts that have already been thought.² It is always in some degree the application of the old idea to a new situation in a vital way that makes the old idea into something new and great. The prophets sought all the light the past had to shed upon their task. But they gave themselves primarily and with open minds to the study of their own times. The evils and errors of their contemporaries they undertook to detect and correct. It was their unselfish and untrammelled devotion to the tasks of their own day that made them great and resulted in a literature that is an object of admiration and a fountain of inspiration to all thoughtful men.

The Old Testament prophets are a worthy example and inspiration for

¹ Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard, in *Latin and Greek in American Education*, edited by F. Kelsey (New York: Macmillan, 1911), p. 262.

² Cf. the words of E. A. Ross, in *The Changing Chinese* (1911), p. 54, regarding the intellectual sterility of the Chinese: "As well expect an apple-tree to blossom in October, as expect genius to blossom among people convinced that the perfection of wisdom had been granted to the sages of antiquity."

the modern preacher. They call him to the exercise of his highest function. They would not justify him, indeed, in ignoring the wisdom and experience of the past; but they urge upon him the duty and privilege of utilizing the past for the illumination of the present. They indicate to him that his task is to study the conditions of his own day and to address himself to the betterment of those conditions, in the fear of God and of none other. The prophets, living in a small world, made a great religion. We live in a world immeasurably greater than that of the prophets' thought. Our God is the God of a boundless universe. Is our religion proportionately greater? Have we made a place in our religion for every remotest corner and every hidden force and inexplicable power of this universe? Have we succeeded in adjusting our thought of God to our expanding world, as the Hebrews were able to enlarge their thought which carried Yahweh along from the most restricted beginnings until he became the God of the whole known world?

What was it that made the prophets so strong and fearless in the execution of their commission? Their reliance upon God. They were ever conscious of his presence in his world. They saw proof of his activity on every hand, in the phenomena of nature and in the course of history. They conceived of him as seeking to make known his will to man. They thought of themselves as his mouthpiece. As the spokesmen of

God, they could not keep silent when his will clamored for utterance. "The Lord hath spoken; who can but prophesy?" Some such consciousness of God and of working together with God is indispensable to the true preacher in whatever age he may appear. A preacher, not conscious of fellowship with the God of the universe, has no message for this age; the age cries out for God. The man who can make God seem real, and can acquit himself as a man of God, will never lack a hearing, though his way may be a *via dolorosa*.

The church needs leaders. The record of Israel's leaders is a splendid challenge to the men of today. It appeals to all that is highest and holiest in the one ambitious to "do great things for God." Israel's saints expected great things from God, but received greater things than those for which they hoped. Coveting position and power for their nation among the nations of the world, they received instead exalted purity of thought, magnificent ethical passion, and a depth of spiritual insight that have made the whole world their debtors. If the men of this and succeeding generations, following the example of their Hebrew predecessors, will become the fearless spokesmen and champions of a virile and spiritually progressive Christianity, it is, perhaps, not too much to hope that the religion of the not far distant future will be as much greater than, and different from, that of today as present religion differs from, and is greater than, the Judaism of post-exilic Israel.

THE RESTORATION OF THE ORDER OF DEACONESSSES

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The revival of the ministry of women as deacons began less than a century ago. It formed part of a larger movement, which has given birth to the great philanthropic organizations of the modern age, and is gradually restoring to the church the ministry of women. To Roman Catholics it has given the Sister of Mercy; to Protestants it is restoring the deaconess.

Early in the past century the attention of certain German philanthropists was attracted by the work of individual women on behalf of sufferers, in England, Sweden, and elsewhere. Realizing the importance of training and organization to insure the permanence of such a ministry, they proposed the restoration of the ancient order of deaconesses. By various means they sought to arouse the Protestant church of Germany to its need of a body of ministering women. But they failed to secure the formal support or official sanction of the church authorities. The significance of the movement was not recognized, and the restoration of the order was left to private enterprise.

Humanly speaking, the Protestant church owes its deaconesses to the courage, wisdom, and faith of one man, Theodore Fliedner. While others planned and waited, he took action. In October, 1836, he opened at Kaiserswerth the first modern deaconess house to Gertrude Reichard, the first modern

deaconess. The pastor and the town were both little known; the house was small and bare; the work such as could be done by one woman with some experience in nursing. Ten years later the institution numbered over a hundred deaconesses, and supported nineteen branch stations. Similar houses sprang up in other lands, multiplying with great rapidity. At the present time there is hardly a country in Europe in which deaconesses are not at work. They are also numerous in North America, and may be found in parts of Asia, Africa, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific.

The order has spread most rapidly in Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, where the houses have been patterned more or less closely after that of Kaiserswerth. The most important institutions have been united in the Kaiserswerth Conference, which numbered 84 mother-houses, 7,216 sub-stations, and nearly 20,000 deaconesses at the time of the last General Conference, now nearly three years ago. Of these women over 9,000 were engaged in nursing, nearly 5,500 in parish work, and about 2,660 in various kinds of educational work. Every variety of charitable work is undertaken by these institutions, and they are sending out missionaries into all parts of the world. There are 54 great deaconess centers in Germany alone, 9 in Holland, 7 in

Russia, 4 in Switzerland, as many in the United States, 3 in Scandinavia, 2 in France, and 1 in Austria. There are about 1,400 of these deaconesses in Switzerland, and about 350 substations. In Scandinavia the number of deaconesses exceeds 1,160, the number of stations 440. Holland and Russia have more than 130 stations each, and over 900 deaconesses between them. Germany has over 16,000 deaconesses, and over 6,000 substations. As these figures are those of the conference of 1910, they doubtless fall far short of the actual number of institutions and workers at the present day.

The great Protestant churches of the continent of Europe sanction the work done by these deaconess houses, and furnish the pastors that preside over them. Yet none of these institutions is organically connected with any particular church government. All are independent of ecclesiastical control. Their deaconesses hold no official position in the church. They are consecrated to their service, but not ordained.

The Kaiserswerth deaconess may be described as of the institutional type. She is the lineal descendant of the deaconess of the Middle Ages. Her ideal is semimonastic. She is a Protestant Sister of Mercy. It is true that she takes no vows, and works under the direction of a presbyter; yet she belongs to a sisterhood, and the presbyter is head of a religious community.

This was not the idea of Fliedner and his fellow-philanthropists, but rather the result of their failure to secure a formal restoration of the order by ecclesiastical legislation. They were

forced to modify their original plan and to limit the ministry of their deaconesses to such work as was most urgently required and might be rendered by women in those days without question. Unfortunately many of the limitations of that earlier period continue in force. The Kaiserswerth deaconess is still commonly regarded as a sister, and is for the most part withheld from sharing in the larger freedom and opportunity enjoyed by women at the present time.

In addition to the League of Kaiserswerth there are various other non-ecclesiastical deaconess associations in Europe and America. The most important of these are: (1) the Evangelical Association of Germany and Switzerland, founded in 1886; (2) the Bethany Society, founded by the Methodists of Germany in 1874; (3) the Martha and Mary Society, taken over by the Methodists from the Wesleyans of Germany at the time of their union; (4) the Martha Deaconess Society, founded in Berlin by the Baptists in 1885. These associations have among them many large institutions and hundreds of deaconesses, all bearing a general resemblance to those of Kaiserswerth.

The deaconess movement spread from the Germanic to the Anglo-Saxon peoples at an early day. In England it attracted the notice of some of the leading scholars and ecclesiastics of the state church, and through their influence underwent an important change. Yet here as in Germany the ministry as a body held aloof from the movement; many years passed before the order was actually restored; and the decisive step was taken

by an individual acting on his own authority.

The movement began in England about the year 1848. Several prominent clergymen in the Church of England became interested, and after ten years it was brought to the notice of Convocation. Again after some years it was discussed in the Lower House of Canterbury, but no decisive action was taken. Meantime an individual clergyman had taken upon himself the responsibility of consecrating a deaconess. In 1861 Archbishop Tait, at that time bishop of London, set apart Elizabeth Katherine Ferard as deaconess of the Church of England. This act is now regarded as the decisive one, which restored the order in this church. But several decades passed before it received formal recognition from the body of the ministry. Meantime a missionary training school for women, founded in 1860, developed into the famous Mildmay Deaconess House, whose workers like those of Kaiserswerth have no official claim to their title, in that they hold no office in the church.

The growth of the order of regularly consecrated deaconesses was exceedingly slow. Small houses were opened in the course of time in several different dioceses; but the largest of these institutions would be accounted small in the League of Kaiserswerth, and all of the Anglican deaconesses put together were outnumbered by those of any one of the great houses of Kaiserswerth many decades ago. In view of this slow development the hesitancy of the body of bishops to sanction the movement is the less surprising.

Ten years succeeded the consecra-

tion of the first deaconess before any concerted action was taken. Then a set of "Principles and Rules" for the regulation of the order was drawn up and signed by eighteen of the bishops and both the archbishops. The matter was discussed in the Southern Convocation (1875, 1878), and in the Upper House (1883, 1890), also in the York Convocation (1884); but no action was taken until 1891—that is, for twenty years. Meantime the order had been restored by formal legislation in the Established Church of Scotland, and in the Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal churches of the United States. At last, however, in 1891 the House of Canterbury Convocation passed resolutions approving and regulating the revival of the order; and six years later the entire body of bishops assembled in the Lambeth Conference gave it their sanction.

Thus in the Church of England also the ministry of the deaconess was restored by individual presbyters on their own responsibility, and the first consecration preceded by thirty-six years the formal indorsement of the order by the supreme ecclesiastical body in full convocation. Yet because these individuals held the rank of bishops and were leaders in the body of bishops, their authority gave to the consecration rite a character which was lacking in the setting-apart of the Kaiserswerth deaconess. There is still much difference of opinion as to the *status* of the order in this church as elsewhere; but the Anglican deaconess has always been a servant of the church under the direction and control of its bishops.

In England also the leaders of the

movement sought to restore the female diaconate as an authorized branch of the Christian ministry; and, being for the most part men of great learning and high ecclesiastical rank, they were partially successful in reviving the primitive relation between the deaconess and the bishop. This has been the most important contribution of the Church of England to the deaconess cause. And yet it is overshadowed at the present time by her relation to the deaconess house. The Anglican deaconess like her sister of Kaiserswerth is usually a member of a religious community. The house in Rochester is the only one of any size which does not combine the service of a deaconess with that of a sister. This is a confusion of two distinct ministries, appropriate to women of opposite types. The attempt to combine them has been made many times in the history of the order, and has never succeeded excepting at the expense of its ecclesiastical functions. The Anglican deaconess was given a position among the subordinate ministers of the church to which the Kaiserswerth deaconess has never attained; but she is in danger of losing her birth-right without having gained that post of honor among workers of charity held by the Kaiserswerth deaconess for many decades.

The Established Church of Scotland was the first of all the churches to restore the order of deaconesses by act of legislation. The subject was brought before the Alliance of Presbyterian Churches held at Belfast in 1880, and a committee of investigation was appointed. Five years later a report was presented to the alliance, recommending

"the revival of the Order on a Scriptural basis, and as a recognized branch of Church organization." The Church of Scotland acted upon this decision in the following year, by formally establishing the order and preparing for the training of candidates. A training home was opened in Edinburgh shortly after, and a hospital was added before long.

These deaconesses are regularly ordained to their office by the kirk-session with the sanction of the presbytery. They serve for the most part in parishes, hospitals, and missions. Unlike their sisters of England and the Continent, they do not belong to religious communities, and approximate the clerical rather than the institutional type. And yet they also fall far short of the ideal set forth in the ancient church orders and by the church historians of our own day, of a ministry of women as deacons co-ordinate with that of men, and fulfilling the purpose for which the diaconate was founded in apostolic times.

The United Free Church of Scotland is still without deaconesses; but the movement to restore them began some years ago, and cannot be retarded long.

The Presbyterian church of Ireland has already introduced the order informally by permitting a training home to be opened in Belfast, and by employing its graduates as deaconesses.

The Wesleyans of England began to consecrate deaconesses a quarter of a century ago, and after four years of experiment their conference formally approved of the revival of the ministry. Several important institutions have been founded; and Wesleyan deaconesses are now at work in various parts of Great

Britain, and also in South Africa, New Zealand, and Ceylon. This deaconess has been described as "nurse, teacher, visitor, even preacher when necessary." She enjoys a freedom which is favorable to the growth of the order, and may be described in general as of the missionary type.

The Congregationalists of England have lately begun to employ deaconesses, and thereby tacitly acknowledge a need for their service.

Thus the movement is spreading slowly but steadily from church to church, in England as elsewhere; and the ministry of women is gradually becoming once more an indispensable adjunct to that of men in the evangelization of the world.

The Kaiserswerth Deaconess House was introduced with some modifications into almost all the great countries of Europe. It flourished greatly east of the Rhine, but it did not flourish in France. The house opened in Paris in 1841 did indeed become an important center for the order; yet it is one of the smallest of those founded in the lifetime of Fliedner, and cannot compare in size or influence with the great majority of the Kaiserswerth houses.

The Kaiserswerth deaconess is not of the type called for in France. Her ideal is not in harmony with French ideas of women, or French social customs. In France the unmarried woman has less liberty, the married more, than among the Germanic peoples. In France women are admitted to more of the professions and occupations of men than in any other country of Europe. The limitations of the Kaiserswerth scheme unfit it for use in a republican country,

where liberty of judgment is a birthright and the social laws are of a freer cast.

And yet the Protestant churches of France are awakening to their need of ministering women, and some of their leaders have called for a still more radical reform. Early in this century an appeal went forth for "a reform of the diaconate." A diaconal congress was held at Lille in 1902, at which reports were made as to the actual condition of that branch of the ministry among the Protestants of France. A deplorable ignorance and neglect of it was discovered, together with a general willingness to restore the primitive ideal of the diaconate and to admit to the order both sexes. Among the decisions of the congress were the following:

It is necessary to have deaconesses as well as deacons; for there are many forms of assistance for which women are better qualified than men. Each church ought to have its deaconess or deaconesses, helpers of the pastor, as Phoebe was the helper of St. Paul. . . . The restoration of the ministry of woman is one of the essential conditions of a revival in the Christian church. . . . In the actual state of things it is imperative to re-establish, under the immediate direction of the pastors, the ministry of the parish deaconess.

These utterances were not authoritative; but they expressed the decision reached by many of the leading Protestants of France after careful consideration, and they have encouraged local churches to include women among their deacons. The movement however, has been retarded here, as in Scotland and elsewhere, in the interest of various social reforms, which excite fewer prejudices and appeal to a larger number.

Another republican country responded to the Kaiserswerth movement at an early date only to find the ideal unsuited to its own peculiar needs and its independent institutions. Interest in the deaconess began to be aroused in the United States about the same time as in England; but events moved more rapidly on this side of the Atlantic, and twelve years before the consecration of the first deaconess in England the first institution was founded in Pennsylvania. Fliedner himself crossed the ocean by urgent invitation to inaugurate the movement. He placed several deaconesses, trained in Kaiserswerth, in charge of a hospital in Pittsburgh. Unhappily the leaders of the enterprise failed to distinguish between Fliedner's sound principles and the practical details of his scheme. They tried to force upon the women of America restrictions to which they were not accustomed; and to make the ideas of a simple German pastor as to what women might or might not do, a law in regions where the prevailing ideas of propriety were altogether different. Moreover, there was a strong prejudice at that time in this country against any custom savoring of monasticism, and the Kaiserswerth institutions were too much like the traditional religious community to escape distrust and dislike. The whole attempt failed in the end for lack of workers, yet not before some years of efficient service had proved the usefulness of the institution.

The Kaiserswerth diaconate secured no permanent foothold in this country until its advocates learned to adapt a monarchical institution to a republican environment. But in the decade which

saw the revival of the order among the Presbyterians and Wesleyans of Great Britain, and the Methodists of the United States, a great deaconess center was established by the Lutherans in Philadelphia. This house surpasses the largest Anglican institution in the number of its deaconesses and of its benevolent enterprises. Other houses have since been opened, and the Lutherans of America now possess a large and efficient body of deaconesses.

The Protestant Episcopal church of America was the first of all the churches to restore the order by episcopal authority. Six years before the consecration of the first deaconess in the Church of England several women were set apart in Baltimore by the bishop of Maryland. They lived in community, and were engaged in teaching and nursing. In 1864 a similar beginning was made by the bishop of Alabama, and the institution then established exists at the present day. In the following decade the bishop of Long Island consecrated several women, but without the laying-on of hands. Not long after a diocesan deaconess house was opened in Louisville, Ky. It was begun as a sisterhood, but in 1881 was reorganized as a "diaconal community" subject to the bishop. In 1882 a similar community was founded in Georgia. In New York City the first step taken was the consecration of one woman by the bishop of the diocese to serve in a parish church, in the year 1887. Thus the order was restored informally in this country as in England, by the act of individual bishops, and was in existence in a number of states for many years before it received recognition from the

General Convention. Evidently the bishops and presbyters of these various communions regarded it as in abeyance rather than as abrogated, and considered themselves at liberty to restore it on their own authority.

However, the matter was brought before the General Convention of this particular church as early as the year 1868, and from that time onward was repeatedly discussed. The "Principles and Rules" proposed by the bishops of England in 1871 were read in the convention of that year with marked effect. The bishop of Long Island made them the basis of a deaconess association in his diocese. Yet no official action was taken by the convention until the year 1889, when a canon was issued establishing the order on a permanent basis. Fifteen years later this was revised, and given its present form. It does not determine the status of the deaconess, or the character of her consecration; but it does authorize her service in the church as the holder of an office. She is made directly responsible to the bishop, and serves most often as pastor's assistant. She is therefore of the clerical type.

The legislation of 1889 was followed by the opening of training schools in New York and Philadelphia. Other houses have since been founded in Boston and in Pasadena, Cal. These institutions, unlike those of the Church of England, are training schools rather than homes. The atmosphere, indeed, is more like that of a home than of a professional school; yet much more time is given to study than is usual in deaconess houses, and the course is designed to meet the needs of gifted

women, including those that have been trained in college. More, the inmates are all students, and there are no deaconesses in residence save those that are in charge of the house.

In this church also the growth of the order has been slow. Before the action of the convention the deaconesses were almost all sisters. This identification proved injurious. It has invariably excited opposition and prejudice on this side of the Atlantic. Since the separation of the two ministries, and the bestowal of an office upon the deaconess, the development has been comparatively rapid. There are now in this communion several hundred deaconesses, working for the most part in parishes and mission fields as assistants to the clergy.

The Methodists of America were long in following the example of their brethren in Europe. The revival of the order was under consideration for many years before it was carried into effect. The movement began in this body as early as the year 1860; but more than a quarter of a century passed before the first institution was opened. The venture, as usual, was made by an individual, in this case by a woman with the help of her husband, encouraged indeed by a bishop, yet without official or even financial support. This house, opened in Chicago, soon became a center for deaconess work, and attracted the notice of the leaders of the church. The General Conference legislated in favor of the order, and an elaborate system was devised for its government. The growth has been extraordinarily rapid as compared with that in all the other churches of America or England.

It is evident that the Methodist deaconess, like her sister of Kaiserswerth, is better fitted to her environment than the deaconesses of other communions. She lives and works in a republic, and in a church which has always recognized the value of women's work. She is not fitted for life in a community, or for work under constant supervision. This fact seems to have been recognized. It is true that she is held accountable to a general deaconess board appointed by the Board of Bishops, and to a deaconess conference board appointed by the Annual Conference, as well as to the pastor or superintendent under whom she serves. Yet even so, she enjoys greater personal liberty than the deaconess of any other church save the Wesleyan. She is of the missionary rather than of the clerical or institutional type; and while she often serves in a parish or an institution, her chief work is that of an evangelist.

In addition to the house in Chicago, training schools have been opened in Cincinnati, Washington, New York, Boston, St. Louis, and elsewhere. The German Methodists in the United States have their own institutions, which are affiliated either with the American, or with those of the mother-country.

The Baptist, Congregational, Reformed, and Presbyterian bodies have all recently, each in turn, restored the order; not indeed by legislation, but by opening training schools and employing their graduates as deaconesses. The United Brethren have gone so far as to add to their Book of Discipline a chapter on the deaconess. These revivals differ little from those already considered. Their chief interest lies in the fact that

they prove a growing consciousness of the church's need of a body of trained and consecrated workers to minister as helpers to pastor and people. But the slowness of the growth implies also a general reluctance to allow women to share in a title which has come to represent functions denied to them for many generations, or ministrations in which their aid is quite superfluous.

The greatest obstacle to the deaconess movement lies in the ignorance and neglect of the historic diaconate as a vital and indispensable part of the organism of the church. Few are aware of the part which the deacon took in the work of the early church, of the share which the deaconess had in his ministry, and of the loss to the church and the world at large which resulted from the decline of their order. Many are drawn away from the church and its service by the urgent call for social reform, unaware of the fact that the revival of the diaconal ministry of the ancient church would enable them to do the same work as ministers of the church, to its purifying and upbuilding, to the glory of Him whose name it bears, and to the advancement of his reign upon earth.

One of the greatest needs of the church in this age is a body of men and women set apart to do the work that in ancient times was intrusted to deacons. There is no greater need than that of a revival of the primitive diaconate. It is not sufficient to restore the woman deacon. She cannot do the whole work of the order. The church needs also male deacons, men who are deacons in more than name.

There are many branches of the church in which the only real diaconal service is done by women. The restoration of the order of deaconesses should be accompanied by a thorough reform of the diaconate.

CHURCH UNION THAT UNITES

II

THE HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL

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Field Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society

In the April number of the BIBLICAL WORLD we published under the above caption, "Church Union That Unites," an account of the work of the Co-operative Council of City Missions in the city of Chicago, and gave a plan of federating churches now in operation in Oregon. The present article by Dr. Barnes is a succinct presentation of the work that is being done in a wider sphere by the great denominations. All of these facts are gratifying evidence that Protestantism is really facing the great task of co-operating for the spread of Christianity.

The minds of many people adjust more readily to close interdenominational co-operation abroad than at home. It is comparatively easy to take a detached point of view and look with judicial composure upon the tendency of our workers in Asia to sink denominational ambitions under the large aims of the whole kingdom of Christ. We are likely to cheer them for doing in united college and other work what we should not think of undertaking in the region where we live.

Correspondingly we are more eager to have the work of denominational competition stopped in a distant part of our own country than we are to stop it in our town. New Englanders who give largely for missions in the West can easily insist that there should not be too

many churches aided in any one place "out there," but how about having our denomination resign its place in our own village? On the other hand, in the West they say, "'The Interdenominational Commission of Maine' may be just the thing down East, but that sort of thing won't work out here." Furthermore, the home mission field is the zone of possible expansion in denominational territory and power, it is the tract of keenest sensitiveness.

Hence to secure actual co-operation in home missions is the greatest achievement of the kingdom of God. To grapple a problem of this magnitude, nearness, and delicacy, with any hope of success, took men of large mold, fine feeling, and firm grasp. Such men were given for the hour, when in 1908 Dr.

Charles L. Thompson, of the Presbyterian (U.S.A.) Home Board, and Dr. Henry L. Morehouse, of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, along with others of like mind, organized the Home Missions Council. It was not an academic performance, but an actual undertaking in practical polity.

Instead of being baffled by the stupendous difficulties and retiring after the first flush of enthusiasm, the council has steadily gained in strength and efficiency. It is now composed of thirty-three societies and boards connected with twenty-one distinct denominations. It embodies nine-tenths of the nationally organized home mission forces. Its voting members are all the officials and the members of the official boards whose scope of responsibility is coextensive with that of the organization they represent. The directory of constituent organizations contains 153 names of such officials. When the members of the boards are added, this number must be multiplied by ten or twenty. It has an executive committee of fifteen.

A quick view of the actual working of the organization can be obtained through the concise report of the Executive Committee at the last annual meeting of the Council:

The principal events of the year were:

First: Correspondence and interviews with officials of the general government relating to Order No. 601, issued by Commissioner Valentine, touching the matter of ecclesiastical garb in government Indian schools. The report of the Indian Committee will give a full statement of the work done by the council in this matter and the conclusion reached.

Second: Another matter occupying a good deal of time of the Executive Com-

mittee was the conduct, jointly with the Council of Women for Home Missions, of the observance of Home Mission Week, November 17-24, 1912. The executive secretary of the joint committee of the two councils will make full report of the large success attending upon these efforts, and it is hoped that some plans may be devised by the council for the continuation in some form in years to come of the Home Mission Week. Specific recommendations will be made later during the sessions of the council.

Third: Reports from the states in which the Neglected Fields Survey was undertaken show that practical benefits of a large sort have accrued from that attempt to make co-operation and federation effective. It is hoped that follow-up plans will be developed in the respective states by which the work may be carried on to increasing effectiveness.

Other matters which have been considered during the year are: survey of rural fields; co-operative work among Spanish-speaking people in the United States; work among the freedmen; the subject of social service.

The work of the Porto Rican missions: progress has been made there toward co-operative effort, of which full report will be made by the appropriate committee.

The Executive Committee is happy to report that the finances are in fairly good shape, a relatively small balance of eighteen hundred dollars (\$1,800) only being brought over to the budget of the new year. [The expenditures of the year were less than twenty thousand dollars (\$19,554.40), although at first it had been estimated that Home Mission Week alone would cost twice that.]

The council is to be congratulated on the standing it has secured among all the co-operating denominations and of the recognition, general and widespread, of its effectiveness as an organization for co-ordinating the home mission work of our country.

A further glimpse of the wide scope of the council and its detail of practical responsibility can be gained by noting the fact that it has nine standing committees and six special committees. It is alive in many directions. This year special emphasis is being laid on the home mission work for foreign-speaking people. Through its Neglected Fields Survey Committee, its Committee on Immigration, and other lines of urgent action, the Home Missions Council can be depended upon to do everything in the power of a general advisory body to promote co-operation in place of com-

petition. Throughout this democratic land of ours, in the actual issue everything depends on the growth of co-operative sentiment on the widespread field itself.

Taken all in all, is there any more hopeful sign on the horizon of the kingdom of heaven on earth at the present hour than the sign of the cross which is being borne by this new Simon of Cyrene following the Master? The agency may not be a conspicuous figure on the ultimate pages of history, but it bears the emblem of vital, sacrificial, continental victories.

THE NORTH DAKOTA PLAN OF BIBLE STUDY

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The American Sunday school stands charged with failure; and its most enthusiastic admirers cannot say that there is nothing in the charge. It has elaborate machinery; it enlists the earnest endeavors of numbers of sincere, devoted people; but somehow, it does not secure results commensurate with the effort put forth. Nowhere is this failure more conspicuous than in the case of boys and girls of high-school age. Primary methods and kindergarten devices usually catch and hold the interest of the little ones; but as the children approach the adolescent period there is evident a falling-off in interest and, consequently, in attend-

ance. Boys especially come to feel that they are "too big" to go to Sunday school. They drift out into the current of life unattached in any way to the church, and without any adequate knowledge of the Book which has had more influence than any other upon our civilization, but which by a curious anomaly is not taught in the schools.

The causes for this unfortunate state of affairs do not seem difficult to find. There is, of course, the general restlessness and irresponsibility of youth which make it difficult to keep boys of this age in any kind of school. But besides all this there are various specific causes. In the first place, the teaching is gen-

erally weak and sentimental. Bible history and literature are not made as interesting and vital as, for example, Greek history and literature. This lack of reality is probably due to two facts: (1) the teacher's lack of adequate preparation and experience; and (2) the subject is approached in an unreal and superstitious way, altogether different from that in which other subjects are approached. Plato and Pericles lived in a real world, a world—in its natural aspects at least—like that in which the pupils themselves are living. David and Isaiah, however, are pictured as living in an altogether different sort of world, a world more akin to that of Jack the Giant Killer or Cinderella. Many boys are frankly incredulous; most of them feel an incongruity.

Another cause is the total lack of discipline in the Sunday school. Few—at least of the boys—ever think of *studying* their lessons. Teachers coax and cajole, and offer ribbons and badges as marks of honor, but generally to little purpose. The boy somehow feels that he is condescending even to attend the Sunday school, and that studying would indeed be a work of supererogation. Thus in a great majority of cases, the teacher, having no recourse to any other incentive, finds moral suasion fruitless. Nor is it strange. How many youngsters would study geometry or Latin or history if the only inducement were to please the teacher?

Recognizing these difficulties and firmly believing that Bible study is just as serious and dignified as any other study, we in North Dakota have recently adopted a plan from which we hope great things. This is really a

plan of co-operation between the high school and the Sunday school whereby the high school allows academic credit for work in the Bible. The educational leaders of our state believe that in ethical and cultural value the serious study of the Scriptures is one of the most valuable studies that a young person can pursue. We agree with President Nicholas Murray Butler that "the neglect of the English Bible incapacitates the rising generation to read and appreciate the masterpieces of English literature, from Chaucer to Browning, and it strikes out of their consciousness one element, and for centuries the controlling element, in our civilization." At the same time we understand that, owing to our national policy of the separation of church and state, it is practically impossible to offer Bible courses in school.

Our plan is simply this: The state board has authorized a syllabus in Bible study much as it has in other studies. The syllabus outlines a good course in Old and New Testament geography, history, and literature, and it announces that a half-credit (out of the fifteen generally required for graduation) will be allowed to any high-school girl or boy who can pass an examination based on the syllabus. These examinations are given at the time of the regular state examinations and are open to all who wish to attempt them. It is, however, no part of the plan to have the preliminary study done in the school house or during school hours. The responsibility for the teaching is left with the home and the church. The state maps out the ground to be covered

and awards the credit. The parents, pastors, and Sunday-school teachers must do the actual work of instruction.

Although the idea is as yet new (it went into effect in the fall of 1912), a great many classes have been formed and much interest is manifested. These classes are generally connected with the various Sunday schools or young people's societies, and are taught by the pastor, priest, or some layman specially interested, not infrequently by one of the high-school teachers in the church with which he or she happens to be affiliated. The work done in these classes, while, of course, wholly elective, is just as serious as that undertaken in any of the regular school classes. The official recognition of its value and the assurance of academic credit for real mastery of the subject dignify and standardize the course. From all parts of the state come reports of successful classes, at least one of which is in charge of a Catholic priest, and of an altogether new attitude toward Bible study on the part of a great many of our young people.

In conclusion let me say that while what the state outlines and examines on is the geographical, historical, and

literary aspects of the Bible, yet it is urged upon the various local teachers that they combine with this such ethical and religious training as they desire. On this ground the state cannot intrude; for it, however, it does hope to provide abundant opportunity. It is felt that no young person can read the prescribed readings (between two and three hundred chapters) without catching some of the spiritual ideals and glorious religious conceptions of the biblical writers; and surely no wise teacher will let the opportunity pass unimproved. In all this the makers of the syllabus have sought to avoid all sectarianism and partisanship. The Bible is the only textbook prescribed. Any version, Catholic or Protestant, is acceptable. Moreover, any recognized system of chronology or theory of authorship is accepted. The makers of the syllabus stand for no sect or "school." What is desired is that our young people be given an introduction to the Book of Books, that the hands of the Sunday-school teacher be strengthened, and that the study of the Bible be raised to a higher plane by means of a new incentive and a new ideal.

DISCUSSION

NAOUM BEG SHUQUAIR ON THE DERB EL HAGG

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The *Biblical World* contained, in its April number, an article on "The Route of Israel in the Desert." In that article I discussed the two roads over one of which Israel made

their journey; the traditional road to the traditional Mt. Sinai, and the Derb el Hagg, the "Pilgrim Road," over which some modern scholars believe Israel traveled to a

Mt. Sinai which must be sought among the mountains of Se'ir, in Edom, north of the Gulf of Akabah.

Since writing this article I have discussed these roads with one of the best-known and ablest students of the Old Testament in America. He said, "After all, it *is* the Derb el Hagg, it *is* 'The Pilgrimage Route,' pilgrimages have passed over it, it must be a practical road and there must be enough water to make pilgrimages possible. I wish I knew more of the Derb el Hagg." Following that conversation I wrote to Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D., of Cairo, asking him if it would be possible to get any information regarding this road from the sheiks in the University of el Azhar in Cairo. He referred my letter to Mr. W. H. T. Gairdner, and I take pleasure in here acknowledging my debt to Mr. Gairdner for the very valuable information his letter to me contains.

He called on Naoum Beg Shuquair, of the Egyptian Intelligence Department, who is "an extremely able Syrian, well read in Arabic history, fond of research, and, over and above all this, knows Sinai, Akabah, and the Desert like the palm of his hand, having been all over the ground when the frontier was delimited after the Teba incident with Turkey. He is the author of an Arabic *History of the Soudan*, and of an unpublished monograph on the Sinai District."

F. E. Hoskins, in *From the Nile to Nebo*, says, "A day went in Cairo in interviews with Naoum Beg Shuquair, of the Intelligence Department of the Soudan. He had journeyed extensively in the Sinai Peninsula and was well acquainted with the Bedawin Sheiks and the customs of the country. He explained very carefully certain of the routes, the places where we would certainly find water, and directed our attention to some of the more important problems of the region. Through him we received a permit from the War Department and letters to Sheikh Musa Bu Nasir, the highest sheikh of all the Bedawin tribes of the Peninsula."

Again, on p. 161, he says, "Naoum Beg Shucair had given us letters of introduction to the Sheikh of all the clans in Sinai." The following is a copy of the notes taken by Mr. Gairdner of his conversation with Naoum Beg:

"The Derb el Hagg was opened up as a pilgrim route by the Moslem Sultans of Egypt. Queen Shajor-ed-Durr (died 1257) was probably the first to open the route. Wells were sunk and cuttings made at the difficult Naqb el Akaba (a very bad six hours' march just west of the head of the Gulf of Akabah) by various Sultans, especially el Ghari (died 1516), and the Turkish Sultans repaired these.

"These facts are known by inscriptions on the walls and cuttings themselves, which have been collected by Naoum Beg. It is absolutely certain that no such line of wells existed before these operations. Only one possible indication of an older well exists in all that long waterless stretch of one hundred and twenty miles. It is therefore quite certain that it would have been 'more than impossible' (so Naoum Beg) for it to have been used as a route for foot travelers before Islam. Even a camel could have undertaken the route only in winter.

"A traveler from Egypt who did not take the northern route to Gaza had only one other alternative, namely to turn south and take the traditional line of the Israelites to the traditional Sinai. This line is well watered. Even a traveler to the East side of the Gulf of Akabah (Midian) would have to pass over that route and through the traditional region of Horeb. From Horeb his route would bring him to Nawaibi, on the Gulf of Akabah, via Wadi el Ain. From Nawaibi there is a good route north to Gaza via en Qadesh. But if the traveler wants to get to Midian he must either cross to the other side of the Gulf of Akabah on a boat, or else he must follow the shore line until he turns the head of the Gulf. This is quite possible; there are no wells but water can be obtained by digging."

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE

A PROFESSIONAL READING COURSE ON THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. V

With this instalment the professional reading course on Foreign Missions prepared by PROFESSORS E. D. BURTON and A. K. PARKER comes to a close. The countries discussed here are just now in the public eye and furnish illustrations of the extraordinary power possessed by educational missions. Another reading course will begin in the October issue of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

Part IV. Turkey

Books Required

- Barton. *Daybreak in Turkey*. Pilgrim Press, 1908. \$1.50.
Edinburgh Conference Reports, Vols. I and III.

Books Recommended

- Zwemer. *Islam, A Challenge to Faith*. Student Volunteer Movement, 1907. \$0.50.

A compact study of the origin, spread, and character of Islam and of missions to the Mohammedans.

- Cromer. *Modern Egypt*. Macmillan, 1908. 2 vols. \$6.00.

A very able work dealing with the history of Egypt from 1876-1907, written by the Earl of Cromer, consul-general of Great Britain in Egypt, 1886-1907.

- Buxton. *Turkey in Revolution*. Unwin, 1909. \$2.50.

- Richter. *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*. Revell. \$2.50.

A volume that does the same work for the countries of the Levant that the author's volume on India does for that country.

- Arpee. *The Armenian Awakening*. University of Chicago Press. \$1.25.

- Hamlin. *My Life and Times*. Revell. \$1.50.

- Washburn. *Fifty Years in Constantinople*. Houghton Mifflin Co. \$3.00.

- Jessup. *Fifty-three Years in Syria*. Revell. \$5.00.

For further comments on these volumes, see *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, VI, 486 ff.

Mohammedanism in Turkey and Elsewhere

Within the bounds of what we know today as Turkey, the three great monotheistic religions, Judaism and the two daughters of Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism, had their birth. All three of these religions have spread by emigration or by conquest far beyond the land of their origin, and have far more adherents elsewhere than in Turkey. The Jews of Turkey are relatively insignificant in number and influence. They occupy a place of far greater importance in Europe and the United States than in the land of their former power and glory. Christianity is represented by the Jacobites, Maronites, Greek Catholics, Gregorians (Armenians), Roman Catholics, and Protestant Christians. But ignorance, poverty, and oppression have greatly reduced the influence of all the older Christian communities, and one no longer looks to Turkey to find Christianity at its best.

There are twice as many Mohammedans in China as in Turkey, five times as many in India, and more than one and one-half times as many in Africa. But Mecca and Medina are still the sacred cities of Mohammedanism, visited by

thousands of pilgrims every year, and the Turkish sultan is still recognized as the head of all Mohammedanism. Turkey is today, as it has been for centuries, pre-eminently the land of the Mohammedan.¹

This, therefore, is the proper point at which to make some general study of the Mohammedan religion, of which little has been said in connection with China and India. For this purpose we have selected Gairdner, *The Reproach of Islam*. It will serve as an introduction to the study of the religious condition both of the Turkish empire and of Africa. It was issued as a mission-study textbook, but is of much higher grade than many books so classed. It should be read consecutively two or three times at least, and a repeated reading will not be irksome. Readers will find (a) that it is written in a very attractive style; dulness is never in itself a recommendation, though useful and often indispensable books are sometimes dull; (b) that it is easily manageable: it is lucid, its material is well arranged, it is furnished with maps and indexes, bibliography, and helpful questions; (c) that its range is wide: Mr. Gairdner has gone all round his subject; if he does not solve every perplexing question, he at least dodges none; (d) that it is thoroughly religious: one feels that its author has more than an academic or scientific concern in the history and prospects of Islam.

From Gairdner the reader may well take up the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, Vol. IV, chap. v, and if he wishes to pursue his study still farther may turn to Zwemer.

The General Situation in Turkey

The last five years have been troublous times in Turkey. The revolution of July, 1908, came as an utter surprise to the outside world, and even to all the residents of Turkey outside a very limited circle. Dr. Barton's *Daybreak in Turkey*, published at the end of 1908, betrays outside of its last chapter, which was written after the revolution, no expectation or suspicion of the important change that at the beginning of the year was even then about to take place. Compelled to the step by the Young Turks, operating through the Committee of Ottoman Union and Progress, July 24, 1908, Abdul Hamid II revived the constitution of 1876, which had been suspended since 1877, accompanying it by various proclamations and orders which made subsequent retraction practically impossible. This act was greeted with the greatest joy by the Turkish people. Newspapers expressing the long suppressed aspirations of the people sprang quickly into existence; Moslems and Greeks saluted one another as brethren; "Liberty, Justice, Equality, and Fraternity" became the accepted motto of the new era, and the world looked on in amazement at a revolution accomplished with almost less of bloodshed than an ordinary street riot might have caused.

But the Young Turks, who had forced the hand of the Sultan and who remained the unofficial but not unrecognized power behind the throne, have found themselves confronted by difficulties of which they could scarcely have guessed beforehand. Bulgaria, for some years practically but not nominally

¹According to the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1911, the Mohammedans of Asiatic Turkey number 10,087,800, the Gregorians 1,112,000, other Christians 1,751,000.

independent, took occasion to declare her independence October 5, 1908. As the sequel to an unsuccessful attempt to regain the power he had lost, Abdul Hamid II was forced, in April, 1909, to abdicate, and was succeeded by his brother whom he had kept in prison the most of his life to prevent his creating trouble. The new sultan took the title of Mohammed V. Trouble began among the Albanians in 1909, and more serious disturbances occurred in 1910 and 1911. In the latter year also Italy forced Turkey into a war on the question of Italy's right to Tripoli, which, after great loss of life and property on both sides but especially to Turkey, was ended by the Treaty of Lausanne, October 18, 1912. But war followed quickly upon war. Ten days before the Treaty of Lausanne, Montenegro declared war against Turkey; on the 17th Turkey declared war on Bulgaria and Servia, and on the 18th, the day of the Treaty of Lausanne, Greece declared war against Turkey. As we write the Balkan war thus inaugurated is drawing to a close, issuing in a crushing defeat for Turkey and the practical loss of her European possessions.

Yet all these disasters, seeming and real, may be, and it is hoped will prove to be, the means of bringing in a new era of prosperity and advancement for Turkey. Relieved of a portion of the burden of ruling alien peoples, with a clearer perception than before of what constitute the elements of strength in a nation, with fresh reason to develop education and to grant liberty of thought, Turkey may now enter upon a period of enlightenment and progress

surpassing that of any previous period. That the Balkan states will be the ultimate gainers by the readjustment of political relations which will result from the war, there is little room to doubt.

We cannot do better than to begin our whole study of the situation by a reading of Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, chapter by chapter, not omitting the extracts from other authors which precede the several chapters. This volume, usefully supplementing Gairdner in respect to the Moslem religion, gives in brief space a vivid and accurate impression of conditions as they were previous to the revolution in 1908, and requires little modification to describe conditions today except by the addition of the political facts briefly stated above. Five years is but a short period in the history of a nation and Turkey has been so fully occupied since 1908 with rebellions and wars as to have made marked internal progress impossible. China's new era dates from 1895 but by 1900 she had only got far enough to throw herself with desperate energy into the Boxer movement. There was a different story to tell in 1905 and still another one in 1912. What we shall see in Turkey in the next decade no one can foresee. But we may seize the opportunity to inform ourselves as to how things were before the dawn of the new era in 1908, and to this study Dr. Barton's volume forms an admirable introduction.

For the story of the revolution one may consult Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution*. For the story of the abdication of Abdul Hamid, the Albanian uprising, the Turco-Italian war, and the Balkan

war, one must look to the annual cyclopedias and the magazines and newspapers.

History of Modern Evangelizing Movements

The history of Christianity in Turkey goes back to the beginning of Christianity itself. Jesus was the first preacher of the Christian religion in Turkey. The story of its development in the land of the Syrians, Arabs, and Turks covers nineteen centuries. One who would study it with measurable fulness may do so in Stanley, *History of the Eastern Church*.

But we are concerned in our present study with the modern era, marked by the reflex influence of Western Protestant Christianity upon Turkey. This movement dates from 1820 when the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions arrived in the country. Roman Catholics had obtained a foothold in Turkey in the days of the Crusades, and were sufficiently strong to resist the incoming of the Protestants in the second quarter of the last century. Today the chief non-indigenous Christian forces operating in Turkey are French Roman Catholicism and American (Congregational and Presbyterian) Protestantism. Richter's *History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* tells the story of the work done by the latter. This is not set down as a required book in this course, but is commended to all whose time permits the reading of it.

The spirit in which the American

movement was begun is well expressed in the instructions of the board given to Pliny Fiske and Levi Parsons, recorded by Barton, p. 119. It is noticeable that the Jews are mentioned first of all among those to whom they are to carry the message, followed by the pagans, Mohammedans, and Christians. The results achieved have not been in this order. Converts from Judaism have been very few; those from paganism practically none; the work among Mohammedans, while very important, has issued as yet in few avowed converts. The most important definitely visible results have been achieved in the old Christian communities, in which unfortunately Christianity had become, for many of their members, a form and a name with little life or power, and in the new Protestant community, unintentionally created.

The attitude of the board at home and of the missionaries on the field toward these historic Christian churches is worthy of careful note. It is clearly stated by Dr. Barton in chaps. xv and xvi. Nowhere has this policy been tried on a larger scale; nowhere can its wisdom be more effectively tested.

To gain a notion of the situation in respect to Mohammedanism, the reader will do well to read the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, I, 168-90, which, though covering much more than the Turkish Empire, will afford an impression of the task and challenge which the Mohammedanism of Turkey presents to the Christian world.¹ Why has Mohammed-

¹The rather studious ignoring of the work done by the American Board among the Greek Catholics and the Gregorian Christians is due to the definition of missions which the Edinburgh Conference felt constrained to adopt, limiting it to work for non-Christians and excluding efforts of one Christian body to modify the type of religious life in another Christian community.

danism been so slow to yield to Christian influence? Is the restoration of the indigenous Christianity to life and power an essential prerequisite to an effective influence on Mohammedanism? Must a long period of permeation of Mohammedanism by Christian ideas precede any marked break in its solid lines? Is such a break near at hand? Are we to look for the reformation of Mohammedanism or the conversion of the Mohammedans, or both? See Barton, chap. xi; Richter, pp. 76-88.

Education

The Turkish government had before the revolution of 1908 laid out on paper a complete system of education. But it was largely on paper and of those schools that existed many were extremely inefficient. There were undoubtedly some able, honest, and intelligent men engaged in education and holding positions of responsibility in educational work, but they were few in number and their efforts were largely thwarted by the prevalent corruption. There were (or are) several law schools, two medical schools, one at Constantinople and one in Damascus, various training schools for the civil and military service, a nominal university in Constantinople, but in fact no schools (other than those maintained by missionary bodies) of the rank of an American college.

Immediately after the revolution of 1908 efforts were made to establish new and better schools. But the attention and resources of the government have been so absorbed by political and military affairs that it is to be feared little progress has been made.

The Roman Catholic church has

been for years carrying on educational work in Turkey. Their most notable institution is the University of St. Joseph at Beirut, conducted by the French Jesuits. It has four schools—those of philosophy, medicine, theology, and oriental studies—an extensive library, a printing and publishing department, a faculty including some very scholarly men, and about eight hundred students. It was formerly subsidized by the French government for political reasons, but this subsidy was discontinued some years ago. The Roman Catholics conduct schools of lower grade in various parts of the empire, but exact statistics are very difficult to obtain.

By far the most important educational work, however, in the Turkish Empire is that which is conducted by the American missions, this term being used to include boards of missionary colleges as well as missionary boards in the larger sense. Notable not only among the educational institutions of Turkey, but worthy to rank among those of the world, are Robert College and the American College for Girls, at Constantinople, and the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. Among others less conspicuous and with smaller numbers of students, but of great importance, are the International College at Smyrna, the colleges of the American Board at Aintab, Harput, and Marash, and numerous other schools of a more elementary character.

Robert College was established in 1863 by Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, and was incorporated by the state of New York in 1864. It has between four and five hundred students, of whom about 150 are in college classes. Its property,

which in 1908 amounted to \$875,000, was greatly increased in 1910 by the legacy of one and a half million dollars from Mr. J. S. Kennedy of New York. The American College for Girls is just removing from its location on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus to the European side, where it has been enabled by recent large gifts to purchase a beautiful property overlooking the Bosphorus and to begin the erection of buildings suitable to the site. It aims to do for the women of Turkey a service similar to that which is rendered in this country by such institutions as Wellesley and Bryn Mawr. Its students come from various parts of the empire and include representatives of all the religions of the empire.

The Syrian Protestant College was incorporated in 1863, and opened in 1866, only three years later than Robert College. Like the two previously mentioned colleges, it occupies a beautiful site, surpassed perhaps by that of only one or two other educational institutions in the world. It has seven departments—a preparatory course of five years, a collegiate course, a school of commerce, a school of medicine, a school of pharmacy, a nurses' training school, and a school of biblical archaeology. Its faculty numbers approximately seventy, its students between eight and nine hundred. Its school of medicine is unquestionably the best medical school in the Levant and has in its faculty men of international reputation.

Space forbids our describing the educational work conducted by the Congregational and Presbyterian boards. Information concerning them can be obtained by writing to the Congrega-

tional Board in Boston and the Presbyterian Board in New York. The limitations of space forbid also the attempt to enumerate the schools conducted by other mission boards. These are, though important in themselves, much less extensive and influential than those of the two American societies.

Philanthropy and Literature

The development in these lines has been less conspicuous in Turkey than in some other missionary lands. Hospitals have been established both by the Roman Catholics and by the American Presbyterians and Congregationalists; mention should also be made of the hospital maintained in Jerusalem by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. But the most notable medical enterprises are the medical school of the St. Joseph University and that of the Syrian Protestant College, both in Beirut and mentioned above. The American Presbyterians carry on an industrial work at Sidon, and there are also various industrial schools in Palestine. Robert College is using a portion of the Kennedy legacy to establish an engineering department, a notable step in missionary education. The Presbyterians have long maintained publishing houses at Beirut and Smyrna of which Dr. Barton gives an account in chap. xviii of his book. But much remains to be done alike in medical work, philanthropy, industry, and literature.

Questions for Review and Discussion

Summarize the present conditions in Turkey under the following heads:

1. What are the racial elements of the population of the Turkish empire?

2. Characterize the present political situation in Turkey.

3. Summarize the religious situation in Turkey, including the past history of the religions which originated in what is now the Turkish empire, and the present situation in respect to religion.

4. What agencies are carrying on educational work in Turkey? Characterize each as to the extent and character of its work.

5. Do you approve the attitude which American missionaries in Turkey have usually taken toward (a) the old Christian churches of this country, and (b) Mohammedanism? If not, define the policy which it seems to you they should have followed.

6. Is the educational policy pursued by such institutions as Robert College at Constantinople, the International College at Smyrna, and the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut justified on principle and by its results?

Part V. Africa

Books Required

Edinburgh Conference Reports, Vols. I and III.

Gairdner. *The Reproach of Islam*.

Stewart. *Dawn in the Dark Continent*.

Books Recommended for Supplementary Reading and Reference

Milligan. *The Fetish Folk of Africa*.
Revell. \$1.50.

Milligan. *The Jungle Folk of Africa*.
Revell. \$1.50.

Johnston. *George Grenfell and the Congo*.
London: Baptist Missionary Society.
30s.

Blaikie. *Personal Life of Livingstone*.
Revell. \$1.50.

Berry. *Bishop Hannington*. Revell. \$1.00.

The General Situation

Africa is no longer for the missionary pre-eminently a land of peril and of mystery. Today railroads and steamers are carrying the trader and the teacher into the heart of the Dark Continent, and the telegraph and the telephone have established easy and rapid communication between its remotest settlements and the coast. The Sudan is giving up its secrets and the Sahara is losing its terrors. The African savage, quite "uncontaminated" by civilization, is hardly to be found by the most diligent search of the student of anthropology; and the "missionary-and-the-cannibal-joke," the persistent repetition of which has long disgraced our Christian civilization, is at last disappearing even from its stronghold in the comic weeklies. The life of a missionary in Africa is still no doubt marked by peculiar limitations and privations, more serious than those encountered in China and Japan, and there is still much arduous pioneering to be done, but however formidable the difficulties yet to be encountered, the task of Christianizing Africa has ceased to be regarded merely as a doubtful experiment.

It appears, nevertheless, that the rapid advance into Africa of Western civilization, and the position of the continent among European powers are creating new problems, more serious than those which the earliest Christian teachers encountered. They are quite unlike the questions to be answered in China and in Japan, but in no respect are they less important or less important. Is the magnitude of the questions peculiar to Africa adequately appreciated by missionary students in general?

The reading of the books to which your attention is here called should present them clearly to your mind. That these questions are as yet by no means answered renders their patient consideration the more important.

No better beginning in the study of Africa as a mission field can be made than in the perusal of the report of Commission I of the Edinburgh Conference, I, 203-45. Its careful résumé of what has been done, and what waits to be done in the evangelization of Africa is intelligible only with the aid of the atlas. In the study of no other mission field is the atlas so indispensable. Make yourself entirely familiar at the outset with present-day political divisions and political control of Africa. After reading Vol. I, pp. 203-11, follow carefully with the atlas the discussion (pp. 211-24) of the seven great political divisions of the continent. Then call up in your mind the many widely differing aspects of the missionary endeavor set forth in these pages. To name only a few: the future of the Coptic church; the duty of the missionary in view of the action of the English government in prohibiting all aggressive evangelistic work among the Mohammedan people under its care; the vast Sahara with its millions of nomads not yet reached by a single missionary; Liberia and its peculiar claim upon the sympathies of the people of the United States; the future of the Congo States, decimated by the oppression of the servants of King Leopold and devastated afresh today by the sleeping sickness; the inevitable racial antagonisms, particularly in South Africa, which the spread of a Christian

civilization even appears to intensify; the rapid growth in South and Central Africa of that astonishingly independent church movement among the natives known by many names, but described in general as "Ethiopianism." Certainly the responsibility of the missionary in Africa cannot be summed up, as an earlier generation assumed, in the single task of preaching the simple gospel to the untutored savage.

History

Stewart's *Dawn in the Dark Continent* does not deal exclusively, it is true, with the history of missions in Africa. Its second chapter might be cited under the head of the religions of Africa and read as supplementary to Gairdner and Zwemer. Moreover, there is, of course, some duplication in Stewart of matters already touched upon in the *Edinburgh Conference Reports*. Yet, on the whole, it would be better to read Stewart continuously, so far at least as through the first nine chapters. This will give the reader an instructive and interesting survey of the efforts which up to the time of the writing of this book had been made for the spread of Christianity in Africa. And unless he is already exceptionally well informed concerning this portion of the world he will almost certainly be greatly surprised at the extent and effect of what has already been achieved.

Chaps. x and xiv deal with general questions pertaining to missions rather than to Africa in particular, but in chap. xv Stewart returns to discuss the question of the future of Africa and the African. This last the reader should not omit even if he finds it expedient to pass over chaps. x-xiv.

Education

The missionary has always been a teacher as well as an evangelist, notwithstanding, sometimes, the disapproval of the home constituency which has thought it desirable, and practicable also, to postpone the establishment of schools until an extensive evangelization has been accomplished. As a matter of fact, this has never been done even in Africa, where if anywhere the needs of the Christian community might be met, it would seem, for another generation at least by the establishment of a system of primary schools. The question of Christian education is a complex one. The reading of *Edinburgh Conference Reports*, Vol. III, chap. v, will put the matter beyond all doubt. Evangelization cannot be separated from Christian education. What in particular shall the schools undertake to do? What class of pupils shall be invited to them? Can missionary boards properly assume responsibility for the establishment of industrial schools and trade schools? Can they afford to neglect them? What training should be given to the native evangelist? Should the schools employ the English language exclusively as the medium of instruction? Or can the vernacular of Africa be so enriched and purified as to meet the needs of Christian communities? We can save souls perhaps in the sense in which the pioneers of the missionary enterprise used that phrase, while ignoring these and a score of similar questions. But we must meet them without flinching if we propose to establish in Africa a Christian civilization.

Egypt, though geographically a part of Africa, is much more allied to Turkey,

from the point of view of civilization, than it is to the other parts of Africa. This holds especially with reference to that which it has inherited from the past, while in respect to the reflex influence of Western civilization and ideas Egypt is rather to be compared with India than with the other parts of Africa or with Turkey. The educational agencies at work in Egypt are (1) what we may call the old Egyptian schools including the elementary vernacular schools and the El Azhar University; (2) schools maintained by the Egyptian government under the predominant influences if not practical control of the British consul-general; (3) schools maintained by the Provincial councils; (4) schools voluntarily supported by native religious bodies, Moslem and Coptic; and (5) Western missionary schools, of which those of the United Presbyterian Board of North America are strongly predominant.

The present adviser to the minister of education is an Englishman, formerly a Christian missionary, and the system of schools which is being developed under his advice is marked by characteristic British thoroughness and efficiency. The British government has indeed conceived it to be its duty in no way to make the schools an instrument of opposition to Islam, or, perhaps one should rather say, to give to Mohammedanism a predominant influence in them. Whether we approve or disapprove this policy, it will in the end undoubtedly tend greatly to modify Mohammedanism itself. For fuller information about these schools consult the annual reports of the British consul-general to the houses of Parliament. See also Sailer, "Problems of

Education in Egypt," *International Review of Missions*, July, 1912.

The schools of the American United Presbyterian church, established at first, of course, purely as an adjunct to evangelistic work, have been, especially of late years, developed with great vigor and with a constant effort to raise their educational standard. Their pupils have been drawn predominantly from the membership of the old Coptic church, but Mohammedan pupils have of late years somewhat increased in numbers. While in Turkey the American missionaries have been almost of one mind, in following, especially in respect to the ancient churches of that land, a policy of permeation rather than of "separatism" (not to use the somewhat offensive term "proselyting"), in Egypt on the other hand the missionaries have more commonly held that the religious life of those whom they lead to more intelligent conceptions of Christianity can be effectively nurtured and developed only by the organization of them into separate churches. At present there is some difference of opinion among them as to the relative advantages of the proselyting and the permeating policy.

The most notable missionary school in Egypt is, on the whole, the College at Assiut, with which is associated the Pressley Memorial institute for Girls, but there are also important schools in Cairo and Alexandria, and elementary schools in various smaller places. The Assiut College has a faculty of some twenty-five teachers, and approximately nine hundred pupils. The total number of pupils in the schools of this board is about sixteen thousand, those in schools managed by the government some

thirty thousand; in schools inspected by the government, 200,000.

Christian schools other than those above named are chiefly those maintained by the Church Missionary Society of England and those of the Roman Catholic church. There is much reason to anticipate that under the combined influence especially of the schools maintained by the government and those of the Protestant missionary societies great changes will occur in the next few years in the type of thought and in the character of the life of the people of Egypt.

Philanthropy and Literature

The question of industrial training, the establishment of hospitals and medical schools, and the creation of literature takes on a somewhat different aspect in connection with Africa, especially its less civilized portions, from that which it presents when one is considering India with its British government and Japan with its own advanced if moderate civilization. Each of these problems presents, moreover, its peculiar difficulties. Nothing more than the most general survey is possible in connection with our present course of reading. The *Edinburgh Conference Report*, Vol. III, chap. viii, deals briefly with the question of industrial training, and chap. viii, pp. 347-50, touches with like brevity upon the question of literature. Stewart deals here and there with all three phases of the subject—hospitals, industrial work, and literature.

Questions for Review and Discussion

1. What are the great outstanding differences between Africa as a mission field and India, China, and Japan?

2. What forms of missionary work appeal to you as most important to be carried on in Africa?

3. What are some of the greatest names associated with the modern missionary movement in Africa?

4. From the point of Christian missions, what differentiates Egypt from the rest of the continent of Africa?

Conclusion

Those who have followed this course through have gained a general knowledge of the position which Christianity occupies today in the great non-Christian nations of the world. They cannot have failed to be impressed with the magnitude of the task on which a few resolute souls a century ago induced the Christian church to embark, and which has gradually enlisted an increasing number of Christian men and women, until today practically every Protestant denomination in Europe and America is taking an active part in it, sending out men and women and pouring in money, and no phase of the work of the church arouses greater enthusiasm or calls forth greater devotion.

Yet perhaps some of us have lost sight of the great sweep of the movement in attention to details, or on the other hand have failed to appreciate its full significance just for lack of knowledge of those details which make a deeper impression than any general statements.

That we may gather up some of the more notable results of this great movement there has been included among the reading required, and as a conclusion of the whole course, Dr. Barton's little volume, *Human Progress through Missions*. If at the outset we can in some

measure picture to ourselves the world as it was in 1790, and compare it with the picture which this volume will present to us when read against the background of the studies of the individual countries which we have been making, it will help us to gain a more adequate impression of the real significance of the modern missionary movement.

Topics for General Review

1. What are the great non-Christian religious and ethical systems of the world today? In what countries are the adherents of each of these great systems to be found and what is the approximate number of their followers?

2. What fact respecting its origin differentiates Mohammedanism from the rest of these religious and ethical systems?

3. Which of them in your judgment ranks highest and which forms the best basis on which to build Christianity or constitutes the best preparation for it?

4. Which of all the peoples we have studied is likely to have the largest influence on the future history of the world? Is any one of them likely to be so unimportant that from the point of view of the future of this world it can be left out of our missionary program?

5. What is your definition of the purpose of Christian missions?

6. What is your conception of the proper scope of missionary education?

7. If evangelism, edification of the Christian community, permeation of the non-Christian community with Christian ideas, and the promotion of the general welfare are all of them included within the scope of Christian missions, how are they related one to another?

8. In what ways, if any, does your definition of the purpose of Christian missions differ from that which was commonly held a generation ago? How does it differ from that which was held one hundred years ago?

9. Has the history of Christian missions since 1792, when Carey went out to India, justified the hopes then cherished?

10. Sum up in a few sentences what seem to you the most notable results of the movement as a whole. Have these justified the expenditure of money and of human life that they have cost?

11. What marked change has taken place in the attitude of mission boards and churches toward one another within the last quarter-century? Where has

this change of attitude been most marked, in the home lands or on mission fields?

12. What, in your judgment, are the principal causes of this change?

13. Has the movement reached its limit and shall we look for a reaction, or will it go still farther (a) at home? (b) abroad?

14. Is there any country in the world in which it is reasonable to look forward to an early unification of the Christian churches? If so, what is that country, and if several, in which country do you expect this result first?

15. Define definitely and comprehensively the policy which the Christian church ought now to adopt toward the work of spreading Christianity in non-Christian lands.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

With this month the suggestions for leaders of Bible classes are suspended. They will be resumed in the September issue of the BIBLICAL WORLD. Announcements for the studies of the next school year will be made in the July number. The summer months offer an excellent opportunity for preparation for the leadership of a class in the autumn. Suggestions as to subject and textbook may be secured by addressing the office of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago. The suggestions to leaders which have already appeared in the BIBLICAL WORLD in 1911-12 and 1912-13 may be secured separately from the office of the INSTITUTE.

The Life of Christ¹

No one can approach the story of the death of Jesus without sadness. This feeling is not lessened by reminding ourselves of his divine nature, for his very divinity is manifested most strongly in the perfection of his human qualities, not the least of which

was his susceptibility to bodily and mental suffering.

But the horror of the spectacle of Jesus in the hands of his enemies, given over to the executors of legal murder, seemingly utterly defeated in the purpose of his life,

¹ The textbook of this course is *The Life of Christ*, by Ernest D. Burton; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

is surpassed by the glory of the opposite picture of his calm, majestic forbearance, and pity for ignorance even when it was about to slay him. The transition to the stories of his visible triumph in the resurrection appearances brings a fitting climax not only to the work of this month but to that of the course which is thus completed.

There is very great haziness in the minds of most people as to the actual succession of events in the accounts of the betrayal, arrest, trial, death, and resurrection of Jesus. A good harmony of the Gospels through which to set them in order is especially desirable. A self-constructed harmonized arrangement of the Scripture text, worked out by a member of the class from the outlines in the textbook, for the benefit of other members, would insure at least one person working through the accounts carefully.

The thought of the class should be kept upon the ethical and spiritual aspects of the tragedy of Jesus' death, the desires, fears, hopes, and passions of the characters in the stupendous drama, and the contrasts which they offer in a study of the mind and heart of Jesus. But all these can be truly appreciated only through a careful consideration of the events in detail. The textbook furnishes the main outlines. These may be further subdivided to advantage. The following outline of the trial before Pilate is an excellent example of detailed work.¹ Discussions of this sort should be assigned well in advance.

- a) The Jews bring Jesus before Pilate, but refuse to formulate an accusation. Mark 15:1; Luke 23:1; John 18:28-31.
- b) The charge of treason is preferred against Jesus. Luke 23:2.
- c) The examination of Pilate and the confession of Jesus. Matt. 27:11; Mark 15:2; Luke 23:3; John 18:33-38a.
- d) The acquittal by Pilate. Luke 23:4; John 18:38b.

- e) The renewed accusation. Matt. 27:12-14; Mark 15:3-5; Luke 23:5.
- f) Pilate sends Jesus to Herod. Luke 23:6-12.
- g) Second acquittal and proposed release of Jesus by Pilate. Luke 23:13-16.
- h) The priests cause the people to prefer Barabbas. Matt. 27:15-21; Mark 15:6-11; Luke 23:18, 19; John 18:39, 40.
- i) The crowd demands that Jesus be crucified. Matt. 27:15-21; Mark 15:12-14; Luke 23:20-23.
- j) Pilate sacrifices Jesus to the priests without condemning him. Matt. 27:24-26; Mark 15:15; Luke 23:24, 25; John 19:1.
- k) The soldiers abuse Jesus preparatory to the crucifixion. Matt. 27:27-30; Mark 15:16-19; John 19:2, 3.
- l) After a final attempt to release him, Pilate formally condemns Jesus as a matter of self-preservation. John 19:4-15.
- m) Jesus taken to be crucified. Matt. 27:31; Mark 15:20; John 19:16.

A great difference will be noted between the general character of the resurrection stories and the narratives of Jesus' death. There may be members of the class who will raise a question as to the reliability of these resurrection narratives. The leader should read carefully on this subject in such of the reference books as he can command, and direct the attention of the class particularly to the overwhelming belief in these appearances of Jesus among the early Christians, which is so evident in all of the preaching of the apostles and of Paul. It is not, in this case, the details of the stories that are important, but the tremendous fact back of them, that after his death Jesus manifested himself in some unmistakable manner to various groups of those who had believed in the essential facts of his teaching.

¹ From Burton and Mathews, *Life of Christ*.

Program I

Leader: A presentation of the legal method of procedure in trying a Jew of Jesus' time for an offense, criminal under the Jewish law, but not under the Roman, and what constituted criminal offense under Jewish and Roman law.

Members of the class: (1) The Gethsemane experience, from the point of view of Peter, James, John, and Judas. (2) Jesus, from the point of view of the Jewish Sanhedrin. (3) Jesus, from the point of view of Pontius Pilate. (4) The story of the trial before Pilate and a discussion of it. (5) Peter and John in the crisis. (6) The Sanhedrin, Pilate, the rabble, Peter, and John from the point of view of Jesus.

Subject for discussion: Could Jesus have saved himself? If so, why did he not do so?

Program II

Leader: The leader's task at this meeting should be to give a suitable background for and attitude toward, the resurrection stories.

Members of the class: (1) The events at the tomb. (2) Stories of the appearance of Jesus, (a) by Cleopas and his companions, (b) by Peter, (c) by large groups of disciples, (d) by Thomas, (e) by the disciples on the shore of Galilee, (f) by Paul: I Cor. 15:8; I Cor. 9:1; Acts 9:1-9; Acts 22:6-11; Acts 26:12-18. (3) The great commission. What does it mean today and now?

Subject for discussion: Can Christianity become a universal religion?

At this, the last meeting of the class, the leader should direct the thought of the class to the larger results of the study

of the year, for the attainment of which each student has been responsible. The facts of Jesus' life have been studied in order that the class might secure an appreciation of his supreme personality. This is a task too great to be accomplished in one year. A foundation only has been laid. Why not now assign topics to different members of the class to be studied and thought upon during the summer? They may be such as the following: Jesus (a) the personal friend, (b) his intellectual alertness, (c) his knowledge of truth, (d) his treatment of bodily illness, (e) his conception of himself, (f) his personal religion, (g) his attitude toward his environment, (h) his method and skill as a teacher, (i) his work as a leader of public thought.

REFERENCE READING

Rhees, *The Life of Jesus*, chaps. viii, ix; Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, pp. 170-90; Stapfer, *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, chaps. viii ff.; Dawson, *The Life of Christ*, pp. 389-447; Andrews, *The Life of Our Lord*, pp. 502-639; Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus*, entire book; Edersheim, *The Life of Christ*, pp. 533-652; Gilbert, *The Student's Life of Jesus*, pp. 273-334; Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, chaps. lvii-lxii; Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus*, pp. 464-529.

Consult Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* for articles on "Resurrection of Christ," "Death of Christ," "Crucifixion," "Cross Bearing," "Cross," "Crown of Thorns," "Malefactor," "Pilate," "Piece of Money," "Accusations against Christ," "Agony," "Appearances of Christ," "Annas," "Caiaphas," "Gethsemane," "Sanhedrin," "Sepulchre," "Tomb," "Trial of Jesus." Articles upon many of these subjects will also be found in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

The Foreshadowings of the Christ¹

A long period, perhaps three hundred years, is covered by the work of the prophets which we are to consider in this final month of our work: Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Joel, and Jonah. All of these books are brief. The longest of them, that bearing the name of Zechariah, contains but fourteen chapters, probably coming from more than one prophet and at least two periods.

To the class, as well as to the Hebrews who journeyed back to Palestine in companies large and small, the thought of the historic return is full of anticipation. After the glowing promises of Isaiah, it is hard to realize that the rebuilding of a ruined city by a poor and struggling population was no easy and inspiring task. These books come as cries out of the darkness from a people driven by the claims of humanity and their own need, to mingle with the neighboring peoples, yet held apart from them, in the belief that the preservation of their own integrity as a race could alone insure them success and happiness. It was more than a struggle for existence as a state; there was a mental readjustment and a moral battle beside which the problems of the exile were but a shadow. Only the shell of formalism and legality in which the religion of Jehovah became incased could have preserved it through this long period of external persecution and internal conflict. That it was preserved, and ministered to souls great with spiritual longing, is abundantly seen in the Psalms and Prophets that we shall study.

The foreshadowings of this period center about the coming of Jehovah and the preparation of his city externally and spiritually for that great event. Every disaster, every defection of individuals or groups, seems to prophets and priests alike to postpone that day.

At times they even picture its coming as a day of wrath, because of the indifference of the people to the temple and the worship of Jehovah, an indifference which we may well believe was due in great part to absorption in the effort to secure the necessities of life. In their thought, no man was great enough to be the king of this people. Jehovah was to honor them with his own presence. Looking back over this long period of disappointed hopes and expectations, it seems but a short step to the passionate beliefs of Jesus' day which would not permit the Jews to comprehend a spiritual Messiah, whose mission was to release his people from their burden of formalism, and to set free those souls which, great in their simplicity, might conceive of God as a loving father to all mankind.

The leader of the class will find that the books of Jonah and Joel, originally assigned by this course to an earlier time, seem natural steps in the development of thought if studied in this period.

Program I

Leader: A vivid presentation of the conditions, political, social, and religious, surrounding the city during the early days of the new Jerusalem.

Members of the class: (1) The rebuilding of the city. (2) The material and spiritual crisis which Haggai and Zechariah tried to meet. (3) Malachi's message. (4) Aspects of the "day of Jehovah" as pictured by these prophets. (5) A review by the class of the outline of the entire course, selecting only the section-titles which, printed in heavy type, indicate the more definite steps of the growth of the idea of deliverance. In each case, an effort should be made to recall the general thought of the illustrative

¹ The textbook for this course is *The Foreshadowings of the Christ*, by William Rainey Harper; 50 cents, plus 4 cents postage. Address the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

passage. Let this review continue through the period of the first Isaiah.

Subject for discussion: Have we prophets in our midst today? Is Deut. 18:18, 19 a true test of the modern as well as the ancient prophet?

Program II

Leader: An explanation of what is meant by a theocratic government, and some reflections upon the varying emphasis upon this phase of government in Israel, from the days of Samuel to the coming of Christ.

Members of the class: (1) The message of Joel. (2) Reading of the Book of Jonah with a summary of each story in succession, and a final summary of its great message, the universal interest of Jehovah in the human family. (3) A reading of some of the psalms of rejoicing assigned to the period after the Return. (4) A completion of the survey of "foreshadowings" from Isaiah to the end of the course.

Subjects for discussion: (1) How can we

account for such a joyful note in many of the psalms coming from these times? (2) What has our study of prophecy added to our ability to understand and appreciate Jesus?

REFERENCE READING

H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, chaps. xvi-xx; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, pp. 500-531; Kent, *History of the Jewish People*, Vol. II; Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 145-73; Sanders and Kent, *Messages of the Prophets*, pp. 197-254, 289-302, 323-54; George Adam Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, Vol. II, chaps. xv-xxxviii; Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, entire volume; Goodspeed, *Israel's Messianic Hope*, chaps. viii-x; Chamberlin, *The Hebrew Prophets*, chaps. xiv, xv, xvi.

Consult Hastings' 4-volume and 1-volume *Bible Dictionary* for articles on the following: "Haggai," "Book of Haggai," "Malachi," "Zechariah," "Book of Zechariah," "Joel," "Jonah," "Book of Jonah," "Vision," "Jerusalem," "Religion of Israel," "Ezra," "Nehemiah," "Zerubbabel," "Holiness Code," "Darius."

The AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE will publish in the BIBLICAL WORLD, beginning in October, 1913, two new reading courses for ministers and teachers. The first, covering five months, will present the vital issues which today center about the Religion and the Literature of the Old Testament. It will be prepared by Professor J. M. Powis Smith of the Old Testament Department in the University of Chicago.

The second course will be furnished by Professor Theodore G. Soares of the Department of Practical Homiletics and Religious Education. His topic will be the Psychology of Religion and Its Practical Application in Religious Education.

Announcements of the general work of the Institute will be made in the July, August, and September numbers. These announcements will relate to courses for Bible classes, special teacher-training courses, local institutes for Sunday-school teachers, and many other details.

CURRENT OPINION

Roman Catholic Theology and the Bible

That the Roman church has drifted on the sea of dogma too far from biblical moorings is the contention of a Roman ecclesiastic in a recently published article. Under the interrogatory title "Why Divorce Our Teaching of Theology from Our Teaching of the Bible?" Rev. Hugh Pope, O.P., of the Collegio Angelico, Rome, contributes to the January number of the *Irish Theological Quarterly*. The Roman Catholic theological system rests upon the Bible as interpreted by the church. Of these two elements, the Bible is the less necessary; so much so that St. Irenaeus could say that a knowledge of the written word was not necessary to salvation. Hence it is that when once the church has systematized her teaching, we can dispense with the Bible and listen to the living voice alone. And there can be no question but that the amount of positive theological teaching which the ordinary ecclesiastical student has to digest and assimilate during his course, leaves very little room for investigation of the sources from which that teaching is derived. He wants results, not critical investigations, and his bishop wants him as soon as he can get him.

Is it necessary, or rather, is it right, that we should so completely divorce our teaching of theology from our teaching of the Bible? No one will dispute the fact that these courses are so divorced. We see the effect of this in the way in which the Bible is handled in our manuals of theology; texts are cited in support of doctrines, and yet how often their bearing upon the doctrine in question is highly disputable. In some cases, indeed, these citations can only provoke the merriment of the exegete. The majority of theological professors do not expound the arguments drawn from

Scripture, because they are afraid to handle them. They are insufficiently trained in exegesis, and, if they do not happen to be *au courant* with the trend of modern thought on the question, they are, with justice, afraid lest they should get beyond their depth. And if they are not aware of the difficulties, the effects are often worse, as in the case of the professor who felt a not unnatural difficulty when discussing the share of the serpent in the story of the Fall; after hedging for some time, he at length laid down that the students, whatever they did with the serpent, must at least allow that it was in the neighborhood, probably up a tree!

Our professors are the victims of circumstances. They have never had the requisite training. This not only weakens their exposition of doctrine; it leads them to an uneasy feeling of distrust when they have to deal with biblical exegetes. "You exegetes," said a professor of theology recently, "are terrible people. You have begun by whittling away inspiration till it seems to mean just nothing at all, and now you have so emasculated some of the dogmatic texts upon which we have been wont to base our theological teaching, that we are afraid to use them lest we should be told that they had been long ago shown to be unauthentic." No modern scholar would dream of questioning the value of the Vulgate. But while acknowledging its merits as a version, it would be idle to deny that it has its defects. What the Council of Trent did in reference to this matter was to declare that of all the Latin versions, the Vulgate was the one to be held "authentic"; that it was immaculate was never held for a moment. Yet to many the translation of the Hebrew original into Latin by St. Jerome marked the last step in biblical exegesis; the Hebrew text had been once and for all rendered into

Latin and there was no need for further investigation. When the delicate question of the historicity of certain portions of the Bible is broached—then the theologians are up in arms! But they are uneasily conscious that they are not quite sure of their ground amidst the hail of texts and Hebrew which the exegetes hurl at them.

If both parties had in common a sound knowledge of the Bible and an adequate acquaintance with Hebrew, there would probably be no interchange of opprobrious terms but an equable discussion of the whole matter—with resulting confusion of the exegete. Moreover, by such discussion we should falsify such gloomy anticipations as are voiced in the words of a well-known theologian who remarked a short time back: "We are on the verge of a terrible crisis in the church and this simply because the theologians are secretly afraid of the exegetes, while the exegetes despise the theologians." What is to be done? Clearly the exegete must become a theologian and the theologian must become an exegete. What the ecclesiastical student needs is an introduction to critical methods of handling the Old Testament; he must be taught how to treat a text. When this principle is in force, and is producing fruits, the present state of strain will cease.

Heresy Trials in Germany

The most significant event in German ecclesiastical life in 1912, according to Caspar René Gregory, the well-known American professor in Leipzig, was the church trial in Cologne of Pastor Traub, one of the defenders in a previous trial of Pastor Jatho.

Gregory sets forth this view in an open letter published in *Faith and Doubt* for March. Jatho was tried for expounding liberal views by the *Oberkirchenrat*, the highest ecclesiastical court in the Prussian church, and condemned. Traub, as one of his defenders, is said to have used vehement language in the presence of the court and

was cited to trial for the offense. The case against Traub was conducted by Herr Voigts, a lawyer, president of the court. Voigts and the court, according to Gregory, "covered themselves with infamy legally and technically speaking by condemning Traub unheard" and without even giving him a chance to learn who his accuser was. The sentence passed upon Traub was that he be excluded from the church, be put out of the ministry, that he be deprived of his pension, and that the title of pastor be taken away. The sentence, states Professor Gregory, was "infamous."

Professor Gregory describes the men brought to trial as follows: Jatho was "full of religion and full of Christianity." Of Traub he says: "If there is anything true of Traub it is his directness, manliness, uprightness. There is not a crooked fiber in his nature."

Recent Questionings

William Benjamin Smith, writing under the above caption in the new magazine *Faith and Doubt* has in substance the following to say, relative to the explanation of the meaning and place of Christianity in history: The main effort of the past century to explain Christianity as the reaction upon history of a single personality, most extraordinary, but still perfectly natural and intelligible human character, has issued in failure. The historical critics, while admitting any amount of the divine everywhere in the universe in the whole nature process, yet argue, the divine can be understood only as expressed in history in terms of the human or at least the natural, and have felt themselves obliged to use nothing but humanity in their construction of proto-Christianity. The net result has been failure. Modern criticism has shown the impossibility of the problem as one of individual psychology, by showing that the problem is indeed psychologic but the psychology is social. We must turn

for illuminative facts, fertile suggestions, and sure-leading clews in searching for the seeds of things Christian and proto-Christian to the wide field of history, ethnology, and philology, as well as theology.

Reitzenstein, in his *Poimandros*, his *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, and his *Hellenistischen Mysterinreligionen*, has massed a large amount of evidence for a strong strain of Hellenism and mystery cult in the four so-called accepted Pauline epistles. But Schweitzer in his recent work on *Paul and His Interpreters* attacks this position, claiming that the irradiating ray of Paul's thought, his ethics, all his efforts and phraseology, is from late Jewish eschatology. But Schweitzer's reply is inadequate, says W. B. Smith; there is no incompatibility between late Jewish eschatology and Hellenistic mystery-elements. But the fact is that a doctrine that so glorified the Jew and promised him world-dominion found little favor in his eyes but ready acceptance among the Gentiles. There is reasonable certainty that there were powerful Hellenistic elements in the propaganda that appealed so irresistibly to the Hellenic world. Reitzenstein tips the scale of evidence toward there being a weighty Hellenic factor in the Christian movement from the start, especially Antioch and Alexandrian elements as it appears at least in the apostle. But neither Reitzenstein nor Schweitzer seems to give sufficient consideration to the fact that, along with the new, the old problem still asserts itself in undiminished importance and interest. The net result is that the question has only acquired added interest and significance. Nevertheless a sympathetic optimism can detect a sensible advance toward a satisfactory comprehension of the origins of Christianity.

The Christian Pastor and Biblical Criticism

The effect of biblical criticism upon the Christian minister is considered from the

Anglican point of view, in the April *Hibbert Journal*, by Rev. Hubert Handley, vicar of St. Thomas' Church in London. The peculiar hope of the liberal clergyman in the church of England is that of saving religion for his conservative opponents. He is clerically unpopular, and is subjected, at the hands of his fellow-clergy, to quiet, conscientious, immutable repugnance and depreciation. His chief trials are loneliness and the antipathy of good men. But he believes that he is serving his detractors in spite of themselves; that for many an English Christian home he is breaking the shock of startling critical disclosures; and that he is bearing the critical cross ahead for the sake of his fellow-pilgrims.

Criticism has left the Bible in the Christian pastor's hand as a treasury of supreme religious experience; but it has taken the Bible away from the Christian pastor as a weapon of infallible reference. Exact sayings, exact deeds, may, many of them, be slipping out of the pastor's reach, may one after another be silently passing beyond the frontiers of historical certainty into the vast surrounding regions of the dimly known, or the vaguely surmised, or the mythically narrated. But the great, central, saving *facts*, e.g., the passion of our Lord, survive that exit and dispersion; they stand up more than ever sharply prominent and fixed. And the great, vital, spiritual *words*, issuing from the depths of the souls of the seers—for us Christians, issuing in ultimate disclosures from the depths of the soul of our Savior: these luminous and mighty utterances, charged with command and destiny, strangely adequate to the heart's desire, corroborated from age to age in their religious validity; these words, proof against critical corrosives, are found, we think, to tell the abiding secrets of the Eternal. That is biblical criticism.

The different forms of pastoral work are differently affected by criticism. In administering the sacraments, the specific task of

the critical pastor is to help in gradually weeding out from those services of his church statements or implications which affront modern knowledge. In sacramental service, the individuality of the pastor, however, dwindles almost away, and the power of the institution rules the imagination and the facts. In the services themselves, he is the mere organ of society. Likewise, in the morning or evening prayer, in the marriage office, in the burial of the dead, the minister voices the spirit of the Christian centuries which breathes through the liturgy. He must, indeed, strive to purge the consecrated utterance of anachronisms, and to make it the living tongue of Christendom. Yet his first duty here is to harness himself to the existing formulas of piety. And so, in most of the conventional religious functions, the critical pastor is like his conservative brother. He teaches the young, visits the sick, counsels the distressed of heart or soul, stands by the dying. In these situations, it is not the critical, but the *spiritual*, temperament which tells.

In the ministry of preaching, however, the work of the critical pastor is more characteristic. The reaction of his auditors varies according to their culture. The effect of criticism in the preaching of a Christian pastor among the educated classes is to make him more effective and acceptable. This rule, however, is impaired by two exceptions. On the one hand, the hard, established orthodox scent destruction; the rivets of the ark are giving way; the planks are parting; and unknown waters yawn. Where are we? Where are the old securities? "Where," cries the High Churchman, "are 'definite Church teaching' and 'the first six Geneva councils'?" "Where," cries the Low Churchman, "is 'the language of Zion'?" The fixed and satisfied orthodox, then, on

the one side, break the rule that the educated classes incline to a critical evangel. On the other side, the rule is also broken by the offended and absent heterodox. These do not go to church. They are by no means irreligious; but their spiritual thirst is not slaked by the aridities often held to their lips from the Anglican pulpit. And so these average Englishmen, thoughtful and numerous, renounce all the pastors, critical and conservative alike. The exceptions modify, but do not annul, the rule that among educated people biblical criticism enhances the virtue of the preacher.

Among uneducated people, conditions are different. Biblical criticism here is a non-conductor. A working-class audience craves doctrinal color and detail which the critical preacher cannot supply. In the huge structure of theology, he is concerned with the foundations, which he knows to be secure; they prefer the pinnacles, which he sees to be tottering. In the long run, however, only the religious temper, only spirituality tells. That, in our day of transition, is the critical pastor's hope. At heart, the people want religion, not words. If, in the name of Christ, and in essential continuity with the inherited Christian experience of the Eternal, the critical pastor, himself inwardly religious, offers to the people true religion, then the people will recognize it, even though to them the language be strange and the messenger uncongenial. *Reality knows Reality.*

Note

The many friends of Professor Edouard von Dobschütz will be interested to know that on April 1, 1913, he became professor of New Testament in the University of Halle. His address is Advokatenweg 4.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

FOREIGN MISSIONS

Missionary Outcomes of the Balkan War

1. The outcome of the war in the East will in all probability result in new avenues of approach to Mohammedan people. Mohammedanism will lack the watchful care formerly enjoyed from the Turkish government. Adequate measures of protection for other faiths will be the probable outcome of the reorganized state of the East. An urgent appeal for help from Western civilization in educational and missionary phases is sure to result.

2. The Methodist and Congregational churches are already preparing to enter the door opened in the Balkan fields on the release of the Balkan States from Turkish control.

3. According to the verdict of the Peace Conference in London, 2,000,000 Albanians are to have the right of self-government. This will mean release from Moslem fanaticism which has compelled reluctant but only nominal adherence to Islam. The Greek church stands to profit little by the release, for since the armies of Greece in the recent war have swept the country with fire and sword, rapine and plunder, murder and outrage, robbing churches and priests, they are hated worse than were the Turks. Here is an open door for Protestant Christianity which because of the confidence and regard with which Protestant missionaries are held can and can alone save the land from religious anarchy, when the yoke of Islam is removed.

The Powaks, or Bulgarian Moslems, in the Chepino Valley in the heart of the Rhodope Mountains are reported to be turning over wholesale to the Greek church. The overwhelming defeat of the Turk has impressed the imagination of a fatalistic

people. The unchecked march of Bulgarian troops has been Allah's will. The report is that 300,000 applications for baptism have been received. The watchwords of the movement are "Brotherhood" and "Bulgaria." The emergency has come upon the Greek church with such dramatic and overwhelming suddenness as to make it impossible to cope efficiently with the inrush. At Chepino the new Christians dug up the font of the buried and lost Christian church desecrated and forgotten since 1657.

China's Appeal for Christian Prayer

The Chinese government appealed to all the Christian churches in China to set aside April 27 as a day of prayer for the Chinese National Assembly, for the new government, for the president of the republic, for the maintenance of peace, and for the election of strong and virtuous men to office. Representatives of provincial authorities were instructed to be present at these services.

The significance of this is most remarkable when we call to mind the facts that only thirteen years since a dispatch was sent from the imperial throne to all the viceroys of all the provinces to exterminate all foreigners, and the imperial government of China hunted and slew her Christian subjects like wild beasts, and used all the sources at her command to drive the religions of the "foreign devils" from her shores. Contrast with this attitude that of Yuan Shi Kai in his address a few weeks ago to the Y.M.C.A. convention in Peking:

You, my friends, who are members and delegates to this Christian association, from every province of the republic, are examples for the men of every class of society. By the help of your guiding light and uplifting influence, mil-

lions of young men well equipped, morally, intellectually, and physically will be raised up in this nation to render loyal service to the republic in her time of need and lift her to a position that shall add to the civilized world an undying luster.

What an encouragement to the patient missionary toilers is such a public and national recognition of the value and need of the gospel they are preaching! It was indeed appropriate that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America should call upon all American Christians to join China in a day of prayer.

Missions and the Minister

"What Missions Will Do for the Pastor," rather than what the pastor can do for missions, is the subject of an article in the March number of the *Foreign Missionary Journal*. In the first place, the article points out that an interest in missions will broaden the pastor's world-view. It will bring him more or less closely into touch with the life, manners, and customs of lands other than his own. In the second place, it will dignify his ministry. It will make him feel that the work he is engaged in at home, no matter how seemingly insignificant it may appear, is in reality part of a great universal movement. In the third place, it will teach him to pray. If the pastor is deeply enough interested in missions he will pray for their furtherance.

A Missionary to the "Lumber-Jacks" of Oregon

The *Spirit of Missions* reports that a Presbyterian layman, specially commissioned to minister to the "lumber-jacks" of Oregon, last year visited 132 camps, preached to 13,000 men, distributed 1,350 pounds of reading-matter, held numerous services, and visited over 1,000 sick men.

Mohammedan Albanians

In the *Homiletic Review* for May, Rev. C. T. Erickson, a missionary among the Mohammedan Albanians under the American Board, reports a remarkable trend toward Christianity on the part of the Moslem Albanians. They declare Mohammedanism was forced upon them and that they were Christians before they became Mohammedans, and that everything that is evil and degrading has come to them through Turkish domination. These Albanians are the oldest race in Europe—older than the Latin and Greek peoples—and have retained their language and customs even when driven into southern Italy and Greece. A very significant thing he adds is that the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Mohammedans alike all agree in demanding a Protestant European prince as their ruler. Their ideals are European, not Asiatic.

Recent Tendencies in Continental Religion

A royal order has been issued from the ministry of war, in Madrid, Spain, by which non-Catholic soldiers when not under arms may be excused from attendance at mass on Sundays and week-days. This is one of the signs that religious tolerance is coming to its own and the rights of Protestants are beginning to be recognized in Spain.

In contrast with the above, a fresh outburst of persecution against the Baptists has occurred in Russia. Baptist chapels have been raided and closed by secret police. In Siberia a whole colony of Russian farmers were evicted for the crime of being Baptists. The annual meeting of the Baptist Union has been forbidden. The Holy Orthodox Synod seems to be behind these persecutions through the person of Procurator-General Probedonostyeff, who proves no less cruel and fanatical than his predecessors.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Summer Schools of Religion

To enumerate all of the opportunities for inspiring study of religious topics which the summer offers would take more space than we can command. The agencies under which summer conferences, schools, and assemblies operate belong to three classes, distinct in organization, yet having the same general purpose: first, the Christian associations with their summer camps; second, the schools under the auspices of specific denominations, such as the Presbyterians at Winona, Ind., the Congregationalists at Frankfort, and the Methodists at Ludington, all offering opportunities varying in quality and quantity, in proportion to the ideals and resources of the particular committees in charge. On the programs of some of them appear names known to all who are interested in religious work, as leaders in the upward trend of religious education and the growing efficiency of the church.

Chief among the resorts for such work, however, are the third class, the Chautauquas, of which there are some fifty or more scattered throughout the country, and chief among these is the mother Chautauqua on Chautauqua Lake, New York. Religion has always been one of the outstanding features of Chautauqua, in the midst of a program and a constituency cosmopolitan and inclusive of all branches of learning, as well as many types of social and intellectual activity.

In 1912, however, the religious work of Chautauqua was placed under a special Director of Religious Work, and the School of Religion, as well as the general religious activities reorganized. The school enrolled some two hundred and fifty students during the summer, the Sunday morning study classes between five and six hundred, the junior congregation a still larger number. The Ministers' Institute with which the season closed was the climax of a most successful summer.

Beginning July 7 all of these activities will be resumed. Regular courses of class work, especially for Sunday-school teachers and those who have the responsibility of the religious training of children, will be given daily. There will also be almost daily conferences on the problems of religious education as they appear in the Sunday school, in the church, and in the home. Those who will offer courses for either a portion of the time or for the six weeks are Professor Shailer Mathews, Director of Religious Work, Dr. J. L. Hurlbut, Newark, N.J., Bishop C. D. Williams, of Michigan, Rev. Arthur C. Hill, of London, and Miss Georgia L. Chamberlin, of the University of Chicago. Other names will be added.

An institute for the study of foreign missions will occupy one week, Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery and Dr. Charles R. Henderson being the leading names on the program. A home mission institute will occupy another week with Mrs. D. B. Wells, of Boston, in charge.

As last year, the climax will come with the last week of the season in which the Ministers' Institute will be held. The theme about which the work of this week will center is "The Militant Church." For this period there will be added to the staff Dr. G. Campbell Morgan, of London, Dr. John Timothy Stone, of Chicago, Professor Graham Taylor, of Chicago, Rev. Charles Stelzle, of New York, Professor A. T. Robertson, of Louisville, and others. The program for the week offers some eight or ten hours a day of meetings and conferences.

In addition to the stipulated program, the school offers constant service in the nature of personal conferences with individuals on specific problems of Sunday-school and church work. An exhibit of the best that can be gathered in materials for use in the Sunday school, and pictured re-

ports of work in actual progress in different churches will be shown; a library of several hundred volumes, among which are the books of several of the professional reading courses of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, and a good selection of volumes in Sunday-school pedagogy. An art-room containing the beginnings of a collection of pictures on the life of Christ, and the splendid out-of-door model of Palestine which has been constructed on the shore of the lake, furnish additional facilities for study.

For the benefit of churches who desire to send a member of the Sunday school or congregation to Chautauqua for the work of the School of Religion for the entire season, a special scholarship of forty-five dollars has been arranged. This will include board, room, the season's gate fee, and all of the work of the School of Religion in addition to all those attractions of Chautauqua which are open to the public. Applications for this scholarship must be made as early in June as possible, in order that accommodations may be guaranteed.

Death of E. Nestle

Biblical study has suffered a distinct loss in the death on March 9, 1913, of Christof Eberhard Nestle, so long identified with the seminary at Maulbronn, Germany. Professor Nestle was born in 1851 in Stuttgart. He took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1874, spent some time between 1875 and 1877 in England, was professor at Ulm from 1883 to 1890 and from 1893 to 1898, since 1898 has been professor in the Evangelical Theological Seminary at Maulbronn, and for the past year Ephorus there. He is widely known for a series of books relating to New Testament textual study, and for his almost unexampled production of short articles and notes in English and German journals. He was particularly expert in the textual

criticism of the Septuagint and the New Testament. His most widely used recent work was his edition of the New Testament in Greek issued in 1898 and designed to popularize in Germany a modern critical text at a low price.

The University Pastorate Movement

Joseph Wilson Cochran, D.D., in *Religious Education* says that the university church has, as a background, a movement in which nearly threescore men are devoting their lives as university pastors. The movement is considered by educators to be one of the most important and significant enterprises of the Christian church. The reason why all our university presidents indorse the direct approach of the church to the state university is found in the five following propositions. It is consistent (1) with the history of education; (2) with the economic development of Protestantism; (3) with the aspirations and ideals of the leaders in state higher education, since almost without exception they are men of pronounced Christian life and activity, and the percentage of church affiliations is higher in the large university than in society at large, 57 per cent of students being communicants of Christian churches; (4) with the attitude of the student body toward the faith of Christ; (5) with the production of Christian leadership.

The Church and the Foreigner

The men's forum of the Central Falls Congregational Church, Rhode Island, has secured the Star Theater Sunday evenings, for the instruction in citizenship and American life, for neighbors of foreign speech. Roman Catholic churches and one Jewish congregation co-operated with announcements. Addresses were given in four or five languages to an audience of 1,500 foreign faces.

CHURCH EFFICIENCY

The Glasgow Conference in June

The Society for Biblical Study, an international organization of Bible teachers and students with headquarters in England, directed by biblical professors in the British universities, has arranged a summer conference at Glasgow University for the three days June 25-27, 1913. The honorary secretary of the society, Mr. F. C. Cook, whose address is Laleham Lodge, High Welwyn, Herts, England, extends an official invitation to American biblical teachers and students who can visit Glasgow on these dates, to be present at the conference. Those who can arrange to attend are requested to communicate in advance with Mr. Cook, so that they may be made welcome when they arrive.

The conference will begin on June 25 at 2:00 P.M. with a service in the Cathedral. At 5:00 P.M. there will be addresses upon the subject: "Bible Study—a World-wide Problem." In the evening there will be a public session, with addresses presenting a "Restatement of Some Central Ideas or Ideals in the Old and New Testaments."

On June 26, at 10:00 A.M., papers will be read upon "Recent Work in Discovery, and Contributions to Literature." At 2:30 P.M. there will be further papers upon "The Power of Great Cities in Bible Times, e.g., Jerusalem, Athens, Rome." In the late afternoon a garden party will be given the conference, at which there will be an opportunity to make acquaintance with the delegates and visitors to the meeting of the society. In the evening another public session will be held, to discuss the problems of "Inspiration, and Religious Education through Bible Study and Instruction."

On June 27, at 10:00 A.M., presentation will be made of the Dyke-Acland Medal for 1913, and the closing addresses of the conference will be made. Following this last session, the delegates and visitors will

be invited to make an excursion together down the River Clyde.

These conferences of the Society for Biblical Study are held every other year, offering excellent opportunity to those in every country who would promote the influence and study of the Bible to exchange views and to effect co-operation in their special work. It is highly desirable that American biblical scholars should join with the British scholars in this international movement for interpreting the Bible historically, and securing to the Bible its true, full influence upon modern religious life and thought.

A Sociologist's Plea for Religion

Edward T. Devine in the *Survey* for April 5, 1913, makes a strong plea for constructive religion. Naming as the seven sins of modern life greed, selfishness, privilege, injustice, exploitation, ignorance, and neglect, he finds the cure for them, not in any revolution except that in the soul of man which transforms moral disease into vigor, not in laws except those that are the result of previous recognition of justice in the minds of citizens, not in a philanthropy which deals with conditions that are only symptoms of deep-seated malady, not in an education which does not go far enough into the fields of personal ideals and motives to guard against lack of genuine sympathy with others, but in a type of religion which will cleanse the evil nature, illumine the mind, and strengthen the will; a religion which shall teach men that desire for equality of opportunity and desire for privilege are correlative, that generosity must displace greed, and that service must take the place of exploitation.

The religion which is constructive is one which makes men unwilling to exploit the vices or weaknesses of their fellow-men, and at the same time makes the other men unexploitable

which destroys privilege through just laws, impartially enforced, and upheld by enlightened public opinion, which dispels ignorance by full and exact knowledge bearing fruit in sound measures of social reform, which protects the subnormal and emancipates the handicapped from their limitations, which permeates education, business, politics, and eventually the entire social life.

The Social Service Movement in the Churches

The number of the *Christian Evangelist* for May 1 is devoted to social service. In it an excellent editorial appears under the above heading.

The social service movement does not demand less personal morality, but rather more, for Christianity can commend no cause except through men who personally incarnate it. If we have a bigger objective than saving ourselves, we shall need greater incarnations of Christly personal character to do it. Christianity is simply the extension of personal Christianity into the more complex social life. It is the realization of what Jesus meant by the kingdom of God. Social service in the church simply means the extension of churchly activities to meet social conditions. Just as the recent missionary movement broadened the interpretation and application of the old gospel, so the gospel of social service carries on the broadening and deepening process, not changing but amplifying the fundamental demand of the gospel for human service. It seeks not only to save all men, but to save all the man; the whole world is the subject of redemption both extensively and intensively. A boys' club is as legitimate as a ladies' aid society; an open forum on Saturday night as a prayer-meeting on Wednesday night. If it is Christian to find an unfortunate man a job, it is also Christian for a whole organized congregation to find jobs regularly for unfortunate men. If music, art, and play

are good things in our Christian homes, is it not a good thing to provide the same for those who cannot have them in tenement homes? All compassion, neighborliness, and fellowship is Christian, that seeks to give the more abundant life as Jesus took it to men in person.

List of Speakers and Dates of Meetings at Northfield This Year

This year the list of speakers includes a large number of favorites, some of whom have not been at Northfield for several years. Already the following have been secured: Rev. J. Stuart Holden, B.A., London, England; Rev. John A. Hutton, B.A., Edinburgh, Scotland; Rev. Geo. R. Stuart, D.D., Knoxville, Tenn.; Rev. A. T. Robertson, D.D., Louisville, Ky.; Rev. Robert E. Speer, D.D., New York City; Rev. John Daniel Jones, Bournemouth, England; Rev. John Thomas, Liverpool, England; Professor Charles R. Erdman, Princeton, N.J.; Rev. Chas. Inglis, London, England; Rev. W. S. Jacoby, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Len G. Broughton, D.D., London, England; Mr. Melvin Trotter, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Rev. Robert F. Y. Pierce, D.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rev. Francis S. Downs, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Herbert J. White, Hartford, Conn.; Rev. H. F. Swartz, New York City; Mr. John R. Mott, LL.D., New York City; Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, D.D., London, England.

Summer Bible School and Special Lectures at the Northfield Schools, May 6-September 30
Northfield Seminary Commencement, June 7-10
Student Conference, June 20-29
Young Women's Conference, July 2-9
Summer School for Women's Foreign Missionary Societies, July 10-17
Home Missionary Conference, July 18-24
Summer School for Sunday-School Workers, July 19-26
General Conference of Christian Workers, August 1-17

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

CONCERNING THE GENESIS OF PAUL'S THEOLOGY¹

ERNEST DE WITT BURTON

Is our modern Christianity really Christian? Is our religion of today enough like the religion of the first century to be called by the same name? These questions have a familiar sound. But they are being asked today in a new sense. Once we meant by them to inquire whether modern Christianity had so far degenerated as no longer to be entitled to be called Christian. But today some scholars maintain in effect that the noblest elements, the sources of the most spiritual phases of our Christianity, are the product of a spiritualizing of what was originally physical and material. Doubtless we shall retain what we have thus inherited or acquired, even though it prove to be a product of the evolutionary process that has been going on through the Christian centuries rather than primitive Christianity. But it is a matter both of scientific and of practical interest to know which of these it is, and our investigation of the question must begin at the beginning of the history of Christianity. Alike therefore as Christians and as theologians we are interested in the task which Schweitzer began in his *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, which he continues in the present volume, and which he promises to carry to a conclusion in a third volume soon to appear. He would reinstate in theology the ideal which Baur and Rénan held before him, though they failed to achieve it, of tracing the genetic connection between the teachings of Jesus, primitive Christianity, Paulinism, and the Hellenized Christianity with which the history of dogma is commonly made to begin. That scholarship should

contentedly fail either of comprehending each of these in itself or of discovering the connection between them, he rightly regards as intolerable.

In his previous work Schweitzer had reached the conclusion that the teachings of Jesus moved wholly in the circle of Judaism, representing a deeply "ethical version of the contemporary apocalyptic." The problem of the present book is to discover whether the process of the Hellenization of the gospel began in Paul, or whether he also remains essentially Jewish and apocalyptic. The method of the book is similar to that of the preceding. It traces the history of modern thought in Germany (it takes no account of English and American writers and mentions but one or two Frenchmen), passing in review and acutely criticizing the work of each successive writer. The style, at least of the English translation, is clear and forcible, unacademic almost to the point of colloquialism. One who wishes to gain a general knowledge of the history of the study of Pauline theology since Baur could hardly have a more entertaining guide.

With the criticism of those writers, such as Pfleiderer, Heinrici, Holsten, and Holtzmann, who, with many differences in detail, were yet agreed in finding in Paulinism a large influence of Greek philosophic thought, but also in neglecting to bring forward the definite evidence respecting the content of Greek thought which would show the apostle's dependence upon it, it is not difficult to agree in large part. It

¹ *Paul and His Interpreters: A Critical History.* By Albert Schweitzer, Privatdozent in New Testament Studies in the University of Strassburg. London: Adam & Charles Black. Imported by the Macmillan Co. Pp. xi+253. \$2.75 net.

is perhaps an overstatement of the case both when he declares that these writers affirm but bring forward no evidence substantiating their assertions, and when he says that "whatever views and conceptions are brought up for comparison, the result is always the same that Paulinism and Greek thought have nothing, absolutely nothing, in common." Especially is this the case if one counts as Pauline the Epistle to the Philippians and at least the major portion of Colossians, as Schweitzer seems disposed to do. But in the main we believe Schweitzer is justified in his criticism.

His treatment of those whom he calls the Ultra-Tübingenists, Loman, Steck, Völter, and Van Manen, is less satisfactory. Yet here also there is no occasion to dissent from his general conclusion that these men were following a false lead in denying, in whole or in the main, the existence of genuine writings of Paul.

One reads with interest, if with something less of conviction, the criticism of those very modern writers who have found in the popular Hellenism, if it may be so called, of the mystery religions a powerful factor in the genesis of Paul's theology. Particularly surprising, but perhaps fully half right, is the assertion that "no figure deserving of this designation [dying and rising Redeemer-God] occurs in any myth or in any mystery-religion; it is created by a process of generalization, abstraction and reconstruction." We may hesitate to give full assent to the statement on p. 238: "Paulinism and Hellenism have in common their religious terminology, but in respect of ideas nothing. The Apostle did not Hellenize Christianity. His conceptions are equally distinct from those of Greek philosophy and those of the mystery-religions." But we at any rate understand exactly what the writer means.

But if we have had some doubts thus far, these tend rapidly to increase when we make an effort first to understand and then to

estimate Schweitzer's own view. To be sure, he has informed us in the preface that we must wait for the forthcoming volume on *Pauline Mysticism* for his positive statement. We must not, therefore, find fault that it is not clearly set forth in the present volume. But such foregleams as we get certainly raise doubts in our minds. Eschatology is for Paul as for Jesus fundamental, we are told. "It is only the acceptance of the fact that the apostle's doctrine is integrally, simply, and exclusively eschatological, which puts it [theology] in a position to assume the offensive in a systematic way and with good prospects of success" (p. 244). The problem, moreover, with which Paul was concerned was one which pertains to the condition of the world between the death of Jesus and his parousia. The sole and sufficient reason for his urgency to give the gospel to the Greeks lies in the peculiar condition of the world between the death and the parousia of the Christ. To this period only the sacraments belong (p. 217), and it is these that guarantee salvation. "They are sacraments in the strictest sense. It follows that there must be no more psychologizing about Paul's religious experience . . . no making play with . . . the discovery or concealment of contradictions and antimonies." It was not experience that led Paul to the view that the reign of the law was at an end, or apparently to any other of his theological opinions. His theology, Schweitzer holds, is a self-consistent, intellectually wrought-out system, in which redemption, election, and salvation all rest on eschatology. Moreover, all results are "physically" achieved (so Schweitzer interprets Paul), causes and effects being alike "physical" in the sense that they affect the whole physical and hyperphysical being of man.

As a history of German thought concerning Paul and his theology from Baur to Reitzenstein, with acute and in large part just criticism of the successive views and

theories, as a plea for a thoroughly genetic as distinguished from a merely descriptive or atomistic treatment of biblical theology, Schweitzer's book is of great value. It serves, moreover, to remind us how thoroughly biblical theology and dogmatics have become divorced. Such a book could hardly have been written until each felt itself quite absolved from the obligation to

agree with the other in results reached. We shall wait with interest the appearance of the succeeding volume in which Schweitzer will turn from criticism to construction, but with a strong suspicion, based on the forecast of its conclusions which the present volume gives, that Schweitzer's successor in the office of critic will deal with him much as he has dealt with his predecessors.

BOOK NOTICES

The Fundamental Christian Faith. The Origin, History, and Interpretation of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. By Charles A. Briggs, D.D. New York: Scribner, 1913. Pp. x+332. \$1.50.

For some years Dr. Briggs has made a specialty of the study and interpretation of the doctrinal symbols of the Christian church, employing in his investigations the methods of modern historical criticism. He emphasizes that we must apply the same principles of criticism and interpretation to the creeds as to the Bible itself. These creeds, or statements of belief, have a definite, historic meaning, which we should endeavor to ascertain and set forth. In the present volume, this task is essayed in relation to the Apostles' and the Nicene creeds.

Along with its general purpose as a historical study, the book has the practical, concrete aim of providing a basis for church unity by putting on exhibit, before the churches of today, the credal platforms upon which the church of the early centuries held together. Accordingly, Professor Briggs classifies the tendencies in present-day theology in a way which, if true, is favorable to this aim (pp. vii, viii). He seeks to distinguish, first, the "reactionary" tendency, which still insists upon the whole doctrine of the confessions of faith of the seventeenth century, at the cost of the perpetuation of theological warfare; second, the "radical" tendency, which would do away with all credal statements, and construct an eclectic theology out of a comparative study of all religions and in the form of recent undigested philosophical speculations; third, the "wholesome irenic" tendency, which seeks to reunite the separated churches on the basis of the fundamental principles of historical Christianity as found in the ancient creeds, the official expression of the faith of the ancient church. It is in the light of this position that we are to understand the significance of his title, *The Fundamental Christian Faith*.

But it is to be doubted whether the present

movement in the direction of church unity will be much helped by exegetical excursions whose aim is to show twentieth-century people what the second-, third-, or fourth-century people believed about still earlier times. And it may be seriously questioned whether Professor Briggs's classification of present theological tendencies will hold water. We think at once of many scholars who would object to being inserted either into the "reactionary," or the "radical," or the "wholesome irenic" pigeon-hole, as here defined. Are today's reactionaries merely those who seek to grind seventeenth-century grist? Are the radicals (i.e., those who try to go to the roots of things) merely those who would abolish all historic theology and put philosophy in its place? And are the irenic merely those who are content to tarry with the ancient historic creeds?

Professor Briggs has done much to vindicate the rights of scientific criticism in the domain of the Old Testament; and in view of his great services to biblical knowledge, it is hardly fair to ask that he do as much for the ever more pressing problem of Christian origins. It is a matter of great significance, however, that the present movement of New Testament scholarship, on the one hand, and the popular movement looking toward church unity, on the other, should be in effect combining to outflank precisely such endeavors after unity as that for which this book stands. According to Professor Briggs, the Christian faith is essentially a faith which centers in Jesus Christ, and which occupies itself, as does the Nicene Creed, in stressing and expounding the metaphysics of the personality of Jesus. But if we read aright the signs of the times, the tendency on the part of New Testament scholarship, and among the people of the church at large, is to regard "essential Christianity" as the functional reproduction of Jesus' own faith in God. While this book by Professor Briggs is an admirable example of pure scholarship, we can hardly feel its force as a theological irenicon for the awakening church.

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